

## Determinants and catalysts of Silesian regional identity (1526–1740)

### Abstract:

The perception of Silesia as something distinct and the formation of emotional bonds with the region, which were based on chronicles from the Middle Ages was further enhanced by humanist thought. Since the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginnings of the 16<sup>th</sup> due to poetry, historiographical works, geographical description and the first maps, the vision of a region with specified borders, the population of which felt bonded due to shared history, pride of fertile lands and magnificent cities, especially the Capital City of Wrocław the awareness of Silesia as a homeland, simply of being Silesian grew among the population. Boys from different social groups, taught in the local schools were instructed and moulded all through the Habsburg era. Since the Thirty Years' War, as a result of the policy of undermining the importance of pan-Silesian institutions, with the demise of the Silesian Piast dynasty and other dynasties laying claim on their duchies, the local awareness grew. Even then most authors of historical and cartographical works were aware of the broader context. The identity of being Silesian and the historical continuity of the region since the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and in the context of the search for ancient origins of the people populating the land even since the biblical times, constituted a factor beneficial to the formation of a cohesive identity, a unifying factor binding coexisting, especially since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, various local identities.

### Keywords:

Silesia, poetry, geographical description, maps, historiography, regional identity, local identity, Piast dynasty, patriotism, school

In contemporary research, while providing the definition of the region and determining the elements that constitute its endurance and consistency, a significant role is attributed to social factors, including the identification of the inhabitants of the region with the geographical space. In this perspective, their sense of belonging to a certain territory and community with one another are determined by perception of their own cultural distinctiveness which comprises many aspects, e.g. the elements of everyday life, the conviction about the existence of specific symbolic elements, the sense of sharing historical events which to a greater or lesser extent influence the present<sup>1</sup>. In this respect, at the beginning of the modern era Silesia as a

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth mentioning Michael Keating's definition of the region adopted as one of the two basic definitions (next to the definition by Anssi Paasi) for the project *Cuius Regio*: Michael Keating, *Introduction*, [in:] *Regions and Regionalism in Europe*, ed. Michael Keating, Cheltenham 2004

region had already existed in the consciousness of the inhabitants of the Odra region, especially among the intellectual elite. The regional identity of the Silesians of that time undoubtedly derived much from the heritage of the previous centuries. In the Middle Ages the essential keystones of regional Silesian identity were local historiography, annals and chronicles, which helped build and maintain common tradition based on the commonly used terminology in relation to the inhabited territory, on shared experiences, recognizable symbols and common heroes<sup>2</sup>.

Historical consciousness remained an essential element and an excellent point of reference also for the inhabitants of Silesia after 1526. However, given the strong internal breakdown of the region, and functioning of feudal and hereditary royal duchies, free states, royal and feudal cities next to each other – were these factors not destructive and disruptive? Which relationship was stronger for the residents of Silesia at that time: the relationship with Silesia as a geo – political entity, or the relation with the ‘little homeland’ limited to the duchy or the city? Finally, is it possible to speak about permanent identification of Silesians with their region throughout the whole Habsburgs’ era? To answer these questions, one shall look at the contemporary cultural context of Silesia, and investigate closer the legacy of early modern historiography, which is – like it was in the Middle Ages – one of the key forms of self-definition and expression of the sense of belonging to a greater whole. One also needs to take into account new phenomena that were brought by humanism, especially the development of the awareness and knowledge of geography and reflecting it at the maps devised since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the presence of Silesian motifs in literary works. Those elements interacted with one another so strongly that it seems best to analyse all of them together while posing questions about the factors which promoted regional cohesion of Silesia and/or about the factors which were destructive for the sense of community shared by the inhabitants of the region.

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(=The International Library of Comparative Public Policy, vol. 16), p. xi. Compare also: Anssi Paasi, *The resurgence of the ‘Region’ and ‘Regional Identity’: theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe*, ‘Review of International Studies’, 1 (2009), No. 35 (Special Issue: *Globalising the Regional, Regionalising the Global*) doi: 10.1017/S0260210509008456, Published online by Cambridge University Press, 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 2009, pp. 132-134 (electronic journal content was also published in a form of a book: *Globalising the Regional, Regionalising the Global*, ed. Rick Fawn, Cambridge 2009), Przemysław Wiszewski, *Region-integrating or region-disintegrating? The social groups of medieval Silesia examined in the context of their political activity (from the last decades of the 12th century to the 15th century)*, [in:] *The Long Formation*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>2</sup> Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Regional identity in Silesia (until 1526)*, [in:] *The Long Formation*, pp. 215-235. (see especially pp. 215-216 and an attempt to define basic elements constituting Silesian regional identity for the period before 1526).

The political events of 1526 contributed to the consolidation of the distinctive character of Silesia as a borderland region, peripheral in relation to the centre of power, which it had been since the early Piast period<sup>3</sup>. At the Habsburgs' rule, its significant distance from Vienna and Prague coincided with relatively weak administrative relationship with other lands of the Bohemian Crown. Each of the lands subject to the King cared for their own particular interests. Silesia held its own institutions and offices whose functioning extended over the whole country, which during the period up to the Thirty Years' War reinforced the belief that it was possible to have a share in the decisions on matters concerning the region<sup>4</sup>. These factors combined with the neighbourhood of the increasingly dissimilar Polish lands on the one hand created favourable conditions for the sense of identity to consolidate, while on the other hand were a prerequisite facilitating penetration of new developments and ideas from various directions. Crossing in Silesia, those ideas created a highly favourable ground for the adoption of competing cultural and ideological attitudes and their creative transformation which started at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the end of the period discussed in this article<sup>5</sup>.

A special role in the process of forming identity and self-awareness falls to humanistic trends, which were present in Silesia in various disciplines of science and art at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. A conducive factor for the mobility of Silesians and subsequent transfer of new interests and trends was at this time the lack of schools that would educate local youths at a sufficiently high level, and especially the absence of a school that would provide higher education. As Silesians left to study, they later adapted research conducted at foreign universities for domestic needs. It made them pose questions that were arising in consideration of other lands in relation to Silesia. It was in the course of studying that many young Silesians enjoyed – in the spirit of the time – the delight in Italian humanism and ancient literature<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> On this issue see eg Teresa Bogacz, *Wiedza geograficzna o Śląsku w dobie odrodzenia*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1990, pp. 6, 45; Marcin Pauk, Ewa Wólkiewicz, *Struktury administracyjne Śląska jako czynnik spójności prawnoustrojowej (XII–XV w.)*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 67 (2012), No. 4, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on this subject see the article by Gabriela Waś published in this issue: *Institutions and administrative bodies, and their role in the processes of integration and disintegration in Silesia*.

<sup>5</sup> Józef Gierowski, *Kultura umysłowa i artystyczna*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, vol.1, part 3: *Od końca XVI w. do r. 1763*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1963, pp. 540–541.

<sup>6</sup> Literature concerning this matter is very extensive. For the basic approaches see Henryk Barycz, *Ślązacy na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim od XV–XVIII w.*, Katowice 1935, pp. 16–20; Ewa Maleczyńska, *Kultura umysłowa*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 2: *Od połowy XIV do trzeciej ćwierci XVI w.*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, pp. 418–420, 429–441; N. Conrads, *Schlesiens frühe Neuzeit*, pp. 202–204, 306–309; Marian Dyba, *Drogi Ślązaków do*

During his studies at the Kraków Academy, where since the close of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the scientific circles had been increasingly interested in the use of the works of ancient geographers, Laurentius Corvinus (Lorenz Raabe, Wawrzyniec Korwin) in his own *Cosmography* inspired by the work of Claudius Ptolemy and published around 1496 included poetic descriptions of his hometown, Środa Śląska (*Pindari-cum anapesticum in natale solum quod Novum Forum perhibetur*), and the whole of Silesia (*Silesiae descriptio compendiosa*). His work quickly gained recognition and was widely read, also in Silesia<sup>7</sup>. It was known to Pancratius Vulturinus (actually Geier or Geyer) from Jelenia Góra, the author of another poem dedicated to the Silesian land. He wrote it just a few years later, in 1506, during a two-year stay at the university in Padua, although it had not been published in print until 1521. The work entitled *Slesia, Bresla etc.*, known as *Panegyricus Slesiacus*, proves – like a poem by Corvinus – not only the author’s knowledge of history and geography, but also of the customs and specific character of Silesia. The author celebrates its natural resources, including gold, warm healing springs, fertility of the soil, and the values of local beer<sup>8</sup>. Both poetic descriptions, created during a prolonged stay away from Silesia, are attributed emotional character, expressing a longing for the homeland. However, they were also a manifestation of regional awareness of their

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wiedzy (XII w. –1968), Katowice 1997; Lucyna Harc, *Dolnoślązacy w szkole, bibliotece, teatrze... czasów nowożytnych*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia*, pp. 310-311.

<sup>7</sup> Laurentius Corvinus, *Cosmographia dans manuductionem in tabulas Claudii Ptholomei*, ed. Heinrich Bebel, Basileae 1496. For more information on this issue see Franciszek Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, Kraków 1925, pp. 32-33; Bolesław Olszewicz, *Najdawniejsze opisy geograficzne Śląska*, Katowice 1936, pp. 26-27; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, pp. 38–39; *eadem*, *Humanistyczne opisy Środy Śląskiej*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Środy Śląskiej, regionu i prawa średzkiego*, ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz, Wrocław 1990 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 980, Historia 70), pp. 130-132; Halina Sadowska, *Wawrzyniec Korwin (ca 1465–1527). Humanista ze Środy Śląskiej*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Środy Śląskiej*, p. 121; Dariusz Rott, *Wawrzyniec Korwin, wczesnorenansowy humanista śląski*, Katowice 1997, pp. 9-11; Lucyna Harc, *Od biogramu do biografii (na przykładzie Wawrzyńca Korwina)*, [in:] *Hominem quaerere. Człowiek w źródle historycznym*, eds Stanisław Rosik i Przemysław Wiszewski, Wrocław 2008 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 3080, Historia 177), pp. 196-197.

<sup>8</sup> Pancratius Vulturinus, *Slesia, Bresla etc. Totius Slesie primo in generali, deinde vrbs Uratis-laiensis, Suidnicensis, Stregoniensis, caeterarumque vrbiū et opidorum in circuitu adiacentium pulcherrima et singularis descriptio (Panegyricus Slesiacus)*, Wratislaviae 1521. Cf Paul Drechsler, *Pancratiū Vulturini Panegyricus Silesiacus. Die älteste Landeskunde Schlesiens, besprochen und nach dem ersten Durch neu herausgegeben*, ‘Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens’, 35 (1901), pp. 35-67; Teresa Bogacz, *Renesansowy panegirysta z Jeleniej Góry Pankracy Vulturinus*, ‘Rocznik Jeleniogórski’, 15 (1977), pp. 125-137; *eadem*, *Wiedza*, pp. 77-80; Hans-Bernd Harder, *Die Landesbeschreibung in der Literatur des schlesischen Frühhumanismus*, [in:] *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert. Vorträge der 2. internationalen Tagung des ‘Slawenkomitees’ im Herder-Institut Marburg a. d. Lahn 10.–13. November 1980*, ed. Hans-Bernd Harder, Köln-Wien 1983 (=Schriften des Komitees der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Förderung der Slawischen Studien, vol. 5), p. 41.

authors, a pride in their country of origin and a desire to prove to themselves and others that it was in no way inferior to other parts of Europe glorified in poetry.

This poetic formula, containing a number of comparisons with the ancient world, was nothing unique. At the same time, Bernard Caricinius (actually Feyge) from Wrocław, while studying in Kraków, wrote an handbook on epistolography, in which one of the letters described Silesia, its capital and the Odra river<sup>9</sup>. Some time later, in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, a poet and historian Francis Faber (actually Franz Köckritz) created the poem *Sabothus sive Silesia*, glorifying both the country – especially the rivers, mountains and cities (mainly Wrocław, Nysa and Świdnica), its history derived since the ancient times, as well as the enlightened people in the region, both the ones who had lived there in the past and those contemporary to the writer<sup>10</sup>. At the end of the century, in a rector's speech he gave at the University of Helmstedt Solomon Frenzel from Wrocław described Silesia as his earthly homeland stretching from the foothills of the Carpathians and the Sudetes to Frankfurt (Oder), abounding in fertile soil and natural resources, a country whose people in the countryside and in great cities were cheerful and cultured, loved their country and were proud of it, and whose local schools overshadowed all other<sup>11</sup>.

What followed poetry were the works ordering information about Silesia, which were classified as geographical and historical descriptions typical for Renaissance. The forerunner in this field was Bartholomew Stein (Barthel Stein, Bartholomäus Stein, Bartolomaeus Stenus). In his *Descriptio totius Silesie et civitatis Regie Vratislaviensis* written in 1513 and inspired by Tacitus' *Germania* and by

<sup>9</sup> *Epistolae exemplares communiore Magistri Bernhardini Feyge alias Caricini de Wratislavia. In studio communi Cracoviensi coscripta*, Liptzick 1500 (digital version: <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/132-2-theol-6/start.htm>; accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> May, 2013). On this issue see also Gustav Bauch, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des schlesischen Humanismus, part 5*, 'Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens', 37 (1903), s. 126; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, p. 76; Jan Pirożyński, *Der internationale Rang der Krakauer Universität in der Renaissancezeit*, [in:] *Polen und Österreich im 16. Jahrhundert*, eds Walter Leitsch, Stanisław Tarkowski, Wien-Köln-Weimar 1997 (=Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas, vol. 17), p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Franciscus Faber, *Sabothus sive Silesia*, Basilea 1592. See A. Lubos, *Der Späthumanismus*, pp. 114-117; Westyna Gładkiewicz, *Kronikarz wrocławski – Franciszek Faber. Szkic informacyjny*, Wrocław 1970 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 126, Historia 19), p. 115; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, pp. 88-89; Manfred P. Fleischer, *Der schlesische Späthumanismus. Einführung* [in:] *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien*, eds Gustav Adolf Benrath, Ulrich Hutter-Wollandt, Dietrich Meyer, München-Oldenburg 1992 (=Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, vol. 1), pp. 82-85 (here part of the poem devoted to the people connected with the beginning of reformation in Silesia).

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard Kytzler, *Laudes Silesiae I. Salomon Frenzels 'Rede von der dreifachen Heimat' aus dem Jahre 1594*, 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', 25 (1984), pp. 45-56; M.P. Fleischer, *Der schlesische Späthumanismus*, pp. 85-88. For broader information on literary works extolling Silesia see Józef Budzyński, *'Laudes Silesiae' XVI-XVII wieku jako wyraz afirmacji wartości humanistycznych*, [in:] *Studia Classica et Neolatina III*, ed. Zofia Głombiowska, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 228-239.

Pomponius Mela's description of the world, as well as by the works of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Conrad Celtis, Stein substantially expanded and systematized the knowledge about the country and its capital. He tried at the same time to show their beauty and wealth, emphasize political and cultural importance, and – as he himself pointed out – disseminate information about Silesia and its inhabitants, not well known even among educated people<sup>12</sup>. The work of Stein rewritten in many copies had been disseminated, read and used long before it was finally released in print. The new comprehensive approach combining elements of geography and history was developed only a century later by *Silesiographia* and *Breslographia* created by Nicholas Henel (Nicolaus Henelius). It is noteworthy that, like Stein, the author of the works published in Frankfurt in 1613 decided to prepare two separate descriptions – one of the region and another of its capital<sup>13</sup>. In both descriptions he used previously known information, but he deepened it and described in a modern and accessible way, writing in good Latin, and thus he popularized the knowledge of Silesia and its geography<sup>14</sup>.

The twofold nature of Stein's and Henel's approaches is characteristic for the whole 16<sup>th</sup> century. From the literary and historiographical perspective it is clear to observe manifestations of regional awareness, which refers to the whole Silesia, in addition to the parallel pride in Wrocław as *metropolia prima* – to quote Vulturinus – and the conviction about its leading role and rank in the region. No other Silesian city or duchy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century could boast so many diverse works devoted to it. This image was complemented with the first cartographic representations of the geographical space of the whole country and its capital.

Thus, since the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the works on the history of Silesia were created, starting with *Silesia magna* by John Hess – lost yet known due to the fact that it was recalled by later authors<sup>15</sup>. Inspiring influence on the development of historiography had

<sup>12</sup> B. Stenum, *Descriptio, passim; Bartłomiej Steina renesansowe opisanie Wrocławia*, ed. Rościsław Żerelik, translated by Marek Krajewski (from Latin) and Reiner Sachs (from German), Wrocław 1995. See E. Maleczyńska, *Kultura*, p. 449; Ewald Walter, *Zu Barthel Steins Descriptio Vratislavie (Beschreibung Breslaus)*, 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', 30 (1989), pp. 63-76; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, pp. 80-86; Detlef Haberland, *Die 'Silesiographia' und 'Breslo-Graphia' von Nicolaus Henel von Hennenfeld*, [in:] *Nicolaus Henel von Hennenfeld Silesiographia. Breslo-Graphia. Frankfurt am Main 1613*, ed. Detlef Haberland, Wrocław 2011 (=digital version: e-Biblioteka Historyczna, vol. 3), pp. 32-34.

<sup>13</sup> Nicolaus Henel, *Silesiographia*, Francofurti 1613; *eadem, Breslographia*, Francofurti 1613. Cf H.-B. Harder, *Die Landesbeschreibung*, p. 41; Manfred P. Fleischer, *Silesiographia. Die Geburt einer Landesgeschichtsschreibung*, [in:] *idem, Späthumanismus in Schlesien*, München 1984, pp. 49-91; D. Haberland, *Die 'Silesiographia'*, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> Julian Janczak, *Mikołaj Henelius jako geograf Śląska*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 13 (1958), No. 3, p. 221; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>15</sup> H.-B. Harder, *Die Landesbeschreibung*, pp. 41-42; Lucyna Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose (1730–1798). Studium historiograficzno-źródłoznawcze*, Wrocław 2002 (=Acta Universitatis Wratisla-



the printing of a map of Silesia in 1561, drawn by Martin Helwig from Nysa. This was not the first cartographic representation of the region, as a self-contained map of Silesia along with a description had already been included by Sebastian Münster in the *Cosmographia* published in 1544. However, only the work by Helwig, reprinted several times and in a modified form published in printed atlases, shaped the idea and knowledge of the geographical location and boundaries of the region, especially among its educated residents<sup>16</sup>. It also affected Joachim Cureus, the author of *Gentis Silesiae Annales*, what he did not fail to mention<sup>17</sup>. The first history of Silesia published in print ten years after the publication of Helwig's map played an important role in building regional geographic and historical awareness among the inhabitants of the Odra region. The portrayal of the past rendered there proved the Cureus' conviction about the specifics of the history of Silesia as a separate region. With great erudition and broad knowledge of the works of ancient writers, which he had the opportunity to read and explore closer while studying in Italy, he argued that the earliest inhabitants of Silesia were Germanic tribes, displaced in time by the Slavs. An important moment and a crucial turning point for Cureus was year 1163, which he declared as the beginning of the process of separation of the province from Poland on the way to getting its own subjectivity and autonomy<sup>18</sup>. What is significant, however, is also the fact that after the presentation of the history of Silesia, the author devoted a separate section to describe Wrocław and the Duchy of Głogów where he came from. In many excerpts it is possible to notice his dual identity: the regional one, associated with being a Silesian, and the local one, resulting from the pride of living and working in Głogów, which was in his opinion the second most important city in Silesia, Wrocław being the most significant<sup>19</sup>. Cureus' work was translated into German and continued in the work by Henry Rätel. Cureus' work was also treated as a starting point by Jakob Schickfus in *New vermehrete schlesische Chronica* published in 1625<sup>20</sup>.

viensis, No 2389, Historia 157), p. 24; D. Haberland, *Die 'Silesiographia'*, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Julian Janczak, *Zarys dziejów kartografii śląskiej do końca XVIII wieku*, Opole 1976, p. 28, footnote 67 and p. 41; T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, pp. 59-61; Roman Wytyczak, *Śląsk w dawnej kartografii*, Wrocław 1998, pp. 21-24; Bogusław Czechowicz, *Visus Silesiae. Treści i funkcje ideowe kartografii śląskiej XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 10-11.

<sup>17</sup> Joachim Cureus, *Gentis Silesiae Annales*, Witebergae 1571, p. 260. Cf T. Bogacz, *Wiedza*, p. 68.

<sup>18</sup> Marta Kasprowska-Jarczyk, *Wokół 'Gentis Silesiae Annales' Joachima Cureusa. Z dziejów szesnastowiecznej historiografii śląskiej*, Katowice 2011, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> Petr Kozák, *'Dem Vaterland ist man Dankbarkeit schuldig!'* Joachim Cureus (1532–1573) und der 'Sinn' der schlesischen Geschichte, [in:] *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, eds Lenka Bobková, Jan Zdichynec, Praha 2011, pp. 420-421, 430.

<sup>20</sup> Heinrich Raetel, *New Cronica des Hertzogthumbs Ober und Nieder Schlesien [...] durch D. Joachimum Cureum*, Eißleben 1601; J. Schickfus, *New Vermehrete Schlesische Chronica, passim*. For

Parallel to the works devoted to the whole region were created the works about its capital. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the aforementioned F. Faber wrote a history of Wrocław, richly documented in sources, describing the period from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century up to 1526. It was first written in Latin as *Origines Wratislaviensis*, and then in German which covered the period up to 1547<sup>21</sup>. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century about twelve works on the history of Wrocław were created. However – like the chronicles of Faber – they remained in the form of manuscripts. No sooner than in 1612 a work by Nicholas Pol was published in Leipzig, showing the main, according to the author, events of the history of Wrocław described against the background of the history of Silesia<sup>22</sup>. In 1562, that is only a year after the creation of Helwig's map of Silesia, the capital city was finally mapped in the famous *Contrafactur der Stadt Breslau* by Bartholomew Weihner, and by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century more scenic plans of Wrocław had been created<sup>23</sup>. This century was also abundant in the poems devoted to the capital of Silesia. During the Renaissance other Silesian cities were also described in poems and chronicles as well as presented at the plans, but none of them could boast such diverse and widely known perspectives as Wrocław.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century what followed the Reformation and a connected process of creating a new type of schools – gymnasiums was a characteristic feedback in the process of building and deepening the regional identity. High quality evangelical education was intended mainly for the youths from Silesia and for Silesia. In the humanistic parish schools and gymnasiums, education was not restricted only for the sons of nobles and patricians, but also – thanks to numerous donations and foundations – was accessible for talented boys from poor families. The development of modern Protestant schooling stimulated, after a period of stagnation, the restructuring and reform of Catholic education.

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more information see L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose*, pp. 26-29; P. Kozák, 'Dem Vaterland', pp. 417-419.

<sup>21</sup> L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolaus Pol, *Hemerologion Silesiacum Wratislaviense. Tagebuch Allerley fürnemer, namhafftiger, gedenckwürdiger Historien, so fürnemlich in Breßlaw der Hauptstadt, auch sonst etlichen andern Orten im Fürstenthumb Schlesien, sich begeben [...]*, Leipzig 1612. Cf. Rościśław Żerelik, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Nieznany rocznik świdnicki z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku*, ed. Rościśław Żerelik, Wrocław–Warszawa 1990, p. 12; Susanne Rau, *Stadthistoriographie und Erinnerungskultur in Hamburg, Köln und Breslau*, [in:] *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds Franz Brendle, Dieter Mertens, Anton Schindling, Stuttgart 2001 (=Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 56), p. 235; L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose*, pp. 25, 28; D. Haberland, *Die 'Silesiographia'*, p. 52.

<sup>23</sup> Krystyna Szykuła, Halina Okólska, Waclaw Sobociński, Roman Wytyczak, *Wrocław na planach XVI-XX wieku*, Wrocław 1999, pp. 11-13; B. Czechowicz, *Visus*, pp. 49-56, 58-63.



The foundation and one of the primary purposes of the schools teaching in the spirit of the humanities, both Protestant and Catholic ones, was to educate future noble citizens and the devoted faithful of the church. The recommendations of this type, formulated among others by Philip Melancton, were very quickly and widely transmitted to Silesia, which was reflected in the speeches presented by the school rectors on various occasions and published in accompanying occasional prints. High level of education, therefore, stimulated positively the formation of civic attitudes. Not only did it contribute to the growth of self-consciousness, but also bound educated Silesians with their own cities and duchies. In fact, by funding scholarships for education in local schools and then for studying at universities, the cities and duchies required from the graduates to return and work for the community or the duchy. After graduating from gymnasiums, therefore, a large part of local youth was leaving to study abroad, and after graduation they returned home. Only a small percentage of them remained abroad, making careers mainly in German-speaking countries. Through education, gaining knowledge and expanding horizons, regional consciousness among the intellectual elite definitely strengthened. What served building ties with the region was staging of school performances on historical matters, aimed at building the civic humanism, but also the use of works and artworks in teaching that presented and described Silesia. Educational aims were the goal of M. Helwig, a teacher in the gymnasium of St. Mary Magdalen in Wrocław, when he created a map of Silesia. Also J. Cureus, a graduate of the gymnasium in Złotoryja headed by Valentin Trozendorf (actually Valentin Friedland) and a student of Philip Melancton during studies in Wittenberg, who initially wanted to be a teacher himself, highlighted that the readers of his work should always keep in mind the matters of their homeland, just as he had. The author had no doubt that for him and his readers the described *patria* was Silesia, even though he pointed to its political relationship with Bohemia and the House of Habsburg. Therefore, educational activities of Silesian schools were undoubtedly one of the key factors in building Silesian civic humanism and the love for the native land known as *Amor Patriae* as well as developing a sense of community with other inhabitants of the country, and at the same time building curiosity and a desire to know its natural values, location, borders and history<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Józef Budzyński, *Paideia humanistyczna, czyli wychowanie do kultury. Studium z dziejów klasycznej edukacji w gimnazjach XVI-XVIII wieku (na przykładzie Śląska)*, Częstochowa 2003, pp. 275-288, 307-314; Christine Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation. Ständische Bildungsreformen im Geiste Philipp Melanctons*, Stuttgart 2011 (=Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 74), pp. 129-140, 247-256; P. Kozák, 'Dem Vaterland', pp. 419; M. Kasprowska-Jarczyk, *Wokół 'Gentis Silesiae Annales'*, pp. 118-119.

What can be observed since the Thirty Years' War is gradual evolution in literary, historiographical, geographical and cartographic activity. Various works concerning the entire region were still created. A general map of Silesia drawn by Jonah Scultetus from Szprotawa, can serve as one of many examples<sup>25</sup>. Among the studies referring to the Renaissance geographical and historical approaches, yet already in the spirit typical of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century historical antiquarianism characterized by recounting large amounts of highly detailed information, an important role was played by *Schlesiens curiose Denkwürdigkeiten* by Frederick Lucae (Friedrich Lichtstern)<sup>26</sup>. Although dedicated to the whole region, in its historic part it was already divided into separate chapters, in which the author described the history of Upper Silesian and Lower Silesian duchies. It seems that this reflects the perception of progressive differentiation of the region, which in the works of the writers creating before mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (even in Henel's *Silesiographia*) was more often perceived as a whole. Synthetic character in the approach to the history of Silesia was that of *Discursus politicus seu famularis prodromus novorum chronicorum ducatus Silesiae* by Ephraim Ignatius Naso<sup>27</sup>. This group can also include the works of Martin Hanke on the earliest periods in the history of the region published at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the search of the origins of the name 'Silesia' and the ethnogenesis of its earliest inhabitants in the light of all sources and literature known at that time<sup>28</sup>.

Belles-lettres, especially poetry, played a role in cultural and regional integration of Silesia from the Thirty Years' War to the end of the period under discussion. After the era of humanism, when Latin poems praising the beauty and advantages of Silesia were composed, the era of the Baroque and the prosperity of an excellent Silesian school of German poetry saw the creation of works praising the heroes associated with Silesia in the past. Presenting to the readers clear examples of how perfect the life of their Silesian ancestors and the founding fathers of the regional community was, those works contributed to the development of emotional and cultural affiliation of the Silesians with the region. The most representative example is the often used thread of Piast as the founder of the oldest dynasty ruling until 1675

<sup>25</sup> J. Janczak, *Zarys*, pp. 57-59; R. Wytyczak, *Śląsk*, p. 28; B. Czechowicz, *Visus*, pp. 79-82.

<sup>26</sup> F. Lucae, *Schlesiens, passim*.

<sup>27</sup> Ephraim Ignatius Naso, *Discursus politicus seu famularis prodromus novorum chronicorum ducatus Silesiae*, Wratislaviae 1665.

<sup>28</sup> Martin Hanke, *De Silesiorum nominibus antiquitates*, Lipsiae 1702; *idem*, *De Silesiorum majoribus antiquitates. Ab orbe condito ad annum Christi 550. Additi sunt tres indices*, Lipsiae 1702; *idem*, *De Silesiorum rebus ab anno Christi 550 ad 1170 exercitationes*, Lipsiae 1705. Cf L. L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose*, p. 38.

in the Duchy of Legnica–Brzeg–Wołów<sup>29</sup>. Common were also references to the legends and traditions connected with even earlier times: a good example would be the epic *Silesia ante Piastum* which was written by Frederick Wilhelm von Sommersberg, a researcher of the past of his native land and one of the first publishers of Silesian sources<sup>30</sup>. Reaching for the mythical and ancient topics and interweaving them with biblical and historical themes was indeed characteristic of Baroque literature, including also the literature created in Silesia.

At the same time, what can be observed is intensification of the phenomena associated with building the sense of locality, through the creation of works concerning different duchies and cities in Silesia. The creation of the scenic plan of Wrocław was successively followed at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by the scenic plans of Nysa, Świebodzin, Świdnica and Opava<sup>31</sup>. Next to the map of the entire Silesia, the aforementioned J. Scultetus drew the maps of the duchies of Głogów, Wołów, Wrocław, Legnica, Grodków, the County of Kłodzko and the general map of Lower Silesia. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Frederick Kühn (Kühnovius) developed the maps of the duchies of Świdnica, Jawor and Legnica and the landed estates of Chojnik and Gryf belonging to the House of Schaffgotsch, and John Christian Berger drew the map of the barony of Żmigród. The maps drawn and published in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century include the map of the Duchy of Oleśnica by Leonard David Hermann and Daniel Sinapius, the map of the Cieszyn Silesia by Jonah Nigrinus, and the map of the Duchy of Pszczyzna by Andrew Hindenberg<sup>32</sup>. What was created alongside them were the works on the history of Legnica written in the form of an annals by George Thebesius<sup>33</sup>, on the Duchy of Świdnica–Jawor by the aforementioned E. I. Naso<sup>34</sup>, or on Oleśnica and the Duchy of Oleśnica prepared by John Sinapius<sup>35</sup>. It is, however, worth emphasising that the starting point for most writers dealing with the history of various duchies and cities was almost always the history of Silesia as a whole. What is more, the titles of the majority of

<sup>29</sup> Ewa Pietrzak, *Andreas Gryphius a Piastowie śląscy*, [in:] *Dawna kultura literacka na Śląsku. Zbiór studiów*, eds Marianna Borysiak, Adama Galos, Wrocław 1994, pp. 53-58.

<sup>30</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Sommersberg, *Silesia ante Piastum. Carmen epicum, elaboratum antea, jam recognitum et auctum*, Vratislaviae 1720.

<sup>31</sup> Ryszard Len, *Twórcy najstarszego planu Świdnicy*, 'Rocznik Świdnicki', (1992), pp. 44-53; B. Czechowicz, *Visus*, pp. 64-75, 103-104.

<sup>32</sup> J. Janczak, *Zarys*, pp. 59-70; R. Wytyczak, *Śląsk*, pp. 28-30; Beata Medyńska-Gulij, *Mapy księstw śląskich świdnickiego, jaworskiego i legnickiego z II połowy XVII wieku Fryderyka Kähnoviusa*, Wrocław 2002; B. Czechowicz, *Visus*, pp. 82-95, 109-122.

<sup>33</sup> Georg Thebesius, *Liegnitzische Jahr-Bücher*, ed. Gottfried Balthasar Scharffen, vol. 1-3, Jauer 1733.

<sup>34</sup> Ephraim Ignatius Naso, *Phoenix redivivus ducatum Svidnicensis et Javoriensis*, Breslau 1667.

<sup>35</sup> Johann Sinapius, *Olsnographia oder Eigentliche Beschreibung des Oelfñischen Fürstenthums in Nieder-Schlesien*, vol. 1-2, Leipzig–Frankfurt 1706-1707.

published maps included a record about them being representations of the Silesian duchy. Therefore, the awareness of the wider context and the perception of the duchies and cities as a part of Silesia as the whole survived throughout the whole period of the Habsburgs' rule.

Among the outstanding artists coming from Silesia throughout the whole period under discussion there were, however, those who excluded their homeland from their own interests. An example might be Caspar Velius Ursinus, regarded as one of the greatest poets of the Silesian humanism and also a historiographer, coming from Świdnica. Honoured by the Emperor as a *poeta laureatus*, in his works he praised mainly the Habsburgs and the military victories of the European rulers.

What is also worth mentioning briefly is scientific activity undertaken in Silesia, which – like the aforementioned literary, historical and cartographic works – most often concerned local issues. Examples include research in the field of natural science, geology and geography undertaken by Caspar Schwenkfeld at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The pride in the achievements of local researchers and authors seem to be expressed in the registers of Silesian scholars developed successively by M. Henel as *Silesia togata*, the register by John Henry Cunrad under the same title and their extension in manuscripts by M. Hanke<sup>36</sup>. Certainly, though, scientific interests of local authors went beyond the matters of Silesia. For this reason it might not be stated unequivocally that in cultural terms they were a solely integrating factor for the region.

In the 16<sup>th</sup>-century works dealing with Silesian issues, created by local authors, their country of origin is depicted as a beloved homeland. It is not worse than other countries located to the south, west and east. In the view of humanistic poets and historians it also had its ancient roots and the praiseworthy past. The main reason for reaching for the pen indicated by J. Cureus was his love for his homeland understood as 'our Silesia' or 'our homeland', and the need to show respect similar to the one held for a mother and a father<sup>37</sup>. Already at the beginning of *Silesiographia* M. Henel called Silesia 'the best, sweetest homeland'<sup>38</sup>. The description explaining the creation of M. Helwig's map also contained the term 'our beloved homeland – Silesia'<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Johann Heinrich Cunrad, *Silesia togata*, ed. Caspar Teophil Schindlerus, Liegnitz 1706. See L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose*, pp. 31, 36, 38-39.

<sup>37</sup> J. Cureus, *Gentis*, p. 1 ('*Patriam amore est virtus*'), p. 5 ('*patria nostra*'), p. 260 ('*nostra Silesia*'); Ch. Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen*, pp. 247-250; P. Kozák, '*Dem Vaterland*', p. 430; M. Kasprowska-Jarczyk, *Wokół 'Gentis Silesiae Annales'*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>38</sup> N. Henel, *Silesiographia*, p. 1: '*Silesiam optimam dulcissimamque patriam...*'.

<sup>39</sup> Reading from the first edition of the map after B. Czechowicz, *Visus*, p. 20 ('*vnser liebes Vaterlandt Schlesie[n]*').

Perceptions of Silesia as a kind of a whole and building emotional bonds with the region was formed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century through poetry, historiographical works, geographical descriptions and first maps. Instilled and passed in the local gymnasia to the young boys from all walks of life – from the nobility and the wealthy burghers to the children from poor families who were gaining education owing to the system of foundations and grants, it survived the whole period of the Habsburgs' rule. Under the influence of the monarchs, who since the late 1620s and 1630s aimed their policy at weakening the role and meaning of all-Silesian institutions, as well as in connection with the end of the line of the Silesian Piasts and the passage of Silesian duchies into the possession of non-Silesian dynasties, the sense of locality was getting stronger. Even then, however, historical and cartographic works in most cases presented wider regional context. The sense of Silesian identity and of some historical continuity in the region since at least the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and in connection with the search for the ancient origins of its residents even since biblical times, was a conducive factor for building a cohesive identity, which held together other identities functioning next to it and growing stronger since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

