

## **The integrating and disintegrating role of Silesian art between 1526 and 1740**

### **Abstract:**

The issue of Silesian art is a methodological matter, one which the scholars are studying for nearly a century. Results of research reinforce the belief that Silesian art – especially at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as in the Baroque – formed distinct qualities determining its unconventional worth, allowing it to be included with the artistic achievements of the continent. An attempt to answer which factors shaped the identity of the early modern Silesian art leads to two groups of factors, specifically cohesive and disruptive. Among the cohesive factors are historical events, the Catholic-Lutheran conflict, which, in Silesia lasted all through the Early Modern Period. Also of importance was the tradition of the Middle Ages and the availability of materials used by local artists (e.g. glass, sandstone). Among these works of particular importance are the workshops creating for the Cistercian monasteries (in Lubiąż, Krzeszów, Henryków, and Trzebnica). This resulted in the creation of a distinct mystic trend. It was associated with the development of Silesian iconographical tradition, e.g. in the local portrayal of saints and religious imagery. Among the factors disruptive to the artistic identity of Silesia is being a part of common artistic tradition (the western civilisation) and ideological (Christianity). This led to universal content of both lay and religious artworks. Silesia's location at the hub of many transportation routes as well as on the border between two large states made it an area, which “absorbed” external influence. Silesian art became a universal „product” due to its dependence on external sources, rules imposed by a specific monastic order as well as rules of the authorities.

### **Keywords:**

Silesia, Renaissance, Baroque, art, art and craft

## **Introduction**

The originality and identity of Silesian art are methodological issues to which particular attention was devoted in the 1930s and the 1940s. This research was influenced by the truly racist premises of the developing tribal research method (*Stammesforschung*), particularly opinions concerning the predispositions of certain ethnic groups to have creative abilities. Such studies – here we can refer to the highly controversial scientific achievements in this field presented, for example, by

Dagobert Frey<sup>1</sup>, August Griesebach<sup>2</sup>, Gustav Barthel<sup>3</sup>, Hermann Aubin<sup>4</sup>, Wilhelm Pinder<sup>5</sup>, Günther Oliass<sup>6</sup>, Edmund Glaeser<sup>7</sup> or Hans Wegener<sup>8</sup> – led to the conclusion that Silesian art has an individual and native character. The first quality supposedly makes itself particularly clear – according to such researchers – in two periods of its development: at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and in the Early Baroque period, that is mainly around the year 1700. The nationalistic idea of naming only the German colonizers of the region as being responsible for creating the culture and the so-called ‘Silesian style’ is the basic paradigm of this method of research. This view was concluded by expressing the belief that by the period of the Counter-Reformation, and especially in the High Baroque period, art in Silesia lost its individual character. What determined, according to German researchers, its identity or specificity was the deterministically-understood unity of the form with the ‘spirit’ of the nation or the tribe. That is: the problem of identity or the so-called strangeness, or relations and artistic relationships, are research topics that, in the case of Silesian art, seem to be rather historically ‘charged’.

After 1945, and following the period of understandable reaction to this type of research paradigm, as exemplified by some of the publications of Marian Morelowski<sup>9</sup>, the 1960s was the time for mature, objectified and ground-breaking presentation and evaluation of the identity of Silesian art<sup>10</sup>. The results of research con-

<sup>1</sup> Dagobert Frey *Schlesiens künstlerisches Antlitz*, [in:] *Die Hohe Straße. Schlesische Jahrbücher für deutsche Art und Kunst im Ostraum*, vol. 1, ed. Gustav Barthel, Breslau 1938, pp. 12-45; *idem*, *Schlesische Barock*, [in:] *Deutscher Osten und Slawischer Westen*, Tübingen 1955 (=Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, vol. 4), pp. 43-46.

<sup>2</sup> August Grisebach, *Zur Baugeschichte*, [in:] *Die Kunst in Schlesien*, eds *idem*, Günther Grundmann, Franz Landsberger, Manfred Laubert, Karl Masner, Hans Seger, Erich Wiese, Berlin 1927, pp. 55-56; *idem*, *Die Kunst der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, Wien 1946, pp. 309-329.

<sup>3</sup> Gustav Barthel, *Die schlesische bildende Kunst als Gestalt und Form der Kulturgröße des schlesischem Raumes*, [in:] *Schlesien in der Zeitwende. Ein Weckruf*, ed. *idem*, Breslau 1941, pp. 53-69.

<sup>4</sup> Hermann Aubin, *Schlesien als Ausfallstor deutscher Kultur nach dem Osten im Mittelalter*, Breslau–Deutsch Lissa 1937 (=Schlesienbändchen, vol. 7), pp. 5-8.

<sup>5</sup> Wilhelm Pinder, *Deutsche Barockplastik*, Königstein–Leipzig 1940, pp. 11-13.

<sup>6</sup> Günther Oliass, *Das Nachleben der Gotik in der schlesischen Barockskulptur*, ‘Schlesische Monatshefte’, 13 (1936), pp. 302-306.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Glaeser, *Bollwerk im deutschen Osten. Breslau. Bilder aus der Geschichte der Landeshauptstadt Schlesiens*, Breslau 1938, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Hans Wegener, *Der schlesische Stil*, ‘Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau’, 4 (1959), pp. 78-93.

<sup>9</sup> For more on this subject compare Piotr Oszczanowski, ‘Gdańszczanin we Wrocławiu’. Czy można mówić o ekspozycje sztuki gdańskiej we Wrocławiu na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku?, ‘Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego’, 6 (1997/1999), pp. 89-126; Andrzej Kozieł, *Marian Morelowski (1884-1963)*, ‘Rocznik Historii Sztuki’, 36 (2011), pp. 47-56.

<sup>10</sup> The decisive factor for this specific breakthrough was the publishing of *Sztuka Wrocławia*, eds Tadeusz Broniewski, Mieczysław Zlat, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967 and a series of monographs (devoted to individual cities, edited since 1959 by Tadeusz Broniewski and Mieczysław

ducted by Mieczysław Zlat, Janusz St. Kębłowski, Henryk Dziurla, Jan Wrabec and finally Konstanty Kalinowski established a scientific discussion standard that became the benchmark for all subsequent generations of Polish art historians<sup>11</sup>.

Today, while trying to address the question concerning the main determinants of modern Silesian art, we can generally divide the results into two groups: factors that strengthened and bonded the artistic identity of the region (region-forming elements) and hindering and disintegrating factors, which were counter-region-forming and region-destructive.

Enumerating the abovementioned factors will form a kind of a catalogue of research issues. A detailed discussion of these issues, as well as a precise explanation of evidence or examples, goes significantly beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, in most cases, it is not possible to avoid providing descriptions of a succinct, encyclopaedia-style character. We shall regard this, however, as the price that must be paid for the desired clarity of argument.

### **Strengthening and bonding factors behind the artistic identity of Silesia as region-forming elements**

It seems that the main factor behind the reinforcement and cohesion of the artistic identity of Silesia was the historical events that took place there in the early modern period. Perceiving such events in terms of artistic and ideological determinants, we can observe that Silesian art produced unique works like, for example, the Churches of Peace (illus. 1), seven Churches of Grace (illus. 2), as well as border and fugitive churches.<sup>12</sup> The political situation which arose after the Peace of Westphalia meant that the Habsburg supreme authority, naturally restrictive towards the followers of Lutheranism, significantly reduced their freedom to practice their religion (for instance, by reducing the number of the churches previously held by the Protestants). This concerned an area that was outside the rule of

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Zlat and entitled *Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki*, vol. 1-29, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1959-1993.

<sup>11</sup> The issue of originality of Silesian art during the Baroque period was particularly interesting for Konstanty Kalinowski, *Zwischen habsburgischem und preußischem Absolutismus Der Stillwandel in der schlesischen Kunst um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Stil und Gesellschaft. Ein Problemaufriß*, ed. Friedrich Möbius, Dresden 1984, pp. 226-242; *idem*, *Kunstzentrum und Provinz. Wien und die schlesische Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte: Wien, 4-10. September 1983*, vol. 7: *Wien und der europäische Barock*, eds Hermann Fillitz, Martina Pippal, Wien-Graz 1986, pp. 103-110; *idem*, *Centrum i peryferie – Wiedeń a sztuka Śląska XVIII wieku*, 'Rocznik Historii Sztuki', 16 (1987), pp. 295-299.

<sup>12</sup> After 1741 they became in turn *Bethäuser* (houses of prayer). This specific type of a church building was, however, rather the result of the particular economic situation of the followers of Lutheranism than—in contrast to the buildings described above—an indication of any restrictions.

the religiously-indifferent Silesian dukes and the city of Wrocław. Such lack of freedom of worship was thus the reason why after 1648 (and to a lesser extent also after 1707, that is after the Treaty of Altranstädt) Silesian Lutherans had no option but to ‘compensate’ for having a small number of religious sites by erecting highly original church buildings with the use of second-rate building materials, at locations (outside the city walls) and of architectural shapes (no bell towers) which depreciated the importance of these temples.



Illustration 1. Świdnica (Schweidnitz), Lutheran Holy Trinity Church of Peace.



Illustration 2. Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg), Holy Cross Parish Church (former Lutheran Church of Grace).

The modern art of Silesia was created over an area which was quite diverse geographically, yet tightly integrated and thus distinguished by historical continuity. It was also created within the frames of a socio-economic system which did not undergo radical changes. What became a characteristic feature of this region, especially in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, was the fact that the majority of the Silesian population supported the teachings of Martin Luther. This gave rise to a bottom-up and almost limitless development of Protestant art in the initial 150 years of the existence of Protestantism, despite the ‘sanctions’ resulting from belonging to the Catholic Habsburg Empire<sup>13</sup>. The attitude of the Silesian Lutherans from the early modern period was characterized by an acknowledgement of the region’s artistic past, especially in reference to the legacy of the Middle Ages. They frequently adapted medieval churches taken over from their predecessors, and if they decided to build new churches, both their form and construction methods were not significantly different from those of the past. Their actions lacked an iconoclastic character, and they followed an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary way of transforming the decor of the temples which they had taken over and converted into places of worship for the new confession. Sometimes they changed the location of baptismal fonts, moving them closer to the altar, and they attached particular importance to the pulpit – a place to proclaim the Word of God, assigning the sepulchral art not only commemorative but also educational functions. Religious art created for this confession by no means lost its significance; at most, the

<sup>13</sup> A completely new light on this aspect was shed primarily by the studies of Jan Harasimowicz; See e.g. Jan Harasimowicz, *Typy i programy śląskich ołtarzy wieku Reformacji*, ‘Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej’, 12 (1979), pp. 7-27; *idem*, *Protestanckie budownictwo kościelne wieku reformacji na Śląsku*, ‘Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki’, 28 (1983), No. 4, pp. 341-371; *idem*, *Śląski luteranizm wieku reformacji – próba charakterystyki*, ‘Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka’, 39 (1984), No. 4, pp. 493-516; *idem*, *Reformacja luterska na Śląsku. Ideologia – liturgia – sztuka*, ‘Rocznik Lubuski’, 14 (1986), pp. 9-38; *idem*, *Treści i funkcje ideowe sztuki śląskiej reformacji 1520-1650*, Wrocław 1986 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 819, Historia Sztuki 2), *passim*; *idem*, *Rola sztuki w religijnych i społecznych konfliktach wieku Reformacji na Śląsku*, ‘Rocznik Historii Sztuki’, 18 (1990), pp. 31-95; *idem*, *Der Einfluss von Glaubenskonflikten auf die schlesische Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ‘Acta Poloniae Historica’, 61 (1990), pp. 117-139; *idem*, *Schlesische Epitaphien und Grabmäler der Reformationszeit – ihre Typen und architektonisch-plastische Struktur*, [in:] *Renaissance in Nord-Mitteleuropa*, vol. 1., ed. Georg Ulrich Grossmann, Berlin-München 1990 (=Schriften des Weserrenaissance-Museums Schloß Brake, vol. 4), pp. 189-224; *idem*, *Mors Janua Vitæ. Śląskie epitafia i nagrobki wieku reformacji*, Wrocław 1992 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 1098, Historia Sztuki 3), *passim*; *idem*, *Paläste der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit, Werkstätten des Heiligen Geistes Die Kirchen der evangelischen Schlesier in der habsburgischen Zeit*, [in:] *Geschichte des protestantischen Kirchenbaues Festschrift für Peter Poscharsky zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds Klaus Raschzok, Reiner Sörries, Erlangen 1994, pp. 128-144; *idem*, *Śląskie nagrobki i epitafia wieku reformacji jako ‘teksty kultury’*, ‘Biuletyn Historii Sztuki’, 46 (1994), pp. 241-259; *idem*, *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit*, Baden-Baden 1996 (=Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 359), *passim*.

proportions changed: fewer impressive wooden altars were created in favour of more pulpits and sepulchral monuments. Artists, still repeatedly of a craftsman status and as such subject to strict guild regulations, continued to take many orders from Silesian burghers, local city authorities or the dukes. Living and working primarily on the city premises, they were able to satisfy the growing – thanks to the increasing prevalence of educational trips and commerce – aesthetic needs of increasingly rich patricians. Due to the availability of special artistic materials or their respect for tradition, they created works of art and artisan products of an unquestionably local, Silesian character. This can be observed, for instance, in a specific type of Baroque cabinet from Wrocław, a rifle called a *cieszynka*, or, finally, the extraordinary development of the production of glassware (this is specific both for Silesia and Bohemia) and cold cast figurative goldsmithery<sup>14</sup>.

An important *novum* in the Early and High Baroque period was the emergence between 1670/1680–1710/1720 of an entirely new group of artists and artisans who co-created important centres of art on the map of Silesia. These were colonies of sculptors and painters working in the workshops of great Cistercian monasteries (in Lubiąż, Krzeszów, Henryków and Trzebnica). A consequence of their ‘isolation’ was the emergence of a very specific, mystical trend in Silesian art (its main representative was Michael Leopold Willmann) (illus. 3) or – limiting the area of analysis – the ‘Mannerist Baroque’ or, to use the phrase coined by Dagobert Frey, the ‘Silesian Baroque Mannerism’, that is ‘the expressive trend’ in Silesian sculpture. The leading representatives of this sophisticated and original style were Thomas Weissfeldt from Scandinavia (illus. 4) and the sculptors working in the workshops of the monasteries in Henryków and Żagań. A determining element for the identity of Silesian art, especially the Catholic art of that time, is the fact that it ‘stemmed’, like the poetry composed by Angelus Silesius, from the unique spiritual and religious atmosphere of Silesian monasteries and it finds its source in the earnest and folk-coloured religiousness of Silesian monastic congregations.

<sup>14</sup> Dorota Miłkowska, *Wrocławskie szafy mistrzowskie w XVIII w. Z dziejów stolarstwa śląskiego*, master’s thesis written under the supervision of Professor Jan Wrabec, Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1995 (typescript), *passim*; Małgorzata Korzeł-Kraśna, *Cech stolarski we Wrocławiu w XVIII wieku*, ‘Dolny Śląsk’, 10 (2002), pp. 196-215; Andrzej Koziół, *Barokowy splendor klasztorów i pałaców*, [in:] *Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej. Trzy okresy świetności w relacjach artystycznych Śląska i Czech / Slezsko – perla v České Koruně. Tři období rozkvětu uměleckých vztahů Slezska a Čech. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy (Akademia Rycerska, 6.5.2006–8.10.2006) i w Národní galerie v Praze (Valdštejnská jízdárna, 17.11.2006–8.4.2007)*, eds Andrzej Niedzielenko, Vit Vlnas, Praha 2006, pp. 306-308; Piotr Oszczanowski, *Złotnicy wrocławscy – elita nowożytnego miasta*, [in:] *Wrocławski Skarb z Bremy*, eds Maciej Łągiewski, Piotr Oszczanowski, Jan J. Trzynadłowski, Wrocław 2007, pp. 38-104.



Illustration 3. Michael L. Willmann, *Vision of St. Bernard*, painting from the Cistercian monastic church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lubiąż (Leubus), 1681–1682.



Illustration 4. Thomas Weissfeld, *St. Bartholomew*, sculpture from The Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław, 1704–1705.

In general, it can be said that the development of modern Silesian art followed the blossoming of local poetry and literature, serving as the proverbial ideological ‘background’ and a huge erudite reservoir for its innovative stylistic formation. The *Silesia literata* had a significant influence on the native character of art and its identity, which may be proved by the relationships between Martin Opitz and Bartholomaeus Strobel the Younger, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein and Matthias Rauchmiller, and finally between Angelus Silesius and the aforementioned Michael Leopold Willmann.

In the modern period, a particular phenomenon can be observed in Silesia: the arrival of a large group of foreign artists to the area was in no way followed by a number of outstanding works of art brought into the area. In general, we can observe a faint role of imports, i.e. specific works of art brought to Silesia from the leading artistic centres of Europe. Nevertheless, these works remain a marginal phenomenon, although their quality should not be underestimated – for example, the sculptures of Adriaen de Vries in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Żórawina (*Flagellation of Christ* from 1604) (illus. 5) and in Wrocław Cathedral (*The Martyrdom of Saint Vincent*, dated 1615), the interiors of the cathedral chapels in

Wrocław – the Chapel of St. Elizabeth and the Electoral Chapel (Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff – and the workshop of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Domenico Guidi).



Illustration 5. Adriaen de Vries, *Flagellation of Christ*, sculpture in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Żórawina (Rothsürben), 1604.

The aforementioned small number of innovative works brought to Silesia is also accompanied by a certain ‘aesthetic’ conservatism among local clients or arts patrons. This is especially visible in the attention given in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the works of already-anachronistic artists or schools, such as the Cranach workshop from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. In the name of describing religious indifference to art, it is worth emphasizing that Silesian Lutherans had for a long time endeavoured to possess the works of this artist (illus. 6 and 7). Perceiving him as a confessional creator, active at the beginning of the Reformation, and working

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<sup>15</sup> Piotr Oszczanowski, *Wrocław w państwie Habsburgów: vol: 5: Reformacja (idea – wierni – świątynia)*, [in:] *1000 lat Wrocławia. Przewodnik po wystawie*, eds Maciej Łagiewski, Halina Okólska, Piotr Oszczanowski, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Wrocław 2011, pp. 73-75.

closely with Martin Luther, they appreciate him especially for his participation in creating the foundations for the iconography of their confession.



Illustration 6. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Portrait of Dr. Martin Luther*, painting from St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław, 1564.

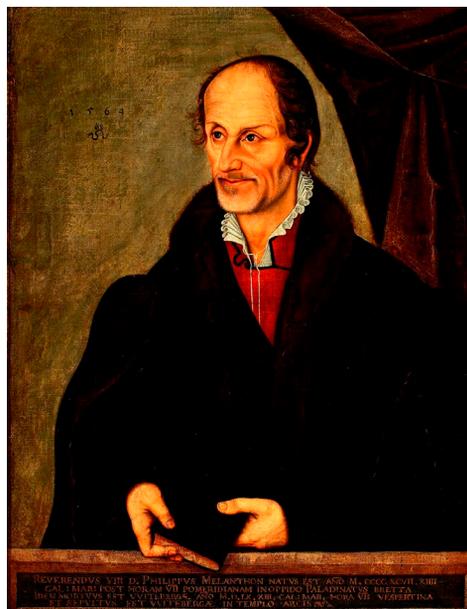


Illustration 7. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Portrait of Philip Melancthon*, painting from St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław, 1564.

It seems that only a few Silesians were willing to express an interest in the most attractive or most fashionable art of the time. Such high-grade art was understood only by the intellectual and political elites, as well as local artists. This applies, for example, to the fascination of some individuals (such as the imperial adviser Adam von Hanniwaldt or Johann Wacker von Wackenfels, associated with the court, or Jacob Walther, a painter residing for a short time in the capital of the empire) with the art of the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (illus. 8)<sup>16</sup>. It also concerns the abundance of Silesian art collections in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century because, by definition

<sup>16</sup> Also on this subject – *idem*, *Between the Avant-garde and the Tradition: A piece about artistic ties between Prague and Wrocław around year 1600*, [in:] *Rudolf II, Prague and the World. Papers from the International Conference Prague, 2–4 September, 1997*, eds Lubomir Konečný, Beket Bukovinská, Ivan Muchka, Prague 1998, pp. 134-144; *idem*, *W blasku rudolfińskiej Pragi*, [in:] *Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej*, pp. 155-169; *idem*, *Andreas von Hanniwaldt – szara eminencja dworu Rudolfa II / Andreas von Hanniwaldt – šedá eminence na dvoře Rudolfa II.*, [in:] *Slezsko – země Koruny české. Historie a kultura 1300–1740*, eds Helena Daňová, Jan Klipa, Lenka Stolárová, Praha 2008, pp. 559-570.

and due to the ambitions of their owners, these were exclusive private art collections distinguished by a high level of art. It should be noted, however, that the paintings and sculptures included in those collections – recognized as outstanding only by their owners, and in fact having little in common with the flagship examples of paintings created in Italy or the Netherlands – often turned out to be copies or even feeble counterfeits<sup>17</sup>.



Illustration 8. Workshop of Hans von Aachen, *Portrait of Emperor Rudolf II von Habsburg*, painting from Wrocław's Town Hall, 1601.

Generally speaking, it can be stated that, for the most part, the inhabitants of Silesia, especially the Lutherans, had for a long time resisted the arts, which they

<sup>17</sup> Recently on this subject: Michał Mencfel, *Rariora naturae et artis. Gabinety osobliwości uczonych śląskich pierwszej połowy XVIII w.*, 'Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka', 15 (2008), No. 1, pp. 89-109; *idem*, *Skarbce natury i sztuki. Prywatne gabinety osobliwości, kolekcje sztuki i naturalistów na Śląsku w wiekach XVII i XVIII*, Warszawa 2010, *passim*; *idem*, 'Hier wohnt an allen Ecken Kunst und Werth und Seltenheit'. *Graf Hans Anton Schaffgotsch (1675-1742) als Sammler*, [in:] *Das Haus Schaffgotsch. Konfession, Politik und Gedächtnis eines schlesischen Adelsgeschlechtes vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne*, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Ulrich Schmilewski, Thomas Wunsch, Würzburg 2010, pp. 291-306.

felt was associated with the patronage of the imperial court. We can observe many decades of disapproval demonstrated by the Lutheran burghers of Wrocław towards the innovative style of Rudolfiner artists or the activities of the Jesuits – their presence in the city, the construction of the University Church and the building of the University. Similarly, for many years the Lutheran City Council denied the Augustinian nuns, the Reformed Franciscans or the Hospitallers – i.e. such religious orders that benefitted from the support of the imperial power – the right to build new conventual churches within the city walls of Wrocław.

What clearly distinguishes the art of the region is the Silesian iconographic tradition (e.g. concerning some types of representations of local saints or cult images). In accordance with the principle of *pars pro toto*, two different ways in which this tradition functioned may thus be presented. They each have distinctive traits and they concern two very popular depictions of saints in Silesia of the modern era. The first one is the image of St. Hedwig (illus. 9); the second one is a valued and honoured depiction of the Passion of Christ – the *Mocking of Christ* (*Verspottung Christi*) of 1494 from the convent of Dominican Sisters in Wrocław (illus. 10).



Illustration 9. Raphael I Sadeler according to the pattern by Johann Matthias Kager, *Mystical vision of St. Hedwig of Silesia*, 1615.



Illustration 10. Anonymous Silesian painter, *Mocking of Christ* (*Verspottung Christi*), painting from the former convent of Dominican sisters in Wrocław (Breslau), 1494.

In the case of the first depiction it can be assumed that the decisive factor for the development of modern iconography of St. Hedwig was a new high altar in the chapel of St. Hedwig founded by a Cistercian nun, Małgorzata Benedykta Rajska (also known as Rayskin) in 1653, with the painting by Theodor Hammacher, preserved to this day<sup>18</sup>. This rather unusual image of the saint – presented as a portly, stocky and stout woman (and this is evidently untrue because she led a life of fasting and routinely denied herself all earthly pleasures!) – could boast quite a successful ‘career’<sup>19</sup>. It was, however, probably modelled on an earlier work of art. Such a work – due to the strength and scale of its impact – could prove to be a large, relief effigy of the saint contained in the new main altar of Wrocław Cathedral which was erected in 1590–1591, founded by Bishop Andreas Jerin and created by a Wrocław goldsmith, Paul Nitsch<sup>20</sup>, or even her earlier depictions created by Lutheran engravers from Wrocław, perhaps even by Caspar Scharffenberg himself (c. 1519–1576) or by his son, Johann (about 1550–1586)<sup>21</sup>.

In light of the abovementioned facts, it is significant that the exceptionally beautiful representations of St. Hedwig were created in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in the

<sup>18</sup> Romuald Kaczmarek, *Das Bild der heiligen Hedwig. Zeugnisse in der Kunst vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Das Bild der Heiligen Hedwig in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Eckhard Grunewald, Nikolaus Gussone, München 1996 (=Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, vol. 7), pp. 137-158.

<sup>19</sup> For example, a copper plate of a *folio* format issued by Paul Fürst (1605–1666) in Nuremberg (Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (= The State Archive in Wrocław), Akta Miasta Wrocławia (= fond: Acts of the City of Wrocław), No. E 2, part 4, p. 74r); the church bell of Co-cathedral of St. Hedwig of Silesia in Zielona Góra dated 1684 cast by Sigmund Götz of Wrocław; a plate with a relief effigy of St. Hedwig dated 1694, originally located in the floor of the chapel of St. John, now at the pillar in the northern nave in the Basilica in Trzebnica, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Jan Harasimowicz regards that ‘a manifestation of conscious restitution of the pictorial worship of patron saints [including Saint Hedwig] was the new main altar of the Wrocław Cathedral, erected in 1590-1591, founded by Bishop Andreas Jerin’; cf Jan Harasimowicz, *Funkcje katolickiego mecenatu artystycznego na Śląsku w dobie Reformacji i ‘Odnowy Trydenckiej’ Kościoła*, ‘Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka’, 41 (1986), No. 4, p. 570; *idem*, *Kult świętej Jadwigi Śląskiej w okresie reformacji i odnowy trydenckiej Kościoła*, [in:] *Księga Jadwiżańska. Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Naukowe ‘Święta Jadwiga w dziejach i kulturze Śląska’*, Wrocław-Trzebnica, 21-23 września 1993 r., eds Kazimierz Bobowski, Michał Kaczmarek, Antoni Kielbasa, Józef Swastek, Marek L. Wójcik, Wrocław 1995, pp. 403-404; *idem*, *Die heilige Hedwig von Schlesien aus evangelischer Sicht*, [in:] *Das Bild*, pp. 89-116.

<sup>21</sup> A woodcut with the image of St. Hedwig was included in *Ordo Horarum et Divinrum Officiorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wratislaviensis* issued for 1597 and 1600 by Georg Baumann as well as in: *Das Leben und die Geschichte der Heyligen Hedwigis geborner Fürstin von Meranien, Großherzogin in Polen und Schlesien*, Breslau 1631. It shall be noted, however, that a woodblock with that image, in all probability belonged to the typographic resources of the Scharffenberg family; Piotr Oszczanowski, Jan Gromadzki, *Theatrum vitae et mortis Grafika, rysunek i malarstwo książkowe na Śląsku w latach ok. 1550–ok. 1650*, katalog wystawy, Muzeum Historyczne we Wrocławiu, Wrocław 1995 (German version: Oszczanowski Piotr, Gromadzki Jan, *Theatrum vitae et mortis. Graphik, Zeichnung und Buchmalerei in Schlesien 1550-1650*. Ausstellungskatalog, Muzeum Historyczne we Wrocławiu, Wrocław 1995), pp. 25-26, cat. no. 45, illustration.

*Icones et miracula Sanctorum Poloniae* series by Jacopo Lauro in Rome (1606) and Peter Overadt in Cologne (1606) according to Antonio Tempesta<sup>22</sup>, or by Raphael I Sadeler (1560–1628) in Munich (1615) according to the drawing model by Johann Matthias Kager (1575–1634), were, for a long time, unable to find their ‘place’ in Silesia<sup>23</sup>. This *unio mistica* representation of St. Hedwig was of early medieval origin and was an illustration from *Legenda maior de beata Hedwigi* (*Żywot większy Świętej Jadwigi*). In this piece, Saint Hedwig is shown at prayer in front of the crucifix at the moment she experiences a mystical vision – the Crucified Christ came to life and, blessing Hedwig, turned to her and said the following words: ‘Your prayer is heard and you shall receive what you are asking for’.

The popularity - since the end of the 17th c. - this particular type of representation of Saint Hedwig in Silesia was probably decisively influenced by the fact that it was also used by Michael Leopold Willmann in his engraving project, probably drawn up by Johann Jacob von Sandrart, which was part of a series of representations of *The Saints and Blessed Cistercian Brothers and Sisters* (dated 1694-1696), which was commissioned by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Krzeszów, Bernhard Rosa<sup>24</sup>. This scene was also repeated on one of the paintings from the *Life and Miracles of St. Hedwig* series, which comprised 20 paintings created before 1672 in the workshop of Willmann, commissioned by the abbot of the monastery in Lubiąż, Arnold Freiberger, for the chapel of St. Hedwig at the conventual church of Cistercian nuns in Trzebnica<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Ryszard Jan Knapieński, Aleksandra Witkowska OSU, *Polskie Niebo. Ikonografia hagiograficzna u progu XVII wieku*, Pelplin 2007, pp. 116, 174-177, 226-229, illus. 44, 64, 78.

<sup>23</sup> *Wizja św. Jadwigi Śląskiej (Chrystus na krzyżu błogosławiący św. Jadwigę)* – the 55<sup>th</sup> drawing out of the 60 drawings included in the book of father Matthäus Rader, jesuit, (1561–1634) published in 1615 under the title *Bavaria Sancta*; see Matthäus Rader SJ, *Bavaria Sancta Maximiliani Sereniss[imi] Principis Imperii, Comitum Palatini Rheni, Utriusq[ue] Bav[ariae] Ducis Auspiciis coepta, descripta eidemq[ue] munucupata [...]*, Monacii 1565, p. 146 (Bb2). On this subject see Hollstein's *Dutch and Flemish Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II, text compiled by Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, ed. K.G. Boon, vol. 21, Amsterdam 1980, No. 293; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 71, part 2: *Netherlandish Artists – Raphael Sadeler I*, ed. Isabelle de Remaix, New York 2007, No. 270 e.g. in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-7981 – see <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/search/objecten?js=1&p=2&ps=12&pkref=Hollstein+Dutch+293#/RP-P-OB-7981,19> (access on the 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Andrzej Kozieł, *Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa i Michael Willmann, czyli sztuka i mistyka na Śląsku w czasach baroku*, Wrocław 2006 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2872, Historia Sztuki 23), pp. 351-354, 375-377, illus. 139, 159.

<sup>25</sup> This representation has also a graphic version. It is presented in the album containing 19 copper plate engravings framed together-ref. no.: *Willman invenit.* – with a handwritten title page: *Vita Sanctae Hedwigis 24 Kupferstiche von Johann Balzer – Prag und Johann Bartholomäus Strachowsky – Breslau um 1775*, in: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (=The Ossolineum in Wrocław), Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich, Gabinet Grafiki (=Museum of the Lubomirski Princes, Department of Prints), Inv. No. A.gr. 4/1 –24 (the album comes from the Cistercian monastery in Krzeszów).

In this way, the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century marked the beginning of the extraordinary career of this type of representation of St. Hedwig of Silesia. This is demonstrated by numerous repetitions of that iconographic pattern in local engravings (e.g. according to Jeremias Joseph Knechtel<sup>26</sup>, Philipp Anton Bartsch<sup>27</sup>, engravings by Florian Bartholomaeus Comaeus Strachowsky and Johann Benjamin Strachowsky<sup>28</sup>, and also anonymous works<sup>29</sup>) and in the depictions contained in Silesian fresco paintings<sup>30</sup> or the Baroque<sup>31</sup> and no less successful 19<sup>th</sup>-century oil paintings<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Engraving by Anton Birckhart in: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/III no. 423.

<sup>27</sup> The work of Johann Benjamin Strachowsky in: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu (=Wrocław University Library), Oddział Starych Druków (= Old Prints Department), Inv. No. 441285.

<sup>28</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu (=Wrocław University Library), Oddział Starych Druków (= Old Prints Department), Inv. No. 922239; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/III no. 479 and Inv. No. T 1086/III no. 480.

<sup>29</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/III no. 483–490 and Inv. No T 1086/III no. 422.

<sup>30</sup> For example, the polychrome paintings in the church of the Holy Name of Jesus (University Church) in Wrocław (a fresco dated 1703-1706, by Johann Michael Rottmayr) and in the chapel of the Holy Stairs in Sośnica (a fresco dated 1776, by Johann Heinrich Kynast and Johann Karl Kynast).

<sup>31</sup> For example, in the following churches: Church of St. Anna in Czarnowąs – a painting from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (side altar); Church of St. Giles and Bernardine of Siena in Głubczyce – a painting from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (side altar); Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gościkowo–Paradyż – a painting from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (side altar); Church of St. Roch in Dobrzeń Wielki – a painting from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (side altar); Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kamieniec Żąbkowicki – a missing painting dated 1708-1709 (by Johann Christoph Liška); Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Henryków – a painting from the side altar dated 1708-1712 (from the workshop of Johann Christoph Liška); Church of St. Hedwig of Silesia in Stara Kopernia – a painting from the side altar of 1720 (by Jeremias Josef Knechtel); Church of St. Florian in Stary Wiązów – a painting dated before 1721 (side altar); Church of St. Bartholomew in Uciechów – a painting from the period 1725-1727 (by Jeremias Josef Knechtel); Church of St. Wenceslas, St. Stanislaus and St. Dorothy – a painting dated about 1730 (side altar dedicated to St. Hedwig); Church of the Corpus Christi in Wrocław – a painting from about 1730 (by Johann Jacob Eybelwiesera); Church of St. Nicholas in Pełcznica (in Wrocław district) – a painting from around 1730 (side altar); Church of St. Hedwig in Świdnica Polska (Środa Śląska district) – a painting in the side altar from the 1740s (from the workshop of Jeremias Joseph Knechtel); Church of St. Hedwig of Silesia in Gryfów Śląski – a painting in the side altar from the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (by Jeremias Joseph Knechtel); Church of St. Hedwig in Złotoryja – a painting from the mid–eighteenth century (in the main altar); Church of St. Hedwig in Dobroszów – a painting from the main altar dated 1750 (by J. Michael Steiner); Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Sośnica – a painting from about 1779 (probably by Johann Heinrich Kynast); Church of St. John the Baptist in Powidzko – a painting from about 1791 (side altar). On this issue see e.g. Hermann Hoffmann, *Die Corpus Christi-Kirche in Breslau. Eine Führung*, Breslau 1936 (=Führer zu schlesischen Kirchen, vol. 25), p. 40 (until 1811 in the Capuchin Church of St. Hedwig at Karlstrasse, i.e. today's Kazimierza Wielkiego Street); *Jeremias Joseph Knechtel (1679-1750) – legnicki malarz doby baroku*, katalog wystawy, *Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, październik 2012–kwiecień 2013*, eds Andrzej Kozioł, Emilia Kłoda, Legnica 2012, pp. 128-129, 187-189, 200-201, 205-208, catalogue no. A10, A89, A104, A110 (catalogue notes by: Emilia Kłoda).

<sup>32</sup> For example, the paintings in the following churches: Church of the Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary in Okrzeszyn – a painting dated 1855 (the work of an anonymous artist); Church of St. Hedwig in

Interestingly, therefore, the representation of medieval origin and Silesian provenance was ‘codified’ or ‘made autonomous’ in works created outside its homeland (in Rome, Cologne and Munich), and then it returned to the place of its origin and gained immense popularity there.

This contrasted with the fate of a representation of the Passion of Christ revered in Silesia, which was originally located in the Dominican convent of St. Catherine, and then in the chapel of the Passion of Christ (*Geheimen Leidens*) in the Dominican Church of St. Wojciech in Wrocław. The original medieval painting of 1494 with the representation of the *Mocking of Christ* (*Verspottung Christi*), which no longer exists today, was highly regarded in the modern era.<sup>33</sup> This regard is proved by its presence in Baroque paintings,<sup>34</sup> engravings,<sup>35</sup> and, finally, goldsmith

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Ząbkowice Śląskie–Sadlno, dated 1862 (the main altar holds the work by Karl Müller); Church of St. Hedwig in Kłósów in Strzelin district (a copy of the engravings from 1878 by Karl Müller in the main altar); Church of St. Anna in Góra św. Anny (side altar of 1890 by Julius M. Heinisch); Church of the Holy Name of Jesus (the University Church) in Wrocław (a painting in the side altar by Karl Wohnlich, dated 1868). On this subject see in particular: Joanna Lubos-Kozieł, *Wiarą tchnące obrazy. Studia z dziejów malarstwa religijnego na Śląsku w XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2004 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2662, Historia Sztuki 18), pp. 119, 226, 416, illus. 24, 88, XXXI.

<sup>33</sup> For more highly competent information, see in particular: Dariusz Galewski, *Kościół dominikanów pod wezwaniem św. Wojciecha we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 2003 (=Zabytki Wrocławia, ed. Łukasz Krzywka), p. 20; *idem*, *Kościół i klasztor dominikanów pod wezwaniem św. Wojciecha we Wrocławiu*, [in:] *Tutelarissilesiae. Błogosławiony Czesław we Wrocławiu*, collective work, Wrocław 2007, pp. 8-53; *idem*, *Artystyczne przejawy kultu średniowiecznego obrazu Naigrawanie z Chrystusa z klasztoru wrocławskich dominikanek*, [in:] *Artifex doctus. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Gadomskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, vol. 2, eds Jerzy Gadomski, Wojciech Batus, Wojciech Walanus, Kraków 2007, pp. 245-250.

<sup>34</sup> For example, in the following churches: Church of the Ascension in Jaźwin (Łągiewniki commune); Church of St. Dorothy, St. Wenceslas and St. Stanislas in Wrocław; Church of St. Anna in Wrocław–Widawa; Church of St. Hedwig and Bartholomew in Trzebnica (a painting in the side altar) and in the chapel of St. Anna in Kowary and in the following museums: the Museum of Sacred Art in Bardo and the Museum of Wrocław Archdiocese (two oil paintings from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and a miniature from 1611). On this subject see for example: Hermann Hoffmann, *Die katholische Kirche in Schmiedeberg im Riesengebirge. Eine Führung*, Breslau 1936 (=Führer zu schlesischen Kirchen, vol. 27), p. 29; *idem*, *Die Kirche in Langseifersdorf und die Kirchen in Bertholdsdorf, Lauterbach und Stoschendorf. Eine Führung*, Breslau 1939 (=Führer zu schlesischen Kirchen, vol. 39), p. 14; P. Oszczanowski, J. Gromadzki, *Theatrum*, p. 106, catalogue no. 386, col. illus. 386.

<sup>35</sup> For example by Johann Christian Sander (an engraver working in Wrocław in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) in: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu (=The National Museum in Wrocław), Dział Grafiki i Rysunku Galerii Sztuki XVI–XIX wieku (=Department of Prints and Drawings of the Gallery of 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Art), Inv. No. VII–1199 (negative no. 111-12/46); Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/II no. 666, T 1086/II no. 668, T 1086/II no. 669 and 1086/III no. 75; of the members of the Wrocław Strachowski family in: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/II no. 663, T 1086/II no. 670, T 1086/II no. 671; in the collections in: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (=The Ossolineum in Wrocław), Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich, Gabinet Grafiki (=Museum of the Lubomirski Princes, Department of Prints) – more about the latter see Adam Więcek, *Ryciny Strachowskich w zbiorach wrocławskiego Ossolineum*, ‘Ze skarbcza kultury. Biuletyn informacyjny

works in the form of silver votive plates (*Votivtäfelschen*)<sup>36</sup>. Thus, these examples make it a classic example of regional popularity.

## Hindering and disintegrating factors behind the artistic identity of Silesia as a counter-region-forming element

The main factor that weakened the artistic identity of Silesia in the early modern era is the fact that it belonged both to the common artistic (broadly understood as the culture of Western civilization originating from the Mediterranean) and ideological (Christianity) tradition. This resulted in the universality of lay and religious works of art arising in this area. This is particularly evident in its iconography, common for the works of art created there, resulting from the fact that Silesia was a part of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire which were faithful to Christianity. This becomes particularly clear when studying art from the times of the longest-reigning Habsburg rulers in the modern period: Rudolf II (1576–1611)<sup>37</sup> and Leopold I (king from 1656, emperor from 1658 to 1705) (illus.11–15)<sup>38</sup>. It can be said that, chronologically, the reign of the Habsburg dynasty in this part of Europe perfectly coincides with the manifestation of modern-era art in this area – from its Early-Renaissance style (around 1526) to High Baroque (around 1741).

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Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich’, 7 (1957-1958), No. 1 (10), pp. 128-129, no. 50, 52; and finally anonymous works (eg Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (=University of Warsaw Library), Gabinet Rycin (Department of Prints), Inv. No. T 1086/II no. 667).

<sup>36</sup> For example by Tobias Meyer, a master of the guild in Wrocław since 1790, born in Vienna in 1764 (died in 1824) from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – see Erwin Hintze, *Breslauer Goldschmiede. Eine archivalische Studie*, Breslau 1906, p. 119.

<sup>37</sup> On the propaganda purposes of art in Silesia at the reign of Emperor Rudolf II see Piotr Oszczanowski, *Ikonografia cesarza Rudolfa II (1576-1612) w nowożytnej sztuce Śląska*, ‘Dzieła i Interpretacje’, 1 (1993), pp. 27-63.

<sup>38</sup> Decisive for this issue is the research of Konstanty Kalinowski, which is continued by next generations of researchers – compare, eg Konstanty Kalinowski, *Sala książęca opactwa cysterskiego w Lubiążu*, [in:] *Rokoko. Studia nad sztuką I. połowy XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 159-178; *idem*, *Gloryfikacja panującego i dynastii w sztuce Śląska XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa-Poznań 1973, pp. 107-169; *idem*, *Die Glorifizierung des Herrschers und Herrscherhauses in der Kunst Schlesiens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ‘Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte’, 28 (1975), pp. 106-122; Piotr Oszczanowski, *Śląskie castra doloris cesarza Leopolda I. Przyczynek do ikonografii władcy i gloryfikacji panującego*, [in:] *O sztuce sepulkralnej na Śląsku*, ed. Bogusław Czechowicz, Arkadiusz Dobrzyński, Wrocław 1997, pp. 105-146; *idem*, *Ikonografia cesarza Leopolda I (1658-1705) w nowożytnej sztuce śląskiej. Addenda*, ‘Cieszyńskie Studia Muzealne / Těšínský muzejní sborník’, 3 (2007), pp. 57-151; Małgorzata Wyrzykowska, *Śląsk w orbicie Wiednia. Artystyczne związki Śląska z Arcyksięstwem Austriackim w latach 1648-1741*, Wrocław 2010, *passim*.



Illustration 11. Anonymous Silesian artisan, *Coat of Arms of the Archduchy of Austria*, a piece of an embroidered antepedium, the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



Illustration 12. Wilhelm Helleweg, *Beautiful Well funded by Mayor Caspar Naas*, finial fragment, 1685, Nysa (Neisse).



Illustration 13. Probably Esajas Flaschner, *Coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bohemia*, stalls decorated with intarsia in the chapel of Nicolaus Gätke in St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław.



Illustration 14. Anonymous Silesian painter, *Apotheosis of the Emperor Leopold I von Habsburg*, painting from the historical Cistercian monastery in Krzeszów (Grüssau), about 1700.



Illustration 15. Johann Georg Thomschansky, *Apotheosis of the Emperor Leopold I von Habsburg*, painting from Wrocław's (Breslau's) Town Hall Council Chamber, after the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1705.

One consequence of Silesia's geographical location, situated at the crossroads of many routes and on the border of two large state organisms, was the fact that it became an area that naturally 'absorbed' inspirations from different artistic circles<sup>39</sup>, hence, the proverbial 'openness' of Silesian clients and arts patrons to the presence of foreign artists in the area. This attitude was even more understandable

<sup>39</sup> This is confirmed by numerous publications, especially those which have been published over the last several years see *Op Niderlandse manier. Inspiracje niderlandzkie w sztuce śląskiej XV-XVIII wieku. Katalog wystawy*, ed. Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Kozieł, Piotr Oszczanowski, Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, maj–lipiec 2001, Legnica 2001; *Niderlandyzm na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych*, ed. Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Kozieł, Piotr Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2003 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 2508, Historia Sztuki 17); *Po obu stronach Bałtyku. Wzajemne relacje między Skandynawią a Europą Środkową / On the Opposite Sides of the Baltic Sea. Relations between Scandinavian and Central European Countries*, vol. 1-2, eds Jan Harasimowicz, Piotr Oszczanowski, Marcin Wisłocki, Wrocław 2006; *Śląsk i Czechy. Wspólne drogi sztuki. Materiały konferencji naukowej dedykowane Profesorowi Janowi Wrabecowi*, eds Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Kozieł, Piotr Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2953, Historia Sztuki 24); *Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej, passim; Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej. Trzy okresy świetności w relacjach artystycznych Śląska i Czech. Historia – Kultura – Sztuka*, tom esejowy towarzyszący katalogowi wystawy w Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy [Akademia Rycerska, 6.05.–8.10.2006] i w Narodni galerii v Praze [Valdštejnská jizdárna, 16.11.2006–8.04.2007], eds Mateusz Kapustka, Jan Klípa, Andrzej Kozieł, Piotr Oszczanowski, Vít Vlnas, Praha 2007; *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na Rusi Koronnej w czasach nowożytnych*, eds Andrzej Betlej, Katarzyna Brzezina-Scheuerer, Piotr Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2011 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 3291, Historia Sztuki 31).

owing to the fact that the latter, facing huge competition in the leading art centres from which they were recruited, were doomed to exile and a search for new markets for their skills. Having arrived in Silesia, they shaped the character or even significantly influenced the progression of Silesian art. In the modern period, that is from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these comprised, at first, artists from the Swiss-Italian borderland, then Saxon artists transferring Italian patterns to Silesia, then the Dutch (reaching Silesia mostly *via* Gdańsk) and finally, during the Early Baroque period, Italians once again (especially plasterers). At the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the level of Silesian art was still determined by the accomplishments of foreign artists who had come to Silesia to perform specific contracts. Also, the standard of works was often influenced by political and religious ideas imposed by Silesian art patrons. This is especially true of the experiences of Italian, Bavarian, Czech and Viennese artists (e.g. Carlo Carlone, Cosmas Damian Asam, Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer, Felix Anton Scheffler, Petr Brandl, Johann Christoph Liška, Johann Christoph Handke, Wenzel Lorenz Reiner, Florian Bartholomaeus Comaeus Strachowsky and Johann Benjamin Strachowsky, Johann Georg Urbansky, Karl Joseph Hiernle, Anton Dorasil, and Lucas von Hildebrandt). This does not mean, however, that those ‘confession’ artists came to Silesia only to meet the expectations of Catholic patrons and perform their orders. Frequently, they successfully created works commissioned by Lutheran patricians or the Calvinist Piast dynasty. It is significant, however, that after 1740 the presence of foreign artists in Silesia, previously unlimited and resulting largely from the openness of its borders, becomes somewhat limited, and in some cases even eliminated. What followed was a compliance with the style and patterns originating from the area of the Hohenzollern country (Berlin, Potsdam, Leipzig or Królewiec). At that time what can be observed are changes in the style of Silesian art which occurred in the Austrian-Prussian period, i.e. 1740/1750.<sup>40</sup>

One reason why Silesian modern-era art became a universal ‘product’ is the creative procedure that was often followed when constructing works, i.e. its dependence on fashionable foreign models, the acceptance of the rules applied within

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<sup>40</sup> Also worth mentioning are general studies (see e.g. Günther Grundmann, *Die Richtungsänderung in der schlesischen Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien. Dagobert Frey zum Geburtstag 23.04.1943*, ed. Hans Tiontelnot, Breslau 1943, pp.78-105; Bogusław Czechowicz, *Sztuka i władza na Śląsku od połowy XVIII wieku: sprzężenia zwrotne*, [in:] *Sztuka i władza. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej przez Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w dniach 30 XI-2 XII 1998 roku w Warszawie*, eds Dariusz Konstantynów, Robert Pasieczny, Piotr Paszkiewicz, Warszawa 2001, pp. 107-132;), as well as more detailed studies, that is monographies concerning individual monuments see e.g. Romuald Nowak, ‘Sala Rajców brzeskiego Ratusza’, *Panorama Brzeska*, <http://brzeg24.pl/aktualnosci/1085-sala-rajc-brzeskiego-ratusza-czi-2/> (access on: the 14<sup>th</sup> of May and the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 2013).

a given religious order, or making the creation of art conditional on the ruler's consent (e.g. the design made by Joseph Fritsch of the Jesuit church in Brzeg was approved in Rome on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1734 (illus. 16)<sup>41</sup> or the approval of the plans and the consent to the erection of the conventual church for the Augustinian nuns – the Church of St. Jacob on the Sand in Wrocław – by Emperor Leopold I von Habsburg on the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, 1687)<sup>42</sup>.

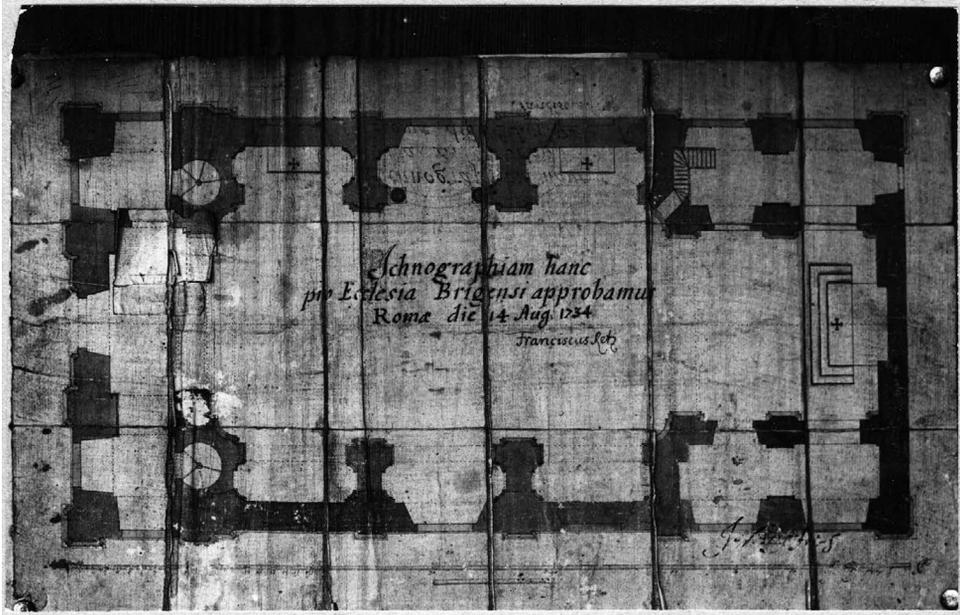


Illustration 16. Joseph Fritsch, *Floor plan of the Jesuit church in Brzeg (Brieg) approved in Rome on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1734.*

Another reason why Silesian art lost its identity or specificity was the fact that, with the exception of the artistic centres clustered around the Cistercian monasteries, it is hard to list places in this area that aspired to the title and rank of an artistic centre. In the modern period, neither the patronage of the Silesian bishops nor of the local ruling dynasties (the Piast – illus. 17, Poděbrady, Württemberg and Hohenzollern families) in their cities of residence (capitals of duchies) managed to develop lasting (i.e. organized and working only under a given patronage) artistic circles. The artistic policies adopted by these patrons did not prove to be fully conscious or

<sup>41</sup> Mieczysław Zlat, *Brzeg*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised and corrected (*Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki*, a series edited by Tadeusz Broniewski, Mieczysław Zlat), p. 146.

<sup>42</sup> Ludwig Burgemeister, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Breslau*, vol. 1: *Die kirchlichen Denkmäler der Dominsel und der Sandinsel*, Breslau 1930, p. 253.

consistent. Their actions were repeatedly accidental and were dependent on their financial possibilities, economic situation and aesthetic needs. This does not mean, however, that within the patronage they avoided ambitious projects, as the remodeling or expansion of their own mansions (e.g. in Brzeg, Legnica, Oława, Oleśnica or Nysa), and their necropolises (e.g. Brzeg), demonstrates.

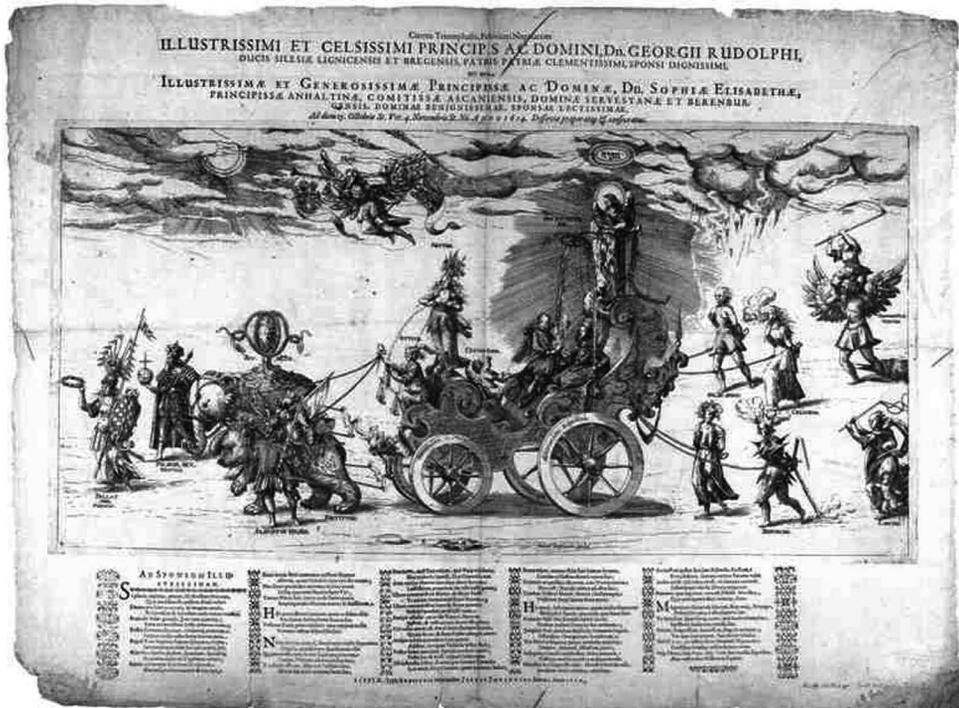


Illustration 17. Andreas Bretschneider according to the pattern by IM Monogram (Johann Muck vel Muccius?), *Apotheosis of Georg Rudolph the Duke of Legnica and Sophie Elisabeth von Anhalt, on the occasion of their wedding in Dessau on 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1614 (Curus Triumphalis)*, ephemeral prints issued by Henning Gross and Justus Jansonius in Leipzig in 1614.

The native character of Silesian art was consistently opposed by the policy of the Habsburgs, who supported the revival of Catholicism in Silesia. This is evident, for example, by the support given by the ruling family to various Catholic religious orders, helping them to improve their possessions, putting pressure on Lutheran city authorities such as those in Wrocław, etc. These actions were accompanied by a policy which ‘enforced’ certain universal propaganda objectives onto art. This applies to the issue of propaganda power – for example, after 1526 (i.e., after the transition of Silesia under the power of the Habsburgs), after 1675 (the end of the Piast dynasty in Silesia), after 1609 (The Letter of Majesty of Emperor Rudolf II),

after 1648 (the end of the Thirty Years' War), or the 1730s (the period of the Pragmatic Sanction of Emperor Charles VI). It is also observable in the area of religious propaganda (for example, through the development of the cult of St. John of Nepomuk, St. Joseph or the Holy Trinity). Thus, we can talk about a so-called shared 'heaven' for Silesia and Bohemia, i.e. a common religious iconography<sup>43</sup>.

One disintegrating factor is still the fact that in Silesia there were no training opportunities for art students in academic fashion, no art schools were created in the region. Therefore, we cannot talk about the local specifics of education which radiates or imposes certain standards of artistic solutions over the whole area of Silesia. The binding practice of art and craft in Silesia is the 'existing' one, often of a late-Gothic character, that is the existing procedures for career and social advancement of the artist, or rather still just a craftsman (it concerns the obligation to take the so-called apprenticeship trips, staying in significant, leading artistic centres, the issue of getting occupational title of the master, inheritance of the workshop, etc.).

Finally, it must be strongly emphasized that Silesian local art was subject to some characteristic patterns regarding the evolution of styles used, particularly in the field of iconography. This unquestionable merit – especially leading to the unification of painting and also, to a lesser extent, sculpture – must be applied to the graphical pattern in the process of creating a work of art. This pattern – first of Italian, then Saxon, and finally Dutch descent, and then again Italian and French – often made these works more attractive and were responsible for their belonging to a common area of art and style.

## Conclusion

The above list of factors which enhanced or consolidated the artistic identity of Silesia provides – it is worth repeating – only a stimulus to more insightful research and to more intense attempts at deepening our understanding of the characteristics of the art of the region. It certainly does not exhaust the issue presented. Rather than summarizing the state of research on modern Silesian art, it serves as a specific research desideratum, in accordance with the goal established for this article.

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<sup>43</sup> What was clearly demonstrated in 2007 at the exhibition: *Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej, passim*.