

Early Mendicant Architecture in Central-Eastern Europe. The present state of research.

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Despite certain doubts as to the idea of separating the area covering Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Slovakia, the view of a distinct character of these countries as opposed to the post-Carolingian Europe has been more and more popular among historians and art historians. Moreover, the socio-political structure of these countries has long been regarded as comparable. It is also evidenced by a number of studies which jointly treat on the artistic phenomena in these European countries.¹

Despite all the differences, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary in the first stages of their state formation (10th-13th centuries) had much in common due to the advanced level of social structure and mentality, reception of Christianity, economic development, and certain similarity of state and church institutions. Contrary to Western Europe and Byzantine Empire, that part of the Continent was marked out by a vastness of the sparsely populated area and almost total lack of big towns. Furthermore, later introduction of Christian cultures and structures (10th-11th centuries) may be regarded as another common feature of the region.²

The activity of Mendicant Orders in the area in question was directed mainly against the schismatic Russia and

pagan Prussia, as well as concentrated on intensifying the cursory and recent Christianity. Therefore, the struggle with internal heresy, or scholarly disputes in universities did not constitute their essential interests.³ It must be also admitted that a great success of Mendicant Orders proves an advanced level of social development of these countries; otherwise the population could not afford such institutions.⁴ Contrary to western practice, in Poland for instance, there were no foundations of that type by a town commune. It may be observed that the experiment with Mendicant Orders in numerous countries preceded the social and religious processes which could provoke that type of activity.⁵ Bohemia and Hungary which, like Poland, were parts of eastern provinces of the Latin Europe, similarly modified the character of the activity of Mendicant Orders; the latter were drawn into a current apostolic mission of the Church. In Poland, the development of the Orders coincided with some important historical processes, i.e., activity of dukes courts, town reform, and the reform of the Polish Church.⁶ Having entered the parochial structure, as well as having met the requirements of the insufficiently christianized country Mendicant Orders were soon to achieve a great success by means of mass ministry.

¹ A. MERHAUTOVÁ, *Romanische Kunst in Polen, der Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Rumänien und Jugoslawien*, Praha 1974; A. TOMASZEWSKI, *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi na obszarze Polski, Czech i Węgier* (Romanesque Churches with Western Galleries on the Territory of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary), Wrocław 1974; J. BIAŁOSTOCKI, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (Wrightsman Lectures, VIII), Oxford 1976.

² J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Rozwój środkowowschodniej Europy w XIV wieku* (Development of Central-Eastern Europe in the 14th Century), in *Sztuka i ideologia XIV wieku* (Art and Ideology of the 14th century), Warszawa 1975, p. 14; A. TOMASZEWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10.

³ J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Zakony na ziemiach polskich w wiekach średnich* (Religious Orders in Poland in the Middle Ages), Kraków 1966, in *Kościół w Polsce* (Church in Poland), I) *Średniowiecze* (Middle Ages), Kraków 1966, p. 476; J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Zakon braci kaznodziejów w Polsce 1222-1972. Zarys dziejów* (The Dominican Order in Poland 1222-1972. An

Outline History), in *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222-1972* (Studies in the History of the Dominicans in Poland 1222-1972, I) ed. J. Kłoczowski, Warszawa 1975, pp. 33-35.

⁴ J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Zakony cit.* p. 473.

⁵ J. WIESIOŁOWSKI, *Klasztory średniowiecznego Poznania* (Monasteries of the Medieval Poznań), in *Symposium na temat Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta w Poznaniu do XV wieku w świetle nowych badań archeologicznych i urbanistycznych o architektonicznych*, 18-19. X 1973 (The Symposium Held on October 18-19 1973, concerning the origin and development of the Old Town in Poznań until the 15th century in the light of the recent archeological examinations and urbanistic and architectonic studies), Poznań 1973, p. 412.

⁶ J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Franciszkanie a sztuka europejska XIII wieku* (The Franciscans and the European Art of the 13th Century), in *Sztuka i ideologia XIII wieku* (Art and Ideology of the 13th Century), ed. P. Skubiszewski, Wrocław 1974, p. 175.

It is the beginning of the 14th century that was taken as a chronological caesura of the discussed problems. Contrary to Germany for instance, where the Mendicant architecture flourished right in the 14th century, the most important and original works in Poland and Bohemia appeared already in the 13th century. In the course of the 14th century German Mendicant architecture strengthened its peculiar features, whereas the process that took place in Central-Eastern Europe was a reverse one.⁷ Therefore, the article concentrates on the 13th century when the artistic activity was the most effective and paralleled the institutional and spiritual expansion of new Order formations.

The article is centred on the two of the greatest Mendicant Orders, i.e., Dominicans and Franciscans. This simplification, though not too excessive, I hope, was necessary since other Mendicant formations did not play an important part in 13th-Century architecture. All the more, the more intense development of the Augustinian-hermits and Carmelites took place only a century later.⁸

The problem in question has not been worked out in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary; neither these countries have been jointly treated. Therefore, our state of knowledge is much behind that of scholars from West-European countries who have been publishing syntheses for at least 50 years. Even if the synthetic treatments concern the whole country they are, as in the case of Bohemia, either laconic and out-dated⁹, or presented only in summaries (Hungary). When lacking a synthesis (Poland) in turn, we are usually in the possession of a greater number of recent monographs of particular objects, which are sometimes based on the research carried out *in situ*. The third group of works concerns regions (e.g. separate articles on architecture of the Silesian Dominicans and Franciscans) and is not of interpretative character. In view of the lack or out-dated character of monographs of single objects, or, in fact, of syntheses of particular countries, one is not to be astonished that the interpretative level of the majority of studies, mainly Polish, is not

very high. Neither should it surprise him that the applied notions and style attributes such as "poverty" "simplicity", "severity", and "spatiality", are frequently taken from other geographical regions, or deduced from the Mendicant ethos, though not necessarily do they correspond to the reality. The practice of some authors, mainly Polish, to freely interpret artistic rules given in the convent constitutions, that were often of negative and general character, is also erroneous. One may add that monastery complexes have only recently become a subject of scholarly interest. It must be admitted that their archaeological and architectural examinations led to very interesting results.

Around 1220 a group of priests was sent to Italy, directly to Dominic, by Iwo Odrowąż the bishop of Cracow. After a short schooling in Bologna, they returned to Cracow in 1222 already as Dominicans and were bestowed a parish church of the Holy Trinity. It was right from Cracow then that small groups of friars were sent in 1225 to Prague and main towns in Poland: Wrocław, Kamień, Gdańsk, Płock and Sandomierz. Thus, the Cracow monastery became the centre of a great province. The incorporation of the Polish and Bohemian kingdoms together with Pomerania and the Teutonic Prussia into that province serves as an evidence of a certain unity of that area inhabited by the West Slavs.¹⁰ It was only in 1301 that this vast territorial unit was divided into Polish and Bohemian provinces. In the middle of the 13th century there were 22 monasteries, in 1300 already 54 monasteries and 8 nunneries. Thus, having outdistanced the provinces of Spain, Provence, and Denmark this number brought it closer to those of Lombardy and France. It cannot be, however, compared with a great number of religious houses in Germany and England.¹¹ It must be added that the two-thirds of monasteries of the Polish-Bohemian province were located in Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia.

The Dominicans were brought to Hungary somewhat earlier (1221) and were given a support of Robert, the bishop of Esztergom, and of the royal court.¹² The first

⁷ V. DENKSTEIN, *Raně gotická architektura žebavých řádů Čechách a Moravě* (Early Gothic Architecture of the Mendicant Order in Bohemia and Moravia), "Umění", II (1938), pp. 20-21.

⁸ J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Rozwój cit.*, p. 33; ID, *Wspólnoty chrześcijańskie. Grupy życia wspólnego w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim od starożytności do XV wieku* (Christian Communities. Vita Communis Groups in Western Christian Countries since the Ancient Times until the 15th Century), Krakow

1964, p. 317.

⁹ DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ KŁOCZOWSKI, *Zakon cit.*, pp. 31-32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 27; G. ENTZ, *Die Baukunst der Bettelorden im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, in *Actes du XXIII^e congrès international d'histoire de l'art*. Budapest 1969, Budapest 1972, p. 488.

monasteries were established already in 1221 in Győr and Székesfehérvár, whereas those in Pest (1223) and Sárospatak (before 1238) were evidenced by the sources before the Mongol invasion (1241). In the 13th century some ten new monasteries were founded.¹³ It should be added that the Hungarian province covered a vast territory to include also Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Albania, Serbia, and Transylvania.¹⁴ These countries are not to be considered in the present article since the Balkan region distinguishes itself by the continuity of local antique culture and with borrowings from Italian art resulting from the influence of Venice. On the other hand, it was the Byzantine culture that had its crucial impact on the region in question.

The expansion of the Saxon province of the Franciscans led very early to establishing the first monastery in Bohemia, probably in 1225 (Nový Bydžov). Three years later the monastery of St. James in Prague was founded. Some other new monasteries in Bohemia and Moravia were established before the mid-century.¹⁵ The year 1239 is regarded as the latest date of the separation of the Bohemian-Polish province from the Saxon one;¹⁶ it covered the area similar to that of the Dominican province. The division, however, was not stable and the changes of borders in the area that historically belonged to Poland were quite frequent.¹⁷ The changes concerned mainly the Saxon province, which was responsible for establishing the monastery in Szczecin /c. 1240/ and consequently including Western Pomerania. At the beginning, Eastern Pomerania and Prussia remained, in turn, within the area of the Bohemian-Polish province,¹⁸ whereas the ecclesiastical status of Silesia and Lusatia was far from being settled. In the 80s of the 13th century nearly all the Low-silesian Convents, as well as those in Prussia and Eastern Pomerania were incorporated into the Saxon province.¹⁹

In Hungary the Franciscans settled down already in 1229

(Esztergom), whereas the Clarists came there 9 years later. After the Mongol invasion the number of monasteries increased to 22.²⁰

In Poland the Dominicans, recognised and supported by the Holy See, preceded the Franciscans by some ten years. The latter had been formed earlier, but still in the 20s and 30s of the 13th century were being affected by internal disputes. The priority of the Dominicans was due to the necessity of the preachers (in accordance with the postulates of the 4th Lateran Council) whose qualifications the Minor Friars were to achieve only in the 30s.²¹ The first Franciscans who came to Poland from Prague (c.1236-37) founded religious houses in Wrocław, Cracow, and Inowrocław.²² The further development, which took place mainly in the 2nd half of the 13th century, was similar to that of the Dominicans and paralleled the location of towns on the basis of German law. Therefore, nearly the half of the monasteries in Poland was situated in the most urbanised Silesia. Although the Franciscans outnumbered the Dominicans, their position in Poland was not as strong as that in South Western Europe.²³

The location of the Dominicans and Franciscans monasteries around 1300 presented in the following table:²⁴

	Dominicans	Franciscans	Total
Bohemia	15	15	30
Moravia	7	6	13
Silesia	11	20	31
Little Poland	4	5	9
Great Poland and Mazovia	8	7	15
Pomerania and Prussia	9	8	17
Hungary			44

The earliest Mendicant buildings erected already in the 20s of the 13th century were the Dominican oratories in Cracow, Prague, and most probably in Gdańsk [1]. Minute relics, which in the case of the structures from

Historycký», II/6 (1896), p. 341.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; J. KLOCZOWSKI, *Zakony cit.*, p. 32.

²⁰ ENTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

²¹ KLOCZOWSKI, *Zakony cit.*, p. 462.

²² K. KANTAK, *Franciszkanie polscy* (The Polish Franciscans), I: 1237-1517, Krakow 1937, *passim*; J. KLOCZOWSKI, *Zakony cit.*, pp. 465-471.

²³ KLOCZOWSKI, *Zakony cit.*, p. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ A.M. WALZ, *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum Romae* 1948, p. 220.

¹⁵ Z. FIALA, *Předhusitské Čechy. Český stát pod vládou Lucemburků 1310-1419* (Pre-Hussite Bohemia. Bohemian State under the Reign of the Luxemburgian Dynasty 1310-1419), Praha 1978, p. 399; F. MACHILEK, *Reformorden und Ordensreformen in den böhmischen Ländern vom 10. bis 18. Jahrhundert, in Bohemia sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen 973-1973*, ed. F. Seibt, Düsseldorf 1974, p. 69.

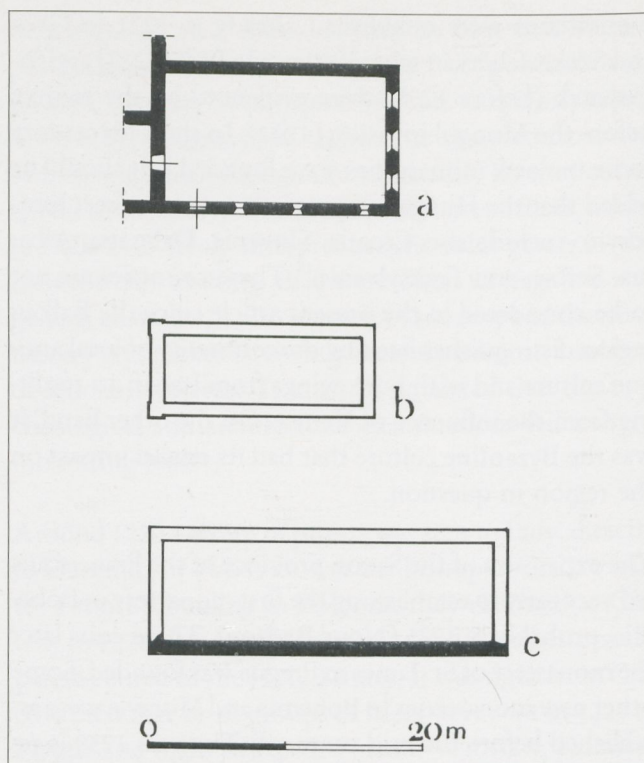
¹⁶ F. HYBL, *Počátky Minoritů v Čechách a na Moravách* (Early Days of the Activity of the Friar Minors in Bohemia and Moravia, *Česky Časopis*

Gdańsk and Prague are known merely from archeological excavations, are an extremely important evidence of the transformations of the Order's architectural practice, as well as of the rapid changes of its aims, character, and Ethos. In the great Dominican complex in Cracow [2], a single-space building of limestone blocks, and of the dimensions 17,5x11 m was incorporated into the structure of the present claustrum, North of the church from the middle of the 13th century. Since the Dominicans were bestowed the parish church that was situated on that site, the scholars formerly regarded this structure to be a presbitery of the pre-Dominican church from the turn of the 12th century [3-4]. It was the examination of the wall bond which gave a new argumentation to J.s Jamroz²⁵ to prove that the building was an independent Dominican church erected in 1222-25. The narrower wing of the one-storey monastery, which was directed to the North, adjoined the oratory from the West; this forms an analogy to the lay-out of the headquarters of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Strakonice (Bohemia). The single-space design of the apseless church has in fact no parallel in Romanesque architecture of Little Poland, which additionally supports Jamroz's thesis.

The examinations carried out recently by V.Huml²⁶ proved the correctness of the interpretation of the complicated "palimpsest" wall in the Cracow monastery. At the beginning the friars who came to Prague in 1226 settled down in Poříčí, in the area of the future New Town. They were bestowed the church of St. Clement, the single-space nave of which, or more precisely, the western part, was later on adjoined by the stone, rectangular presbytery equally wide. In result there emerged a single-space edifice of the dimensions 16.6x6 metres, which was the first Dominican church in Bohemia. The altar mensa was discovered by the eastern wall. The preachers remained in this place only for a short time for in the 30s they were transferred to the neighbouring Old Town.

²⁵ J.S. JAMROZ, *Średniowieczna architektura dominikańska w Krakowie* (Medieval Dominican Architecture in Cracow), "Rocznik Krakowski", XLI (1970), pp. 5-28; ID. *Czy refektarz w klasztorze dominikanów w Krakowie jest oratorium klasztorным, czy kościołem przeddominikańskim?* (Is the Refectory in the Dominican Monastery in Cracow an Oratory or a Pre-Dominican Church?), "Folia Historiae Artium", XVI (1980), pp. 21-38.

²⁶ V. HUML, *Výzkum v kostele sv. Klimenta na Novém Městě Pražském* (The Examinations Carried out in the Church of St. Clement in the New Town in Prague), "Archeologické rozhledy", XXIX (1977), pp. 406-416; V. HUML, *K počátkům kostela sv. Klimenta na Novém Městě pražském*

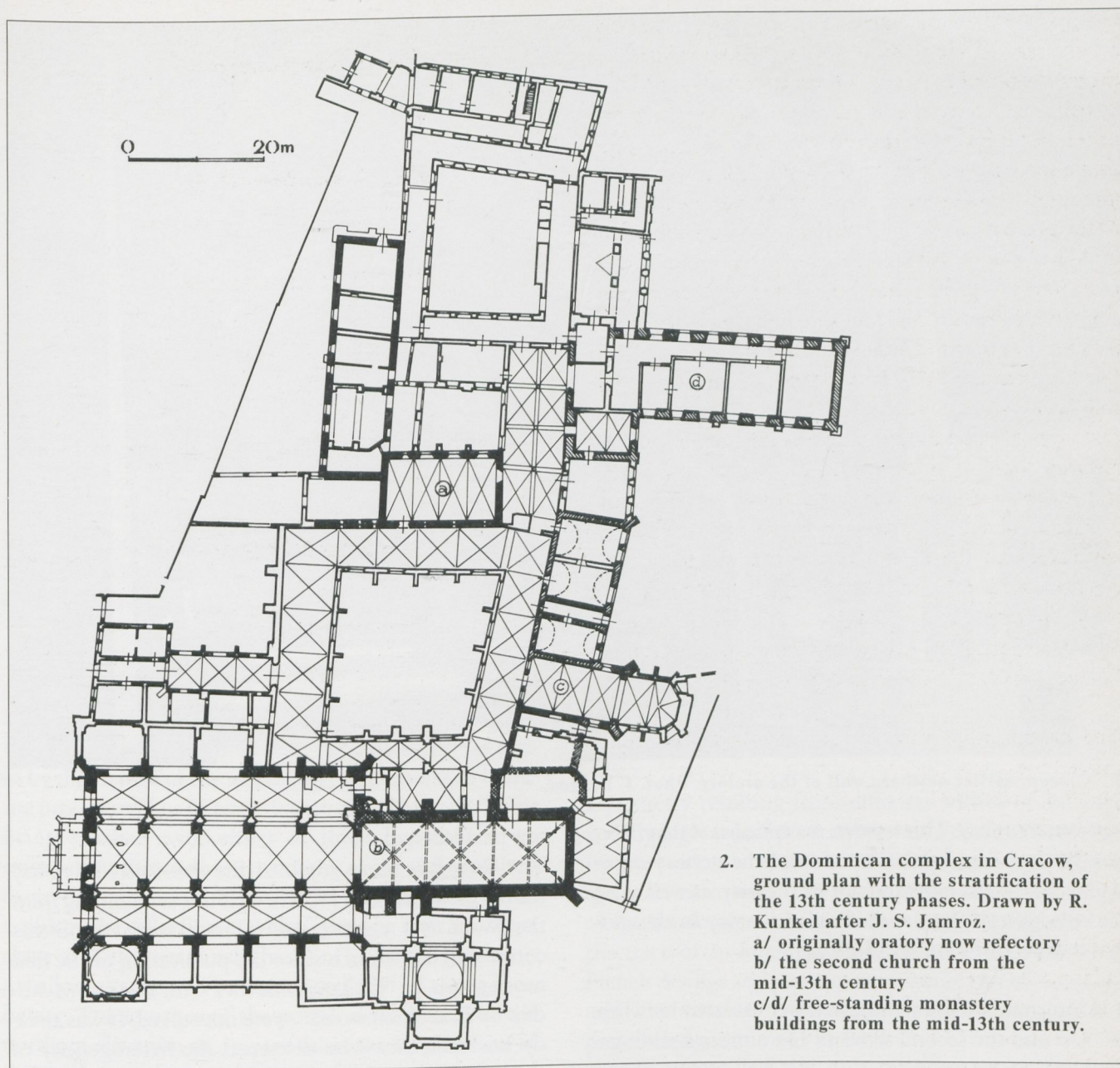


1. Earliest Dominican churches of the Polish province: a/ Cracow b/ Prague c/ Gdańsk. Compiled by the author, drawn by R. Kunkel.

The third analogical Dominican structure was discovered in Gdańsk. Relics of a single-space building, bigger than that in Poříčí (10x26 metres) were excavated in the presbitery of the church of St. Nicholas.²⁷ Judging from a rather thin wall, one may come to the conclusion that the church must have been low. The examinations, however, have not determined whether the building in question was the Dominican church consecrated in 1235 or the church of St. Nicholas taken over by the Dominicans. It seems that similar structures in Cracow and Prague are of aid to remove doubts and include this single-space church in the most numerous series of the first Dominican churches in that part of Europe. It should be added, however, that it was only the choir

(On the Origin of the Church of St. Clement in the New Town in Prague), "Archeologia Historica", III (1978), pp. 83-93.

²⁷ A. ZBIERSKI, *Dotychczasowe wyniki badań archeologicznych kościoła św. Mikołaja i św. Katarzyny w Gdańsku* (Results of the Archeological Examinations in the Churches of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine in Gdańsk), "Rocznik Gdański", XV-XVI (1956-1957), pp. 73-74; A. ZBIERSKI, *Początki Gdańska w świetle najnowszych badań* (Early Days of Gdansk in the Light of the Latest Studies), in *Gdańsk, jego dzieje i kultura* (Gdansk. Its History and Culture), Warszawa 1969, p. 24; R. MAS-SALSKI, J. STANKIEWICZ, *Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny Gdańska* (Urban and Architectural Development of Gdansk), *ibid.*, p. 180.



prayers that were said in these churches, since sermons were preached in the churches that did not belong to the Order.

The fourth known single-space church, discovered in Inowroclaw (Great Poland) a few years ago, belonged to the Franciscans. At the end of the fourth decade of the 13th century they erected a three-bay structure of the dimensions 9x27 metres. Contrary to Dominican ceiling single-space buildings, traces of Late Romanesque wall-

shafts point out that the structure was vaulted over.²⁸ Even in comparison with Franciscan single-space churches in Thuringia and Brandenburg March, the church in Inowroclaw is to be one of the earliest vaulted religious edifices.

Contrary to the neighbouring northern part of Germany, the single-space churches in Poland were not popular in Mendicant architecture. It was only one church, that of the Clarists in Wroclaw,²⁹ that was founded in the years 1257-60; it was a three-bay, vaulted church with the

²⁸ J. FRYCZ, *Architektura i sztuka Inowroclawia*, II, in print.

²⁹ J. EYSYMONTT, *Architektura pierwszych kościołów franciszkańskich na*

Śląsku (Architecture of the Earliest Franciscan Churches in Silesia), in *Z dziejów sztuki śląskiej* (Studies in the History of Silesian Art), ed. Z. Swiechowski, Warszawa 1978, pp. 51-58.



3. Cracow, earlier northern wall of the oratory. Phot. J. Langda.

separate choir bay. This lay-out, exceptional at that time, may be explained by the function of the oratory occupied rather by the nuns and not by the laity, as well as by the imitation of the so-called nuns' oratory in the mother-nunnery in Prague [11 N. 8].

It is the church in Sandomierz which is dated between the first and the second series of Dominican buildings. Despite a severe reconstruction, it is well preserved and considered to be one of the most eminent churches in Dominican architecture. However, this important church, as well as the monastery have not been thoroughly examined, particularly by archeologists whose investigations might have solved some still pend-

ing problems.

The three-bay choir adjoined the three-aisled five-bay ceiling basilican body [5]. The bell-tower adjoining from the West was erected later. The essential problems concerning the church since the publication of the first monograph by W. Luszczykiewicz³⁰ till the recent studies by Z. Golubiewowa³¹ were not solved. It was already Luszczykiewicz who discerned the heterogeneity of the main body and nave, thus dating the first element of the structure to the period before 1241 (Mongol invasion). The choir, in turn, was dated to 1241-59. I have proposed the reverse sequence of the building procedure;³² other scholar proposed³³ to date the body to the 30s of the 13th century, and the choir (originally

³⁰ W. LUSZCZYKIEWICZ, *Kościół św. Jakuba w Sandomierzu, zabytek budownictwa ceglano XIII wieku* (The Church of St. James in Sandomierz. A Monument of the 13th Century Brick Architecture), "Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki", II (1881), pp. 27-52.

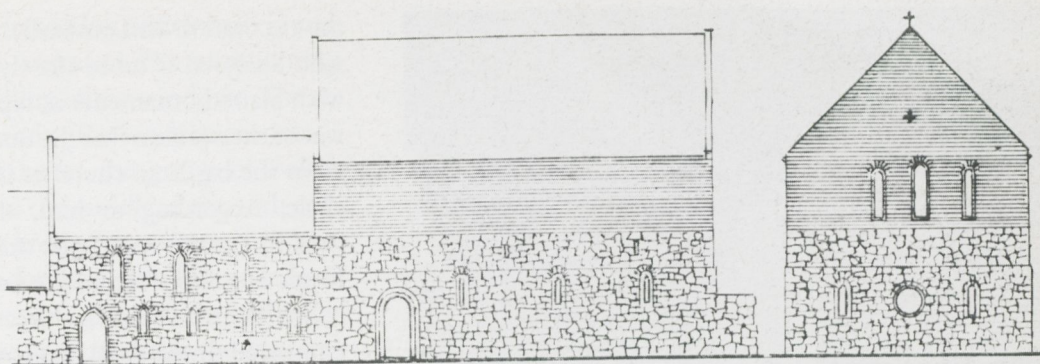
³¹ Z. GOLUBIEWOWA, *Kościół dominikański p.w. św. Jakuba w Sandomierzu w XIII stuleciu i jego dekoracja architektoniczna* (The Dominican Church of St. James in Sandomierz in the 13th Century and its Architectural Decoration) in *Studia nad historią dominikanów* cit., pp. 9-196.

³² A. GRZIBKOWSKI, *Wczesnogotycki kościół i klasztor dominikański w Sieradzu* (The Early Gothic Dominican Church and Monastery in Sieradz), Warszawa 1979, p. 104.

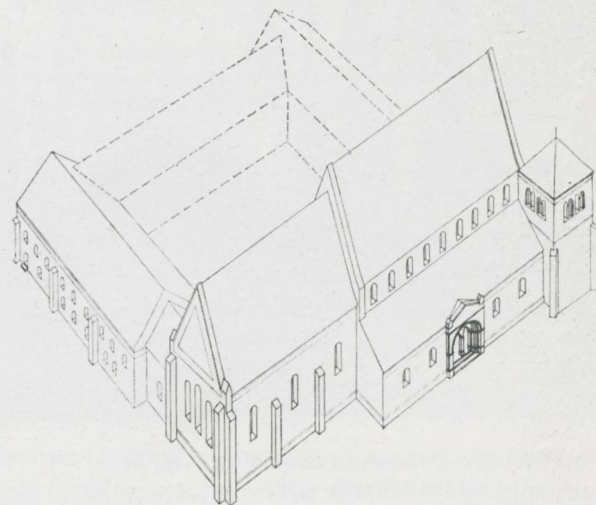
³³ J. WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Kościół św. Jakuba w Sandomierzu* (The Church of St. James in Sandomierz), "Przegląd Techniczny" XLVIII (1910), pp. 207-210; Z. ŚWIECHOWSKI, *Budownictwo romańskie w Polsce. Katalog zabytków* (Romanesque Architecture in Poland. Catalogue of Historical Monuments), Wrocław 1963, p. 234; Z. GOLUBIEWOWA, *op. cit.*, p. 45ff.

4. Cracow, oratory and the original Dominican monastery. Northern and eastern elevations. After J. S. Jamroz.

5. Sandomierz, Dominican complex. After J. Zachwatowicz.



not vaulted)³⁴ to c. 1240-45. The origin of the space layout of the basilican church has not been yet determined. The adoption of the general Italian conception has been pointed out. Z. Świechowski,³⁵ who followed that opinion, also revealed the similarity of the church interior [6] to that of the church of the Friar Minors in Zurich. This view, however, requires thorough studies. Z. Golubiewowa, who opposed the conception of the Italian filiation, did not carry out the research in that direction.



The southern aisle of the church together with the pointed-arch arcades is higher than the northern one. This has been explained by the necessity of placing windows over the cloister from the side of the monastery,³⁶ as well as by the change of the workshop in the course of building procedure,³⁷ or by later alterations of the body.³⁸ Not being satisfied with either of these hypotheses, we assume that this curious asymmetry of the aisles resulted from the conscious intention of the original church builders, the reflection of which could be seen in a short choir of the former parish church of St. James, or even in a shallow altar apse to be later on replaced by a long presbytery. The location of the portal in the centre of the northern elevation or, in particular, the heightening of the southern aisle were the cause of the re-orientation of the nave body and the emphasis of the transverse axis; this perhaps forms an analogy to the Paris (after 1221) and the 1st Dominican church in Toulouse (from c. 1230).³⁹ In France the re-orientation of the church the centre of which became not the altar but the pulpit placed centrally against the long wall, was due to the

asymmetry resulting from different widths of the two equally high aisles (the southern aisle devoted to the laity was wider, whereas the northern one which served the friars narrower). The incomprehensible asymmetry of the Sandomierz basilican church may be regarded as the trace of an attempted adaptation of revolutionary French designs and a new conception of church interior, until the innovation exhausted its usefulness after the present long choir was erected.

It is a rich, skillfully and artistically perfect ceramic decoration applied to ornament window framings and constituting a part of friezes that draws a particular attention in the Sandomierz church [7]. All the studies concerning the church from the first monographs through M. Walicki⁴⁰ onwards have always sought the provenance of

³⁴ ŚWIECHOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235; ID *Znaczenie Włoch dla polskiej architektury i rzeźby romańskiej* (Italy and its Influence on Polish Romanesque sculpture nad Architecture), "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", V (1965), p. 78; GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

³⁵ ŚWIECHOWSKI, *Znaczenie Włoch* *cit.* p. 77.

³⁶ ID, *Budownictwo romańskie* *cit.* p. 235.

³⁷ GOLUBIEWOWA, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

³⁸ LUSZCZKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁹ Y. CHRIST, *Églises Parisiennes actuelles et disparues*, Paris 1947, p. 28; P. MESPLÉ, *Les Jacobins de Toulouse*, Toulouse 1954, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁰ M. WALICKI, *Dekoracja architektury i jej wystrój artystyczny* (Architectural Decoration and its Artistic Form) in *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do chylku XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1971 (Dzieje sztuki polskiej, I), pp. 215-216.



6. Sandomierz, Dominican church. Interior of the nave corpus towards west.
Phot. W. Wolny.

7. Sandomierz, Dominican church.
View from North.



the decoration in Lombardy. It was Z. Świechowski⁴¹ who analysed it more closely and regarded the friezes with plaited ornaments as typically Italian. This author was of the opinion that the northern portal had an analogy in the basilican churches in Assisi and Sagra S. Michele. According to him, the early Dominican edifices in Poland owed not only types and architectural forms but also a technique betraying direct workshop connections to brick architecture of northern Italy. He compared ornamental incisions on the brick faces from the 12th-century Lombard buildings, in particular del Crocefisso church in Bologna, and those in Sandomierz and Wrocław. To conclude, he pointed out the authorship of an Italian workshop, mainly in Sandomierz, but also in the whole group of Dominican structures. The Italian orientation of the trend could be linked with the activity of bishop Iwo Odrowąż; it was K. Białoskórska⁴² who developed this thesis. Only recently has Z. Golubiewowa⁴³ opposed this common view. Her argumentation cast some new light on the problem, since she demonstrated how some phenomena occurred as the result of conservation activities, though above all she maintained the lack of any Italian elements in the choir. Moreover, she admitted that no direct analogy had been found for the relief ornamental forms being "the results of stone architectural relief and ceramic tiles, particularly the floor ones".

There are no other works of art produced by the ceramic workshop in Sandomierz; its distant influence can be however noticed in the decoration of the parish church in Chlewiska and particularly in three, somewhat later Dominican churches: in Poznań, Płock, and Sieradz. In Płock⁴⁴ we can find a trefoil-crowned portal, the arch-volt of which, similarly as in Sandomierz, was made of big ceramic blocks. In the portal of the Poznań church one can distinguish motives from the northern portal of the Sandomierz church. In Sieradz, in turn, in the middle of the 13th century, there was active an exquisite ceramic

⁴¹ ŚWIECHOWSKI, *Znaczenie Włoch* cit, p. 51, 76-80, 87.

⁴² K. BIAŁOSKÓRSKA, *Problem relacji polsko-włoskich w XIII wieku zagadnienie mecenatu biskupa Iwona Odrowąza i małopolskich opactw cysterskich* (Polish-Italian Relations in the 13th Century. The Patronage of Bishop Iwo Odrowaz and Little Poland Cistercian Abbeys), "Sprawozdania PAN", I-IV (1963), pp. 249-257; ID, *Polish Cistercians Architecture and Its Contacts with Italy*, "Gesta. International Center of Romanesque Art", IV (1965), pp. 14-22.

⁴³ GOLUBIEWOWA, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56, 57, 59.

⁴⁴ TOMASZEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

workshop that produced decoration which had no analogy in brick architecture: trefoil blocks surmounting the portal and analogical filling of the windows. The relief archivols, in turn, remind of the Sandomierz ones.⁴⁵ Certain anticipation referring to the group of Polish churches constructed round the middle of the 13th century can be justified by the kind of decoration, i.e., by a flat ceramic ornament in a form of a tile frieze made of tangled arcades based on heraldic lilies [8], undoubtedly of Sandomierz origin. It was most probably the 2nd Cracow church that was decorated with such frieze for the first time, as well as the approximately contemporary buildings in Poznań, Wrocław II, Sieradz, and Głogów.⁴⁶ The rich set of ornamental motives in Sandomierz now awaits detailed comparative studies, particularly since it was this monument that the Polish Dominican flat ceramic decoration started from. One should now decide, whether the above mentioned analogies with Lombardy directly account for the provenance of the brick-makers, or whether the further research should rather concern the northern region of brick architecture, and therefore a later material.

Similarly as in the whole Mendicant architecture, also in Central-Eastern Europe there is no definite, pan-regional type of church. In the area in question one can come across a full range of churches starting from the simplest single-space lay-outs, through all kinds of multi-aisled basilica and hall churches, to the central and centralizing plans. The following typological presentation may obliterate some of the evolution dynamic, as well as confuse the stylistic periodization. However, bearing in mind that the majority of churches was erected round the middle of the 13th century, and approximately in the years 1240-1260, this presentation should still be of some significance. Never again did the Mendicants live such an investment boom, and it is the sudden necessity to reconstruct their preachers' churches due to the arguments with the lay clergy that accounts for all these new investments. In Poland only the Franciscans started the construction of their churches slightly earlier, i.e., by the end of the 30s.



8. Poznań, Dominican church of St. Dominic.
Fragment of crowning frieze of ceramic
tiles. (Poznań, National Museum).
Phot. J. Langda.

Among the preserved Polish and Hungarian mendicant churches there dominates the one-aisled, ceiling type, with a separate and vaulted choir, usually elongated [9] (the problem of the elongated choir will be discussed below). The earliest church of that type with definite records has recently been discovered in Plock (consecrated in 1234-37).⁴⁷ A rectangular choir of unknown length and most probably flat roof was adjacent to the nave. The first Dominican church in Wrocław was most probably contemporary with the church in Plock; it might have been erected in the years 30 of the 13th century.⁴⁸ Thanks to the discovery of the trefoil-ended-windows in the body of the Late Romanesque single-space church in Racibórz by the author of the present article, the church can be dated to the years 1246-1258.⁴⁹ The church in Sieradz had also a one-aisled body (the 50s of the 13th century),⁵⁰ and so did the church in Poznań /1244-1253/, though older, erroneous hypothesis had been contrary.⁵¹ Not only its dimensions were exceptional, but it is also worth noticing the way the eastern span is accentuated by the means of the buttress and of a smaller window; its body contained most probably a lectorium.⁵² The first Franciscan church of the type in question in Hungary was erected before the year 1250 (it was in the isle of Buda, called at present the Isle of Margeret). At the beginning of the years 50 one-aisled, almost identical churches were erected on the same island and in Vesz-

Church in Wrocław), "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" XX (1975), pp. 11-50; ID, *Architektura zakonu dominikanów* cit p. 102; GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

⁵² As in the Franciscan Church in Regensburg.

⁴⁵ GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴⁶ E. MALACHOWICZ, *Architektura zakonu dominikanów na Śląsku* (Architecture of the Dominican Order in Silesia) in *Z dziejów sztuki śląskiej* cit., pp. 126-127.

⁴⁷ TOMASZEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 147; GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 64, 97.

⁴⁸ E. MALACHOWICZ, *Wczesnośredniowieczna architektura kościoła dominikanów we Wrocławiu* (Early Medieval Architecture of the Dominican

prém by the Dominican nuns, whereas in the castle of Buda by the Dominicans.⁵³ It was exceptional that both churches of the nuns had their nave divided into two by a wall with a grated window. The western part of the nave was the choir of the nuns, whose number could have been as high as seventy. Hungarian churches are simple and not too modern (the windows are still semi-circularly closed); neither are they too decorated. The buildings, however, have been preserved only in ruins or as archeological relics.

Among Bohemian and Moravian Mendicants one-aisled lay-outs are even less frequent. Such was, most probably, the unpreserved body of the Dominican church in Nymburk (from after 1275), later divided into two aisles.⁵⁴ An extremely elongated nave constituted the body of the Franciscan church in Opava (1270-1280)⁵⁵. One-aisled body of the church of Minor Friars in Bratislava is dated to the end of the century.⁵⁶

Simple lay-outs were applied in Poland in further Franciscan constructions from the second half of the 13th century, such as the one in Nowy Korczyn in Little Poland (ca 1260)⁵⁷ and some in Silesia (Glogów, Lwówek, Zagań, Brzeg).⁵⁸

The afore mentioned churches differ as for their nave dimensions. It is the Poznań church that dominated in this respect (33.5x11.5m), whereas it is the nave of the Raciborz church that had the greatest width (13.5). The author of the present article has studied the origin of this type of the lay-out.⁵⁹ Romanesque one-aisled churches with a separate choir are very common in Central Europe. They became very popular in the first half of the

13th century; their naves were frequently long, almost as long as those in Mendicant churches. Not rejecting completely the importance of these lay-outs in the origin of great monastery single-space, we have regarded, however, as very unlikely the thesis maintaining the lack of any external influence in the process of a graduate expansion of dimensions. The origin of one-aisled Mendicant churches in Central-Eastern Europe is rather unclear, since, despite the apparent simplicity of the spatial lay-out, we have not come across any direct prototype of this design. Apart from multi-aisled lay-outs, it was a flat layer finishing off single-space and manifesting the programme poverty and simplicity that was characteristic for the Mendicants. There are no precedents for the combination of a spacious single space with an elongated choir. One nave, unvaulted single-spaces had for long characterized monastery churches accentuating their ascetic aspirations. This type of building, having reached Italy from Minor Asia, was continuously applied since the Roman Antiquity till the High Middle Ages, particularly by any reformatory orders. The anti-basilican constructions were consciously applied, especially in the cases where a basilica was considered an unsuitable solution. It was early German single-spaces (classified by R. Krautheimer⁶⁰) rather than the dominant in Italy application of unvaulted single-spaces with a three-partite eastern part that exerted some influence on the architecture of Central-Eastern Europe. A particular attention has been drawn to the Minor Friars' church in Schwäbisch-Gmünd with a 2:1 rectangular single-space and a two-bay choir. It is difficult, however, to ascertain whether the building, the construction of which started after 1220 and ended in the 40's, had any visible influence on Polish and Hungarian monuments. Only some of

⁵³ ENTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-491; ID., *Gotische Baukunst in Ungarn*, Budapest 1976, pp. 7-201; L. GEREVICH, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, Budapest 1971, pp. 30-35, 40, 42-43; J. ÉRI, *Veszprém*, Budapest 1975, pp. 14-15; M. HORLER ed., *Budapest műemlékei*, (Monuments of Budapest), Budapest 1955, pp. 347, 350, 812, fig. 273; K. HOLLNÉ, *Győrky, Előzetes jelentés a budai domonkos kolostor ásatásáról* (Report on the Dominican Monastery in Buda), «Archeologiai Ertesítettő», XCVI (1969), pp. 99-104.

⁵⁴ DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁵ H. BENÁKOVÁ, *Středověká architektura mendikantských řeholí v Opavě* (Medieval Architecture of the Mendicants in Opava), «Časopis Slezského Muzea», XXIV/2 (1975), pp. 120-128; H. SOUKUPOVÁ-BENÁKOVÁ, *Prémyslovské mauzoleum v klášteře blaboslavene Anežky na Františku* (The Mausoleum of the Premyslids in the Monastery of the Blessed Agnes in «Frantisek»), «Umění», XXIV/3 (1976), pp. 208-212.

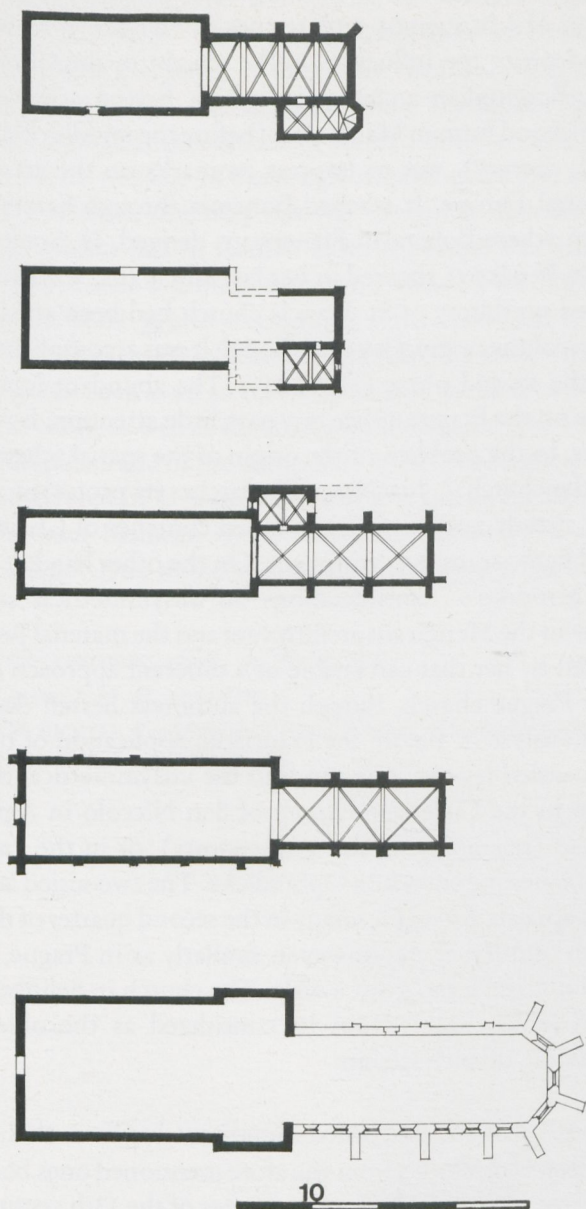
⁵⁶ *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku* (Catalogue of Monuments in Slovakia), I, Bratislava 1967, pp. 191-192; ENTZ, *Gotische Baukunst cit.*, p. 210.

⁵⁷ T. SZYDŁOWSKI, *Pomniki architektury epoki piastowskiej we województwach krakowskim i kieleckim* (Monuments of Architecture from the Piasts' Era in the Cracow and Kielce districts), Kraków 1928, pp. 62, 93-94; T. SZYDŁOWSKI, *O kościele franciszkańskim w Nowym Korczynie* (On the Franciscan Church in Nowy Korczyn), «Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki», IV/2 (1928), pp. LXXIII-LXXIV; According to the unpublished studies by J.T. Frazik, the conception of the space lay-out of the whole church and choir vaulting date from that time, whereas the main body was completed in the 14th century.

⁵⁸ J. EYSYMONTT, *Założenie franciszkańskie w Głogowie z połowy XIII w.* (The franciscan Complex in Glogów from the mid-13th Century), «Prace Lubuskiego Tow. Nauk. Komisja Historii», VII/3 (1970), pp. 98-109.

⁵⁹ GRZIBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-67.

⁶⁰ R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland*, Köln 1925, p. 14.



9. Earliest one-aisled Dominican churches with a separate choir in Poland. From the top: Sieradz; Plock, Wrocław, Poznań, Racibórz. Compiled by the author.

10. Jihlava, Franciscan church. Interior of the nave corpus towards east. After E. Šamánková.

them, especially those with elongated bodies, account for the Italian origin. L. Gerevich⁶¹ compares Hungarian churches with the Austrian ones (Wiener-Neustadt, Bruch a.d.M., Enns), but it is only Franciscan church in Wolfsberg (after 1242) that can be regarded as the antecedent of the church at the Isle of Buda, since other churches were built later.

It is the Franciscan foundation that predominates among the basilican churches and the second after Sandomierz Dominican lay-out dates from the end of the 13th century. The Franciscan church from Olomouc with a long choir is known only thanks to the 18th century plans,⁶² and these are no definite proves as for its original lay-out. The transept of the Minor Friars' basilican church from Jihlava [10],⁶³ dated around the year 1250 is

⁶¹ GEREVICH, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶² DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; E. ŠAMÁNKOVÁ, *Jihlava*, Praha 1955, pp. 2-4; D. LIBAL, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě* (Gothic architecture in Bohemia and Moravia), Praha 1948, pp. 37-39; E. BACHMANN, *Architektur bis zu den Hussitenkriege*, in *Gotik in Böhmen*, ed. K.M. Swoboda, München 1969, p. 80.



the oldest preserved vaulted Mendicant church of that type in this part of Europe. Its spatial composition and type of moulding remain within Cistercian-Burgundian Gothic. The Cistercian influence from neighbouring Cistercian foundations was first traced by R.K. Donin, whereas V. Denkstein discerns here a transitional stage between the influence of Cistercian and Dominican architecture. For D. Libal, in turn, the building serves to prove that the early Mendicant architecture in Bohemia and Moravia did not succeed to create its original type of church. In view of the revolutionary rejection of vaults, particularly among the Italian Mendicants, E. Bachmann considers the vaulting of the Moravian church as a conservative element.

Most probably the bodies of the Franciscan churches in Opole and Kalisz⁶⁴, as well as in Hungarian Sopron⁶⁵ (all of them dating from the fourth quarter of the 13th century) had originally been basilican, though later on were rebuilt into halls. In this respect, one may not attribute too great an importance in this area to a symmetrical basilica represented by the Dominican church in České Budějovice, with a monumental, six-bay body, the confused building history of which fills the last quarter of the 13th century.⁶⁶ E. Bachmann⁶⁷ showed its connection with Dominican buildings in Regensburg, considering the transept (together with other forms), rare in the Mendicant architecture, to be rather a Cistercian reminiscence than an Italian one.

Unsymmetrical, two-aisled basilican churches constitute not a numerous, though an extremely interesting group of buildings. Neither of the three known examples of this foundation has been fully preserved, which partially accounts for the lack of any deeper interest in that type of a construction. In the large Clarists and Franciscans' monastery complex in Prague [11] the older of the two churches, i.e., that of St. Francis (1231/34 - 1240) was an unsymmetrical, two-aisled vaulted basilican church erected for the purpose of the 1st and 2nd order.⁶⁸ It was the gallery, finished only in the 14th century, that was to serve the needs of the nuns. As far as the

style is concerned, the church can be inscribed in the trend of Champagne architecture,⁶⁹ whereas in its second phase the influence can be sought in the Cistercian-Burgundian architecture, which having achieved its classical form in Maulbronn (before the middle of the 13th century), was to impress its marks on the art of Central Europe. It reached Bohemia through Saxony, from where Bohemian Franciscans derived. H. Soukupová-Benáková showed in her last article that the elongated presbiterium of St. Francis church had been an element of the original lay-out, though it was accomplished in the second phase (1238-1245). The abundant literature on the Prague monastery pays little attention, however, to the problem of the origin of the spatial scheme of the church. J. Joachimová⁷⁰ searches its prototype in the already not existing two-aisled churches of Clarists and Franciscans in Champagne. On the other hand, it is T. Mroczko's⁷¹ considerations on unsymmetrical lay-outs in the Mendicant architecture and the material provided by her that can enable us a different approach to the Prague church, though the authoress herself does not analyze it. Before the Franciscan application of the two-aisled lay-out, one can find the unsymmetrical design in the Cistercian church of San Niccolò in Agrigento (beginning of the 13th century), or in the Late Romanesque church in Opherdicke. The two-aisled lay-out appears also in Germany in the second quarter of the 13th century; there, however, similarly as in Prague, it did not reach too great a scale. The church in Seligenenthal (since 1222) could be considered as the oldest example of such design.

Another of the two-aisled Mendicant basilicas, that in Elbląg, is distanced from the afore mentioned ones both in time and space. In the last quarter of the 13th century the Dominicans added to the earlier long choir a body, in which the originally lower southern aisle was separated by circular pillars.⁷² The Clarists' church in Gniezno, an interesting, though not examined building dating from the 80's of the 13th century, might be also included in this group. Its northern aisle (or gallery) was the nuns'

⁶⁴ EYSYMONTT, *Architektura* cit., pp. 68-76.

⁶⁵ ENTZ, *Gotische Baukunst* cit., pp. 8, 201-202.

⁶⁶ J. KUTHAN, *Gotická architektura v jižních Čechách. Zakladatelské dílo Přemysla Otakara II* (Gothic Architecture in Southern Bohemia. The Foundation of King Přemysl Ottokar II), Praha 1975, pp. 167-175.

⁶⁷ E. BACHMANN, *Sudetenländischen Kunsträume im 13. Jahrhundert* (Ein Beitrag zur kunstgeschichtlichen Volksforschung im deutschen Südsten), Brünn-Leipzig 1941, p. 17; ID, *Architektur* cit., pp. 80, 82-83.

⁶⁸ SOUKUPOVÁ-BENÁKOVÁ, *Přemyslovské mauzoleum* cit., pp. 193-217.

⁶⁹ J. JOACHIMOVÁ, *K slohovému původu kláštera sv. Aněžky* (On the Stylistic Origin of the Monastery of St. Agnes), «Umění», XIV/3 (1966), pp. 189-213; A. KUTAL, *Gotische Kunst in Böhmen*, Praha 1971, p. 9.

⁷⁰ JOACHIMOVÁ, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁷¹ T. MROZKO, *Architektura gotycka na Ziemi Chełmińskiej* (Gothic Architecture in the Chełmno Region), Warszawa 1980, pp. 130-157.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

oratory, whereas the nave was left at the friars' disposal. Hall structures – one might think more adequate for preaching purposes – were only inconsiderably more numerous than the basilican ones. Though a precise chronological ascertainment seems a difficult task, even more so in view of thorough alterations of the oldest monuments, one may risk the statement that the first Mendicant hall in Central-Eastern Europe was erected by the Cracow Dominicans, who initiated the building in the years 30 and consecrated it between 1248-1251.⁷³ Such an early dating can be supported by some stylistic aspects, such as an archaic crypt below the eastern bay of the choir, as well as the Romanesque bases of the lectorium pillars and of the semipillars by the rood screen. The discovered by J. Jamroz five-bay low hall in the body of the later basilican church had most probably its nave higher.⁷⁴ Due to the fragmentary character of the archi-

tectural research, however, many doubts have remained unsolved and therefore the attempts to qualify stylistically the nave body, earlier than the huge, long choir, would be risky. The Dominican church in Olomouc⁷⁵ was consecrated around 1250. In this case, the early dating is supported by the unusual application of a short, one-bay choir, and the possible covering of the three-aisled body with a ceiling. The sacristy with cross-ribbed vault reminds that of the Plock church. Their contemporary is also the Franciscan church in Brno, built before the middle of the 13th century, and known only from iconographic sources.⁷⁶

In the light of the afore mentioned facts, the main representative of the group can be seen in the Dominican church in Ihlava [12-13], which, despite different datings,⁷⁷ is always chronologically placed within the thi-

⁷³ GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 101-102.

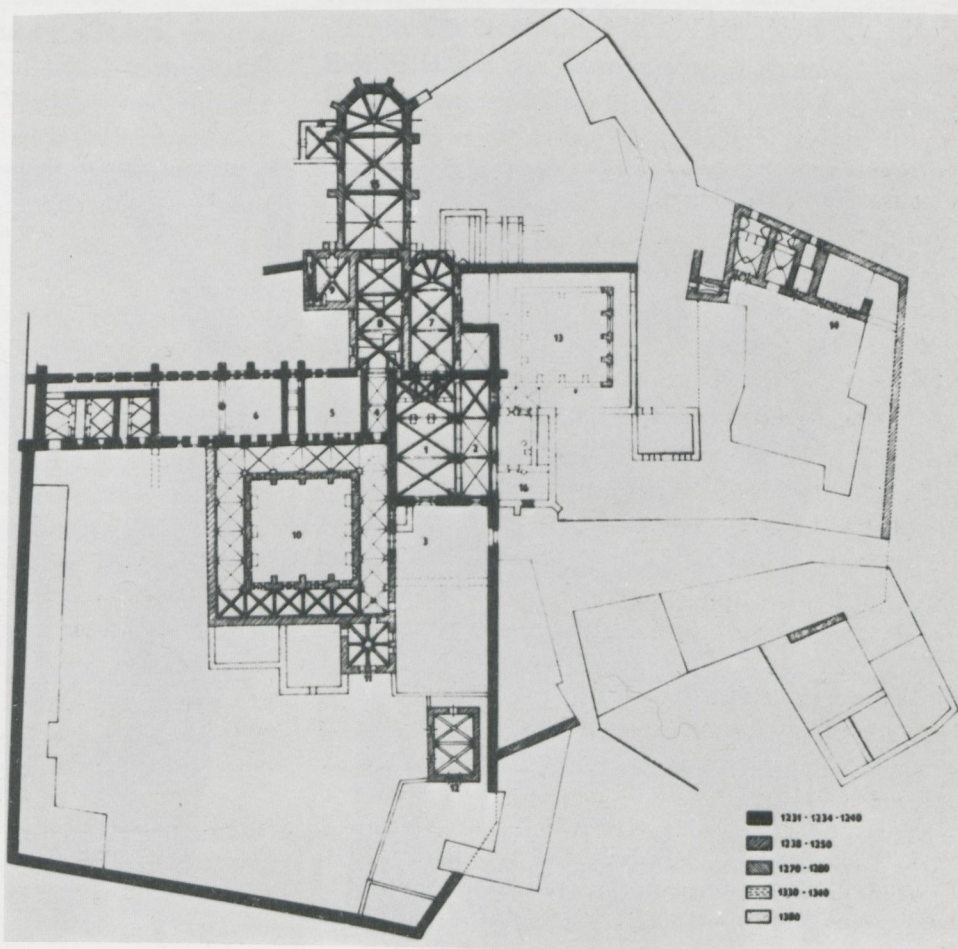
⁷⁴ JAMROZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-28.

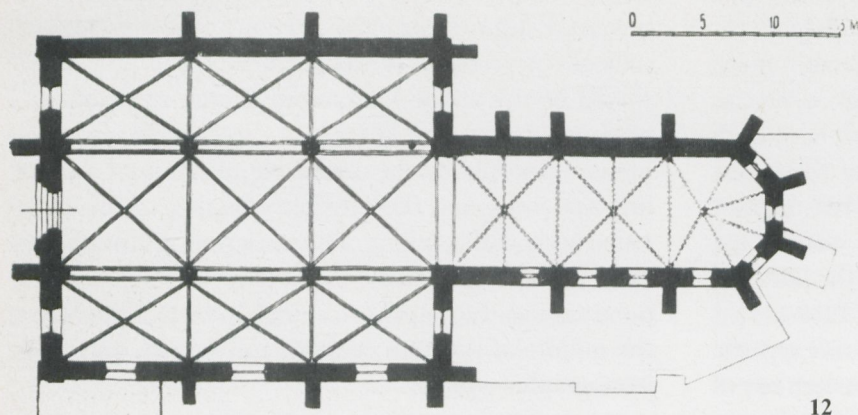
⁷⁵ V. RICHTER, *Raněředověka Olomouc* (Olomouc in the Early Middle Ages), Praha-Brno 1959, p. 142.

⁷⁶ DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁷⁷ BACHMANN, *Sudetenländische Kunsträume* cit., p. 24; ID., *Architektur* cit., p. 81; DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 28; LIBAL, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

11. Prague, monastery complex of Franciscans and Clarists in "František". Ground plan (after H. Soukupová-Benáková).
- 1/ nave of the church of San Francis.
 - 2/ aisle with the planned gallery of San Francis church.
 - 3/ planned narthex.
 - 5/ chapter-house.
 - 6/ refectory.
 - 7/ presbitery of the church of San Francis.
 - 13-14/ Friars' convent.
 - 15/ the church of St. Salvator.

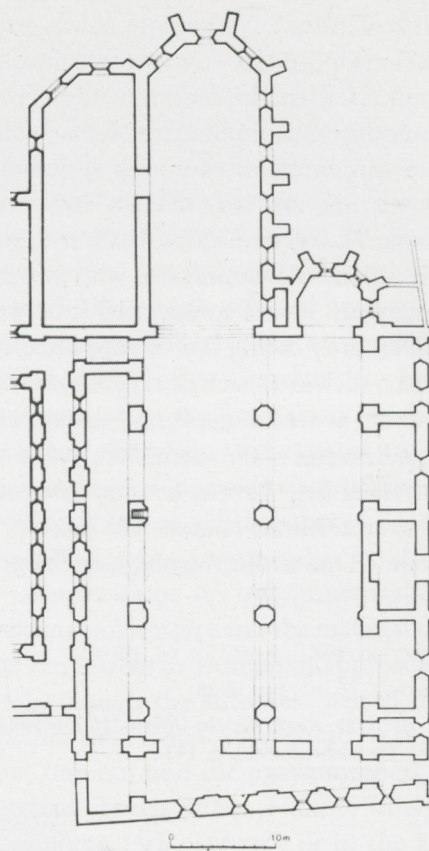




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rol quarter of the 13th century. Its exceptionally long choir parallels the exceptionally short cubic body, still remaining within the tradition of the four-pillar spaces, though anticipating at the same time the architecture of the time of emperor Charles IV. Neither are the vault units rectangular, nor the aisles equally wide. The space is organized by the arcade sequence,⁷⁸ which is the method applied in the late Gothic. The combination of a nine unit hall with a long choir became in some respect the prototype of the Bohemian Mendicant and parish

⁷⁸ BACHMANN, *Architektur* cit., p. 82.



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12. Jihlava, Dominican church. Ground plan. After E. Šamánková.

13. Jihlava, Dominican church. Nave vaulting.

14. Toruń, Dominican church (not existing). Ground plan. After Steiner.

churches.⁷⁹ The segmentation and the detail, in turn, are linked with the Franciscan church in Prague and Cistercian edifices in Tišnov and Třebíč.⁸⁰ The design of the Dominican church, in fact, copied the lay-out of the local parish church in Ihlava.⁸¹ Somewhat later, in the last tierce of the 13th century, in Wrocław a different type of hall was added to the earlier choir of the Franciscan church. The post-war architectural research carried out by T. Kozaczewski⁸² served to support E. Walter's hypothesis that the original five-bay segmentation is contained within the bay division of the actual nave. In the aisles the cross-ribbed vaults were distinctly divided by trestle strap, continued in the form of wall pillars, whereas in the corner the wall-shafts descended to the floor.⁸³ The scarcity of detail impedes any closer analysis, though one finds it unjustified to consider the monastery solutions of the Bohemian and Moravian, as well as Danubian milieus to be of prototypical character. The comparison of the detail with that of the Cistercian church in Rudy Raciborskie in Silesia⁸⁴ seems far more justified. On the other hand, however, one may not state with certitude whether the original lay-out presented in fact a low hall. In that case, it would have been totally different from the ones pointed out by scholars, since it would approximate the type of hall based on the basilican plan. A hall, similar to the Wrocław one, though shorter, with four bays, was erected as the second Franciscan church in Cheb (consecrated in 1285),⁸⁵ the essential part of which, however, may still be a relic of an older building (from before 1256).⁸³

The group of unsymmetrical halls,⁸⁷ in turn, has been a subject of profound and thorough research works. In that group of buildings the aisles are not equally wide and therefore the presbiterium, placed as the elongation of the nave, slips off the axis of the nave corpus. Such unsymmetrical, two-aisled halls, transformed afterwards into the three-aisled ones, were the Franciscan churches in Toruń (1269-1300), the Dominicans ones in Toruń (after 1265 and the second quarter of the 14th century [14], as well as the Dominican church in Chelmno (the

first half of the 14th century). Having renounced the former explanation of the origin of this particular lay-out, such as postulated by G. Dehio gradual expansion of the church or the reduction of the third aisle proposed by Wilhelm Kästner, T. Mroczko assumed the monuments of the Chelmno region a separate research subject, which cannot be limited to a phenomenon on a regional scale. Moreover, the authoress sets the typological lines of their lay-outs and searches the origin of an unsymmetrical hall, both among the buildings of French Dominicans and English Franciscans and in Germany, where the Friar Minors applied it in the second half of the 13th century (San Nicolas in Frankfurt on Main, Höxter, Fritzlar, Andernach, Angermünde). Such churches, small in Westphalia and Hesse, were significantly extended in the Brandenburgian and Wkra Marchs. It is with the latter that the churches in the Chelmno region have most in common, though the halls in Toruń and Chelmno are much higher.

One may consider several applications of a central or centralizing lay-out by the Polish Mendicants quite astonishing phenomena [15]. The first Franciscan church in Cracow can be regarded an exceptional monument in Europe. It is, in fact, one of the rare monuments that has been treated separately in a book.⁸⁸ The Friar Minors began the works before 1253 (S. Skibiński includes in that first phase the sacristy with three-sided end in the south-western corner), whereas finalized them most probably in 1269. The cruciform lay-out with a tower in the middle led the author to the conclusion that the building remained beyond the main trend of the architectural development of the 13th century. Having considered pointless the analysis of the general form of the church, i.e., having left aside the formal aspect, as well as the reference to the tradition originating in the early Middle Ages, Skibiński neglected the early Gothic analogies with the cruciform lay-outs in Silesia (Kalków, Bolkow) and Brandenburg March (Gryfino), close both in time and space, and pointed out the Italian examples of centralizing eastern parts of the Franciscan church in

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁸¹ ŠAMÁNKOVÁ, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁸² T. KOZACZEWSKI, *Pierwotny kościół franciszkański we Wrocławiu* (The Original Franciscan Church in Wrocław), «Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego», III (1963), pp. 199-249.

⁸³ EYSYMONTT, *Architektura cit.*, p. 49.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ H. STURM, *Eger Geschichte einer Reichstadt. Bilderband*, Augsburg 1952, pp. 25, 130, 133.

⁸⁶ BACHMANN, *Architektur cit.*, p. 82.

⁸⁷ MROCZKO, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-157.

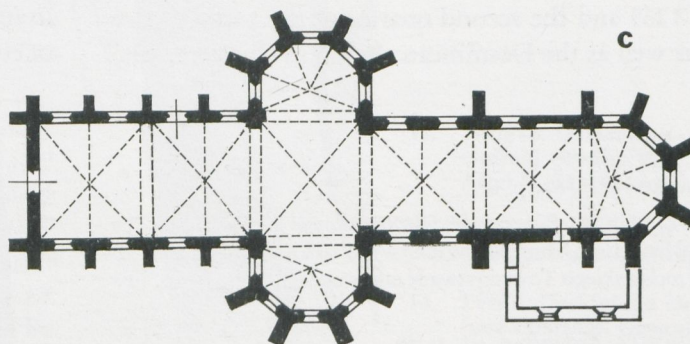
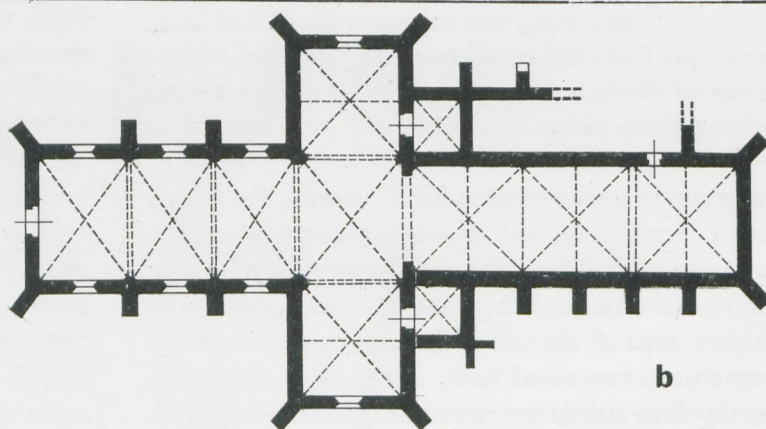
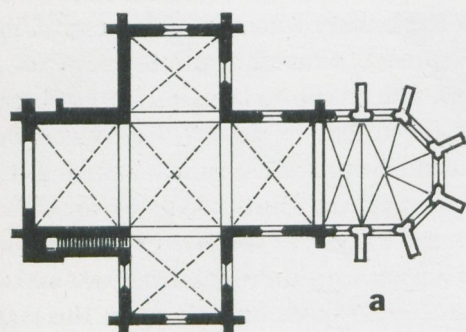
⁸⁸ S. SKIBIŃSKI, *Pierwotny kościół Franciszkanów w Krakowie* (The Original Franciscan Church in Cracow), Poznań 1977 (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Seria Historia Sztuki, 7).

Pavia and of the cathedral in Monza. Having assumed that the form of the Greek cross does not introduce any accidental meanings, but rather significant ideas and interpretations, particularly commemorative ones, Skibiński searched in the Cracow building the memorial to the Holy Cross, reconstructing at the same time its original invocation, the cruciform lay-out of the church constituting a sufficient proof for this interpretation. Following this line, the author reconstructed the dynastic programme of the founder of the church, i.e., prince Boleslaw the Shy, who buried in it his sister, Salomea, to be buried aside her ten years later. The monumental structure of the church was to glorify the Piasts, and Skibiński saw in its distinct lay-out the symbol of the invocation of God's protection over the dynasty and the prince himself, and therefore, over the whole nation. There are no material relics nor written records to support Skibiński's supposition that in the middle of the church there had once been placed a lectorium with the Holy Cross altar and with the Passion representation; neither is the questioning of St. Francis invocation justified. On the whole, one may consider the iconological analysis of the church unfounded and far too subjective in view of the scarcity of the available indirect sources. The aforementioned Italian churches (together with S. Francesco

in Viterbo) sufficiently account for the origin of the spatial lay-out of the Cracow church.

Another church in the style of classical Gothic of Northern France, built almost next to the analyzed church of St. Francis in Prague in the years 1270-1280, is also interpreted by H. Soukupová-Benáková⁸⁹ as a mausoleum of Premyslid's dynasty. The initiative to erect the supposed funeral chapel of Salvator was undertaken by princess Agnes, the foundress and the first Prioress of the nunnery, who after the death of Wacław I dedicated herself totally to the ruling dynasty. In the course of iconological analysis H. Soukupová-Benáková searches an analogy between the patrocinium and the idea of power and symbolism of triumph, though here perceived in a new perspective. The foundress was supposed to have referred to the architectural enterprise carried out by Thuringian princes in Marburg and to St. Jadwiga's chapel mausoleum in Trzebnica in Silesia. In this case also, the interpretation does not seem fully supported by the available sources and architectural analysis. It should be remembered, that in view of close connections between royal courts and Mendicant orders, the custom of bury-

⁸⁹ SOUKUPOVÁ-BANÁKOVÁ, *Přemyslovské mauzoleum* cit., passim.



15. Central Mendicant churches in Poland
a/ Cracow, Franciscan church, b/
Wrocław, Dominican church (after
Malachowicz), c/ Cieszyn, Dominican
church (after Malachowicz). Drawn by
R. Kunkel.

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ing founders of the church in the presbitery was frequent (ex. the Franciscan churches in Wrocław and Opole, the Dominican ones in Raciborz, Głogów, Warka, Sieradz).

On the turn of the 50's and 60's of the 13th century a new aisle, based on the previous plan, and a transept [16] were added to the Dominican church in Wrocław.⁹⁰ The alterations led to a rare in Dominican architecture cruciform lay-out, the prototype of which H. Tintelnot sought in Bohemia, where "a simple cruciform lay-out" was supposed "to be frequent",⁹¹ and where the churches in Ihlava and České Budějovice seemingly had distinct transepts, which in fact was not true. G. Chmarzyński⁹² considered the provenance of a one-aisled church with transept as of Silesian origin. M. Kutzner,⁹³ in turn, searched its origin among the lay-outs applied by the Cracow Franciscans. The cruciform plan of the Wrocław church, as well as the church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław, served, in due course, as the prototype of the Dominican church in Cieszyn, dated ca. 1300.⁹⁴ The cruciform lay-out is so unusual for the Mendicants beyond Italy that one may regard the application in Wrocław as an Italian influence, or even more, one may see in it a conscious reference to the Dominican church in Bologna.

Almost the only characteristic feature of the Central-Eastern European Mendicant architecture can be seen in long choirs, constructed in that area before the flourishing of Mendicant architecture. However, due to doubtful or unprecise datings, resulting from the lack of sources, it is difficult to state where such a choir was built for the first time. It seems probable, that it was the first building of the Wrocław Dominicans from the 30's of the 13th century that should be granted the priority in this respect. Its three-bay choir with cross-ribbed vaulting had the following dimensions: 25.2x7.1 m. Among the earliest choirs one may enumerate the already mentioned two and a half bay choir of the Prague church of St. Francis, monumental choirs of the Dominicans in Cracow (before the middle of the century), and of the Franciscans in Wrocław (1242-1256), both three bay,

with six-partite vaults, considerably high. It is still before the middle of the 13th century that the Moravian Franciscans similarly vaulted their long choirs in Brno and Olomouc. Long choirs appeared relatively late in Hungary. Their number does not decrease in the second half of the century, whereas the type is being maintained and developed. In the three "new" countries in Central-Eastern Europe the Mendicant choirs did not get the chance to undergo any evolution, since short choirs were exceptional in that area. The division of the church space into that of the laity and of the friars was underlined by lectoria, the construction of which was commanded in Dominican churches in 1249. Such divisions were introduced, particularly in Poland, already before the middle of the 13th century (the Dominicans in Cracow and Wrocław, the Franciscans in Wrocław, Zawichost, Głogów). The preaching space gained its independence thanks to the construction of altars within the lectorium. Another element that broke the space unity of the church was the construction of archaic crypts below the choirs (in both churches in Wrocław and in the Dominican church in Cracow).

This crucial problem, though remarked in the case of Bohemia and Moravia, has not yet been analyzed. V. Denkstein⁹⁵ considered long choirs, next to straight east-ends of aisles and rejection of transept,⁹⁵ as the main stylistic feature of Mendicant architecture in that part of Europe. He explained the formation of long choirs as a natural process caused by the growing number of friars and the necessity to remove their stalls from the main body into a separate space. E. Bachmann,⁹⁶ stressing the fact that the Dominican presbitery in Ihlava is one of the earliest long choirs of the "pan-German" region, could not understand why it was on the outskirts of Moravia that long choirs were formed, anticipating in this way the phenomena occurring in German countries. The author suggested that long choirs were the result of the combination of Saxon and South German lay-outs, in which Saxony introduced a distinct separation of the main body of the choir, whereas South Germany – the

⁹⁰ MALACHOWICZ, *Architektura* cit., pp. 107-114.

⁹¹ H. TINTELNOT, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst Schlesiens*, Kitzingen 1951, p. 60.

⁹² G. CHMARZYŃSKI, *Czasy wielkiej uprawy. Historia sztuki* (The Times of a Great Cultivation. History of Art), in *Górny Śląsk*, ed. K. Sosnowski, M. Suchocki, I, Poznań 1948, p. 106.

⁹³ M. KUTZNER, *Architektura in Sztuka Wrocławia*, ed. T. Broniewski, M. Zlat, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, p. 68.

⁹⁴ W. GÖTZ, *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenzen in der gotischen Architektur*, Berlin 1968, p. 38; MALACHOWICZ, *Architektura* cit., pp. 127-129, 145.

⁹⁵ DENKSTEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

⁹⁶ BACHMANN, *Südetenländische Kunsträume* cit., pp. 50-51; ID *Architektur* cit., pp. 79-80.



16. Wrocław, Dominican church. View from North-East. Phot. A. Grzybowski.

internal feeling of the space. It is ĀJ. Bureš,⁹⁷ whose dissertation is known only in the summarized form, that stresses the novelty of long choirs. Bureš's reviewer, V. Richter⁹⁸ presented a list of churches built in Bohemia and Moravia before the development of Mendicant architecture, which had still low, though already elongated presbyteries.

The author of the present study has studied this particular problem⁹⁹ starting with the compilation of the available materials and datings. Following R.K. Donin's suppositions,¹⁰⁰ he considered the growing number of friars as a purely mechanical cause of the elongation of the choir; he also regarded the distinct separation of the space for friars as the expression of their conviction that the choir service was exclusively the task of the friars, which had nothing to do with the faithful. The cause of this attitude can be sought in the renouncement of the idea of the internal community with people, which had led the first Mendicants to celebrate the mass in a shallow altar apse. A similar ideological background of the

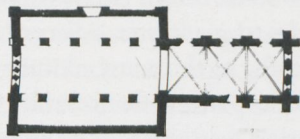
activity of Mendicant orders in the countries on the periphery of Christianity contributed to the formation of a new type of church. The definite separation of the choir means not only the renouncement of the original idea of a unified preaching church, but also the exhaustion of social principles which had once formulated the grounds of the oldest Mendicant orders in the countries with fairly advanced economy (mainly Italy and southern France). The immaturity of local population and their mentality impeded yet such forms of coexistence between the priest and the community which had already been practised in other countries of a far more advanced religious development. Polish, as well as Bohemian and Hungarian Mendicants, following the attitude of other existing orders, dedicated a large part of the church for liturgical purposes; therefore, contrary to western practise, their churches maintained fully sacral character, i.e., fully liturgical. Such socio-ideological interpretation, however, does not account for the development of long choirs in the Upper Rhine regions (Constance, Zurich).

⁹⁷ J. BUREŠ *Středověké stavby slovenských mendikantů – příspěvek charakteristice slovenské gotiky. Tězy kandidátské disertační práce* (Medieval Architecture of the Slovakian Mendicants. A contribution to the characteristic of Slovakian Gothic. Theses of Doctoral Dissertation), «Ars. Umeleckohistorická Revue Slovenskej Akadémie Vied», I-II (1971), p. 247.

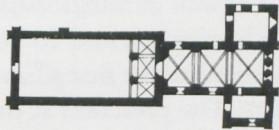
⁹⁸ V. RICHTER, *Posudek kandidátské disertační práce* (Review of Doctoral Dissertation), ibidem, p. 250.

⁹⁹ GRZIBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-78, 131, 132.

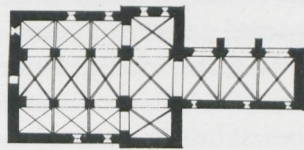
¹⁰⁰ R.K. DONIN, *Die Bettelsordenskirchen in Österreich. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Österreichischen Gotik*, Baden bei Wien 1935, p. 37.



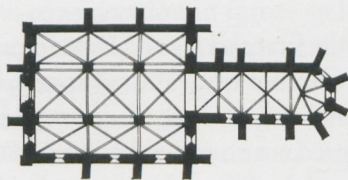
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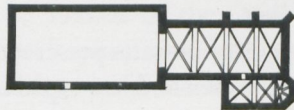
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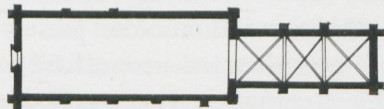
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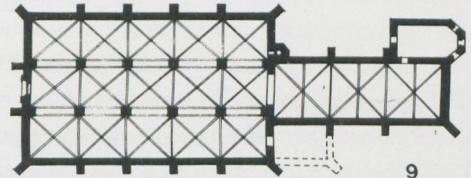
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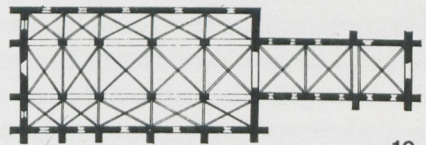
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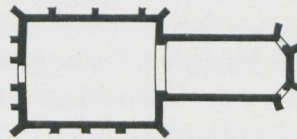
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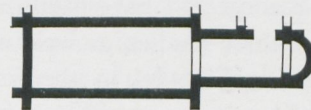
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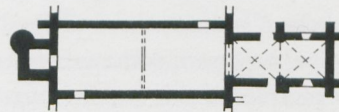
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17. Long choirs of the oldest Mendicant churches in Central Eastern Europe.

- 1/ Sandomierz, Dominican church.
- 2/ Zawichost, Clarist church.
- 3/ Jihlava, Franciscan church.
- 4/ Jihlava, Dominican church.
- 5/ Sieradz, Dominican church.
- 6/ Poznań, Dominican church.
- 7/ Wrocław, Dominican church.

- 8/ Prague, Clarist and Franciscan church.
- 9/ Cracow, Dominican church.
- 10/ Wrocław, Franciscan church.
- 11/ Olomouc, Franciscan church.
- 12/ Budapest, Franciscan church.
- 13/ Budapest, Dominican nuns' church.
- 14/ Budapest, Dominican church.

Compiled by the author, drawn by E. Karwacka.

I have also investigated into the formal origin of the long choir. The problem has as yet been either totally neglected or insufficiently explained by searching the origin of this form mainly in one-aisled (rarely in three-aisled) Ottonian and Romanesque elongated choirs, known only through archeological excavations and perhaps therefore seldom referred to (such as Elten, Hersfeld, Neuss IV, St. Alban, Utrecht). It has also been sought in Cistercian architecture.

The architecture of monastery complexes still remains within the secondary scholarly interests and many a monument have not as yet been classified, though their partial analysis have provided exciting and promising results. It is, above all, the Dominican church in Sandomierz, that is awaiting a detailed study. The monastery can be placed among the oldest ones in Europe; its eastern wing decorated with rich ceramic tiles was executed by the same workshop which erected the aisled body of the church in the 30's of the 13th century.

It was J. Jamroz¹⁰¹ and F. Studziński¹⁰² who greatly contributed to the ascertainment of chronological sequence of construction of the Dominican monastery in Cracow. The archeological research in the Poznań monastery was carried out by W. Blaszczyk.¹⁰³ I have formulated the general conclusions of these studies, as well as of the ones I carried myself in Sieradz, in the following thesis:¹⁰⁴ although the Dominican architecture followed the traditions of monastic architecture in Western Europe, particularly of the Cistercians and of the Norbertines, one may observe, however, some exceptional features in the Polish examples of this architecture. In Cracow, for instance, the monastery buildings from the middle of the 13th century were not concentrated around the cloister, whereas, while building the second church, the eastern wing was not as yet planned. It was only round the middle of the 14th century that separate buildings were combined into one, unified complex. The excavations in Poznań also proved that the claustrum was not a planned and conscious part of the complex, since the construction of the eastern wing at the end of the 13th century led to the demolition of a free-

standing building that had been erected together with the church. The Sieradz complex serves as a perfect example of the modification of the idea of monastery, which over the period of some dozen years evolved from a free-standing building to a cloister adjacent to the church [18], hence returning to the many century old tradition of the Benedictine pattern from Sankt Gallen. The spatial transformation was regarded as a change of an ideological character. The lack of wings, adjacent to the church and restricted by the axis and communications purposes, reflects somehow the first phase in the history of preaching orders. The preachers at that time did not intend to isolate themselves in a traditional community, but were rather to carry out their activity outside the monastery, regarded simply as a home. The renouncement of a unified, geometrically planned complex constituted only an episode in the Dominican history, since already in the last quarter of the 13th century they returned to their traditional lay-outs.

The monasteries of the first and second Dominican Orders in Buda¹⁰⁵ (known from excavations) covered a vast area; several large buildings and three courtyards were placed beyond the precinct encircled by three wings adjacent to the church of the Dominican nuns. One of the edifices was most probably occupied by the Queen, i.e., princess Margaret's mother.

The monastery in Prague, in large parts preserved up till now¹⁰⁶, was even more complex and less typical. It was founded for the needs of Clarist nuns by princess Agnes in 1231. It was also the first nunnery founded North of the Alps and the same time it is the oldest preserved Clarist nunnery, since the earliest Italian ones have not been preserved. Shortly afterwards it was expanded into the double monastery of St. Francis, having the nuns been subordinated to the Franciscan order. In this way there emerged the first double monastery, the idea of which had not had any precedents and was contradictory to the contemporary concepts. The monastery of the Clarists, placed in the North of the common church, strikes with an impressive design and a grandiose lay-out. Basing on the modified Cistercian lay-out the nuns had their eastern wing erected first and a regular cloister was to be

tarda na Starym Mieście w Poznaniu (Results of the Archeological Examinations in the Area of the Settlement of St. Gotard in the Old Town in Poznań), in *Symposium*, cit., pp. 150-245.

¹⁰⁴ GRZIBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-98.

¹⁰⁵ GEREVICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34.

¹⁰⁶ SOUKUPOVÁ-BENÁKOVÁ, *Prémyslovské mauzoleum* cit., pp. 193-217.

¹⁰¹ JAMROZ, *Sredniowieczna architektura* cit., p. 8-25; ID., *Czy refektarz* cit., p. 21-38.

¹⁰² F. STUDZINSKI, *Nowe odkrycia i prace konserwatorskie w refektarzu klasztoru dominikanów w Krakowie* (Recent Discoveries and Conservatory Works carried out in the Refectory of the Dominican Monastery in Cracow), *«Ochrona Zabytków»*, XXIII (1970), pp. 36-46.

¹⁰³ W. BLASZCZYK, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych w strefie osady św. Go-*

built shortly afterwards. H. Soukupová-Benaková considers the building adjacent to the northern side of the choir to have been a private residence, the "plače" of the foundress and the Prioress at the same time. The Franciscan monastery was placed at the opposite side of the church. Under the reign of the king Přemysl Ottokar II C (1253-1278) we can observe same imitations of double monasteries of the Clarists and Friar Minors in major district centres, in which monasteries constituted the nuclei of the empire policy of the Bohemian crown (Znojmo, Opava, Olomouc, Cheb).¹⁰⁷

In view of the studies of the Czech scholar on the double Franciscan monasteries one should adopt different criteria when examining Polish monasteries, bearing particularly in mind the fact that the Polish Friar Minors and Clarists had come from Bohemia. Such a combined character can be most probably found in the monastery complexes in Zawichost and Gniezno, and it must be taken into consideration in future archeological research, essential for the ascertainment of the original lay-out of those monasteries.

In the above typological scheme one may observe, however, lack of consideration of ideological messages evoked by some of the buildings. The problem does not concern particular complexes, such as the Prague monastery of St. Francis or the Cracow one. Talking about ideological implication of the long choir or of an unconventional lay-out of the monastery, thus talking about implication of the spatial design itself, we should also mention the example of seemingly purely ornamental elements. The decoration of several Polish Dominican churches with the same crowning lily-arcaded frieze had been till not so long ago regarded as an element proving the existence of a common workshop within the Order.¹⁰⁸ The spatial and ornamental elements of this heterogeneous group of churches are different. We are of the opinion that since it is difficult to find any analogy in the architecture of the time when the same,

structurally complicated and extremely characteristic element such as frieze appeared in a large number of churches, the idea of applying this element must have meant more than a simple, cheap, copied ornament,¹¹⁰ or even something more than a form of the identification of the building. It must have rather been a kind of *signum*, a kind of programme manifestation of the idea of the Dominican Order. The lily in the Polish frieze refers to the Church, but it can also be regarded as a peculiar Dominican element, since it is the lily which constitutes one of the attributes of St. Dominic.

Hence arises the problem of workshops executing Mendicant buildings. Some of the Czech, German, and Hungarian scholars are of the opinion that the Mendicants employed lay architects and town builders, not permanently working for the order.¹¹¹ This fact sufficiently accounts for regional differentiation of Mendicant constructions in particular countries. Therefore one may consider as exaggerated L. Gerevich's¹¹² thesis about the "unified building activity on gigantic scale and about building Dominican monasteries and churches in whole Central-Europe" according to the same design and by the same masons. This thesis was based on analogies between two churches in Buda and one in Austria.

We have already discussed the activity of ceramic workshops in Sandomierz and Sieradz. Due to the insufficient knowledge of the 13th century floor flag-stones, we find extreme difficulties in researching into flat ceramics, which, according to the general opinion, constituted *differentia specifica* of the early Dominican architecture in Poland. Our hypothesis suggesting a direct connection between Dominican decoration and the branch of artistic industry in question¹¹³ requires verification. We also consider unjustified the supposition of the existence of some Dominican workshops in Cracow which were supposed to have distributed floor-tiles throughout the whole country.¹¹⁴ The above mentioned variety of layouts and of the details of these buildings constitutes the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-212; BENÁKOVÁ, *Středověká architektura* cit., pp. 124-126.

¹⁰⁸ Z. ŚWIECHOWSKI, *Osteuropäische Architektur und Plastik in Mittelalter*, II, Berlin 1972, pp. 282-283 (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, VI); M. KUTZNER, *Sztuka polska późnego średniowiecza* (Late Mediaeval Art in Poland), in *Polska dzielnicowa i zjednoczona. Państwo - społeczeństwo - kultura*, ed. A. Gieysztor, Warszawa 1972, p. 548.

¹⁰⁹ GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, 123-124.

¹¹⁰ E. LINETTE, *Wczesnogotycki wystrój chóru kościoła Dominikanów w Poznaniu* (Early Gothic Decoration of the Choir of the Dominican Church in Poznań), *«Biuletyn Historii Sztuki»*, XXI (1959), p. 342;

WALICKI, *op. cit.*, p. 245; A. WYROBISZ, *Średniowieczne cegielnie w większych ośrodkach miejskich w Polsce* (Mediaeval Brick-kilns in Bigger Municipal Centres in Poland), in *Studia z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Przemysłu*, I, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1961, p. 67.

¹¹¹ BACHMANN, *Architektur* cit., p. 78 (and crit.: V. KOTRBA, «Umění», XIX/4 (1971), p. 365); H. KONOW, *Die Baukunst der Bettelorden am OBERRHEIN*, Berlin 1954, p. 57.

¹¹² GEREVICH, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹¹³ GRZYBKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94, 136.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

major argument against the thesis maintaining the existence of a common workshop in Polish Dominican churches from around the middle of the 13th century.¹¹⁵

There still remains a number of problems connected with Mendicant architecture that require some analysis, such as monastery locality in towns, ascertainment of mutual dependence of city creating factors, spatial layout of monastery buildings (particularly of the scarcely studied Franciscan ones), the influence of Mendicant architecture on the parish and other churches, and finally, the reduction of a Gothic construction (a less advanced process in the countries in which there never occurred the cathedral Gothic). But it is, above all, modern syn-

theses that Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia are now awaiting. In such studies a precise morphological analysis of spatial lay-out and architectural details would enable the presentation of the stylistic evolution from Late Romanesque to the beginnings of the 14th century Reduction Gothic, as well as the separation of peculiar features of Mendicant art from the incorporation of local patterns existing in certain artistic milieus. It is undoubtedly the crucial problem of the long choir that requires further studies. Contrary to Western Europe, where it was the length of the choir that evolved, the evolution of the long choir in Central-Eastern Europe concerned mainly the height, and the form of construction; the development of constructing elements enabled the reduction of the wall and therefore stressed the expressiveness of the structure.

¹¹⁵ See note 108.