

ARTICLES

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THE REPRESENTATION OF SELECTED SILESIA CITIES
IN THE 15TH–17TH CENTURIES*

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Since the mid-1950s, the study of the image of the medieval city has constituted a separate broad scientific discipline, which is extremely important for art historians. A rich methodological interpretation of the subject is contained in the set of articles of 1999¹. We will find here studies regarding the city's view as an element of the landscape, the literary aspects of the city image, as well as their three-dimensional models². Recently, Katrien Lichert, Jan Dumolyn and Maximilian P. J. Martens recall the enormous literature on the subject³.

The research on the city develops largely owing to the previously known ideas of the iconological method⁴. The subject of the research is often the image of a medieval city perceived as a certain symbol⁵. Research on these issues

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¹ *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400–1800*, ed. Wolfgang BEHRING, Bernd ROECK, München 1999.

² Jan SIMANE, *Die Welt im Bild. Städte- und Landschaftsdarstellungen im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400–1800*, pp. 56–65; Erich KLEINSCHMIDT, *Stadtbeschreibung im frühneuzeitlichen Deutschland*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 73–80; Andrew John MARTIN, *Stadtmodelle*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 66–73.

³ Katrien LICHERT, Jan DUMOLYN and Maximilian P. J. MARTENS, *Images, Maps, Texts. Reading the Meanings of the Later Medieval and Early Modern City*, [in:] *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Katrien LICHERT, Jan DUMOLYN, Maximilian P. J. MARTENS (Studies in European Urban History, vol. 31), Turnhout, 2014, fn. 1.

⁴ Pierre LAVEDAN, *Représentation des villes dans l'art du Moyen âge*, Paris 1954.

⁵ Keith D. LILLEY, *Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and Their Christian Symbolism*, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. New Series, vol. 29: 2004, no. 3, pp. 296–313.

has also become part of modern research methods related to the anthropology of the image introduced into the broad scientific field by Hans Belting⁶. The painted image of the city must often be treated as a kind of illustration of literary laudation⁷. Another very rich category of works is devoted, in turn, to the presentation of the city as a carrier of information on specific urban and architectural phenomena⁸. Historical and iconographic studies of the medieval and early modern cities often concern selected representations of specific cities carrying a plethora of priceless historical information⁹.

The analysis of the city as a picture can also be seen, as Ferdinand Opll writes, as a peculiar expression of the 'iconicturn' known from history. Such a view was noticeable at the conferences organized by the International Commission of Urban History organized in 2001–2004 and was expressed in a series of publications¹⁰. An important aspect of the analysis of the city's images in the surrounding landscape is the Renaissance's "discovery of the world and man"¹¹. The vision of the cityscape as an opening to the surrounding world is

⁶ Hans BELTING, *Das Bild als Text. Wandmalerei und Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes*, [in:] *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit. Die Argumentation der Bilder*, ed. Hans BELTING, Dieter BLUME, München 1989, pp. 23–64; Hans BELTING, *Antropologia obrazu. Szkice do nauki o obrazie*, trans. Mariusz BRYL, Kraków 2012.

⁷ Carl Joachim CLASSEN, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der Antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1986. In Polish literature: Rafał EYSYMONTT, *Laudacja i siatka urbanistyczna. Jak pisano o miastach. Uwagi dotyczące studiów nad urbanistyką miast Śląskich*, [in:] *Marmur dziejowy. Studia z historii sztuki*, ed. Ewa CHOJECKA, Teresa JAKIMOWICZ, Wiesław JUSZCZAK, Waldemar OKOŃ, Poznań 2002, pp. 33–48.

⁸ Krystyna SECOMSKA, *Mistrzowie i księżęta. Malarstwo francuskie XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1989; R. EYSYMONTT, *Miasto Średniowieczne jako dzieło sztuki*, *Archaeologia Historica Polona*, vol. 7: 1998, pp. 103–125; Urszula M. MAZURCZAK, *Miasto w pejzażu malarskim XV wieku. Niderlandy*, Lublin 2004.

⁹ An example of such a treatment of the subject matter is the collection of articles from two conferences in Lüneburg in 1983 and Regensburg in 1985. *Beiträge zum II. Veduten-Colloquium in Lüneburg*, 7.–9.X.1983, III. *Veduten-Colloquium in Regensburg*, 3.–6.X.1985, ed. Angelika MARSCH, Eckhard JÄGER, Lüneburg 2001.

Numerous analyses of pictures of 32 German towns may be found in the 2nd part titled *Stadtbilder* of the collection: *Das Bild der Stadt*, pp. 125–423. An example of the cityscape of various towns made by one author is: *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37. Von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a. d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg. Kommentarband*, ed. Angelika MARSCH, Josef H. BILLER, Frank-Dietrich JACOB, Weißenhorn 2001.

¹⁰ Ferdinand OPLL, *Die Stadt sehen. Städteatlanten und der Blick auf die Stadt*, [in:] *Städteatlanten. Vier Jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa*, ed. Wilfried EHBRECHT, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, p. 7. More literature to be found here.

¹¹ Cited after: Jacob BURCKHARDT, *Der Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch*, Basel 1955, p. 190.

emphasized by Frank-Dietrich Jacob on the occasion of the analysis of images from the travel album of a Palatine Ottoheinrich of 1536–1537¹².

The analysis presented below constitutes an attempt to show those of the countless representations of the cities of Lower Silesia, which best illustrate the basic features of a typical picture of the city during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It seems that proper understanding of their content is possible only taking into account the historical conditions of their creation, or as a result of the analysis of the accompanying texts. It is only in this way that the images of cities become not only objects of art, but also documents of history.

THE REPRESENTATIONS OF WROCLAW IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The four oldest images of the capital of Silesia – Wrocław – despite their seemingly inventory-like nature, have an extremely symbolic character¹³. It is a view from Hartmann Schedel's famous *Chronicle of the World*, an unpreserved view of the city with Saint John of Capistrano in the background of the representation, which was once kept in the sacristy of the Bernardine church in Wrocław's New Town; the view of the city from Ottheinrich's travel album of 1538–1539; and Wrocław's view plan by Barthel Weiner and his son of 1562. Among the most interesting works of the Renaissance period I would include the first measurement plan of Friedrich Gross, his pictorial counterpart from the work of Braun and Hogenberg, along with the view of Lwówek from the beginning of the 17th century.

The oldest picture of Wrocław is the graphics to be found in the *Chronicle of the World* by Hartmann Schedel of 1493¹⁴. This work contains 645 illustrations made by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurf, but they were used in the volume many times (some of the paintings appear in it many

¹² Frank-Dietrich JACOB, *Zur Entwicklung der Stadtdarstellung von der Anfängen bis Mitte 16. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37*, pp. 69–83.

¹³ The information about the informative content of the most important cityscapes of Wrocław is provided by: Wanda KONONOWICZ, *Zur Bedeutung älterer Veduten für die Städtebaugeschichte – dargestellt am Beispiel der Stadt Breslau*, [in:] *Beiträge zum II. Veduten-Colloquium in Lüneburg*, pp. 309–332.

¹⁴ Hartmann Schedel is the author of the texts to the illustrated chronicle of the world published in 1493 in Nuremberg titled *Liber cronicarum cum figuris ymaginibus ab initio mundi*, illustrated with woodcuts made probably in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut. The work has become very popular thanks to its many editions. The most comprehensive study was prepared by Elisabeth RÜCKER, *Dieschedelsche Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit. Mit einem Katalog der Städteansichten* (Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg zur deutsche Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 33), München 1973. The easiest accessible source edition seems to be: Hartmann SCHEDEL, *Weltchronik. Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*, ed. Stephan FÜSSEL, Augsburg 2005.

times with various captions). The two cities shown in the volume, Wrocław and Nysa, were given their true portrayals.



Il. 1. Wrocław. The panorama of the city from Hartmann Schedel's *Chronicle* from 1493; University Library in Wrocław, Oddział Starych Druków, sygn. XV.F.123

The cities in Schedel's *Chronicle* have been presented in a way that shows the awareness of their size and proportions, although they must be described as a standardized model – “*icones et typi*”¹⁵.

The commentary on the representation of Wrocław reveals a very respectable city of the Germans and Sarmatians located on the Oder River: “*Breslau schlesier lands einedle und bey dem teutschen und sarmatischen volck ein fast nahmhaftige statt. liegt an dem fluss der Oder. [...] Dise statt hat von irem anfang her auß versamlung der menschen daselbst zusamen kommende mercklich affung un zierlichkeit an findern und gemainen gepewen empfangen. und zumal wolgezierte gotzhewser*”.

In the following part the author listed these numerous churches: “[...] Aber under den fürtreffen die zwü pfarr Kirchen zu sant Elizabeth und zu sant Maria magdalena. [...] Dise statt ist mit wunderperlicher mawr umbfangen. un an dem ort daran die Oder nit rynnt mit eim tieffen außgeworften graben un mit einer ziegelstainin mawrn bewaret in solcher dicke das die mit geschoße nichtleichtlich zersprochen warden magg. an den mawrn sind vil thürn unnd an schickerlichen enden ergker und vorweer gepawt.

Auch in der statt weyt gassen und weg creuzweys gestalt mit schönen zierlichen hewsern. eben unnd gleichneben einander gelegen. also das ye ein hawß dem andern sein ausgesyht nicht nymbt. So ist an eim fast weyten marckt ein

¹⁵ J. SIMANE, *op.cit.*, pp. 58–59.

rathaus mit einem hohen thurn auff de die wachter mithoren plasen ire spil zu essens zeiten uben”.

The above description fulfills all the requirements of classic laudation, starting from the riverside location of the city, further mentioning its inhabitants and founders. What was not very common at the time is that it is also close to the contemporary urban analysis, defining the features of the city plan, the hierarchy of its most important elements in the sphere of the plan along with the silhouette of the city provided with towers and its sound accents¹⁶.

The Wrocław image of the city from Schedel's Chronicle also clearly shows the city's boundaries and roadside suburbs. This is not only Wrocław's "corona muralis", but also braided fascine fences provided with wooden gates, dividing the areas of Świdnica's pastures from the roads leading to the city. It can also be seen in the Weiners' Plan of 1562 – three generations later. Another interesting element is the diversity of color and drawing of tiles on sacred buildings. It seems real in comparison with the information that the most important buildings in Wrocław had roofs covered with multi-colored glazed tiles in the layout of the Spanish tiling. This applies, for example, to the Church of St. Elisabeth and the Church of Maria Magdalen¹⁷. The presentation of the tiles seems all the more important, because, according to one of the Wrocław chronicles, after the great fire in 1342, the order was issued to change shingle roofs to tile roofs¹⁸.

The description of Silesia by Barthel Stein from the years 1512–1513 proves the above-mentioned role of the towers in the cityscape. For Stein, the tower is an important landmark during the peregrination of the writer across the country. His laudation (the first more accurate description of Silesia from the beginning of the 16th century) begins with the words: "Urbibus o proditot firma Silesia tutis"¹⁹. According to Legnica's description, the castle attracts at-

¹⁶ This literary form has been known since the times of Pericles and developed very well during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern times. Its basic feature is the fact that the depicted town was not described as such, but with the aim of praising the activity of its founders and inhabitants. C. J. CLASSEN, op.cit., p. 10. See more: R. EYSYMONTT, *Laudacja i siatka urbanistyczna*, pp. 33–48.

¹⁷ In 1598 the roof of the Church of St. Elisabeth, destroyed by the storm, was again covered with red and green tiling in the checker layout. Ludwig BURGEMEISTER, Günther GRUNDMANN, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Breslau*, vol. 2, Breslau 1933, p. 80. In 1495 the roof of red and green tiling was laid on the Church of Maria Magdalena. Samuel Benjamin KLOSE, *Architectura Wratislaviensis*, Breslau 1936, p. 8.

¹⁸ Carl Adolf MENZEL, *Topographische Chronik von Breslau*, Breslau 1805, p. 92.

¹⁹ *Descriptio tocius Silesie et civitatis regie wratislaviensis per M. Bartholomeum Stenum*, ed. Hermann MARKGRAF, Breslau 1902 (further cit. *Descriptio*). It is the first verse of the introductory laudation: "Elagiacum quod provincia malloquitur Silesitanam". Without page numbers. It is worth mentioning that this text individualizing the representation of towns belongs to one of the earliest texts from the territory situated north of the Alps. The oldest text of this kind was

tention thanks to three high towers, one of which is higher than the others²⁰. The situation in Opole was similar²¹. The tower in Nysa is listed next to the episcopal properties²². In Świdnica, towers appear in the description of the moat and double city walls as the main element of its defense system²³. Sometimes this *pars pro toto* tower is a tall, elevated roof, as it was the case with the description of the Wrocław roofs in the laudation of the Silesian towns of Pancras Vulturinus of 1521²⁴. Extremely interesting in the description of Stein is the precise presentation of Wrocław towers²⁵. According to him, the towers are made of baked brick, covered with lead tiles, or lead plates (the tower of the Church of St. Christopher); others are plastered white and covered with glazed tiles (the tower of the Church of St. Barbara)²⁶. The author sees the diversity of cathedral towers, one of which is decorated with a squared stone, and its top is covered with a copper sheet²⁷. Towers “protrude above the roofs”, they have spikes “reaching for clouds”²⁸, “shooting at the sky”. Stein notices that from the watchtower the tower trumpeter announces hours, whilst during the day the flute players announce the time of breakfast and dinner²⁹.

From the church towers, “there come sounds, there are so many bronze bells and so many chimes [...] that it would be even too much for three cities”³⁰. One of the towers – the tower of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, according to Stein’s text, served as an observation point and is therefore

written by the canon of the cathedral Heinrich von Tribbe of Minden (ca. 1460) and the Dominican monk Felix Fabrio describing Ulm (1488). Peter JOHANEK, *Die Mauer und die Heiligen. Stadtvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400–1800*, p. 38.

²⁰ *Descriptio*, pp. 16, 17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

²⁴ The text is analyzed by Paul DRECHSLER, *Pancrati Vulturini Panegiricus Slesacus, die älteste Landeskunde Schlesiens*, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, Bd. 35: 1901, pp. 35–89. The title of the original: “Slesia Bresla etc. Totius Slesiae: primo in generali; deinde urbis Vratislaviensis, Swidnicensis, Stregoviensis ceterarumque urbium et opidam in circuituadia centium pulcherime et singularis descriptio”. It was first published by Michael Schwarzbeck in 1521 in Nysa. There appeared also subsequent copies. According to P. DRECHSLER, *op.cit.*, pp. 35–37. See also: R. EYSYMONTT, *Laudacja i siatka urbanistyczna*, p. 47, fn. 20.

²⁵ *Bartłomieja Steina renesansowe opisanie Wrocławia*, ed. Rościław ŻERELIK, Wrocław 1994, p. 18 et al.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

reinforced with beams³¹; also the town hall tower “looks at the whole area of the city and the surrounding fields”³².

As the town hall tower became the protagonist of the city’s history, symbols of its political significance appeared on it. From among the Silesian examples, I would mention here the placement of the images of its political patrons – the king of Bohemia, princes and knights on the tower of the town hall in the years 1392–1393³³.

The phenomenon of towers on the market halls modeled after the Flemish Belfry of Bruges, clearly different from the town hall towers³⁴, should be considered to be important in the analysis of vertical elements of the Silesian city. This is the case, for example, in Strzegom, where the market tower with the lower stone storeys, and the upper brick storeys was erected before 1365, since it is the year from which a bell hanging in it comes. This tower was covered with a lead roof in 1433³⁵. The Town Hall Tower was to be built much later, since the first record concerning the Town Hall dates back to 1455³⁶.

The construction of the tower is shown in the central part of the Nysa panorama in Welchbeck by Hartmann Schedel. The text of the description of this city is also a kind of laudation – the praise of its owner – the bishop³⁷: “Die bisschoflich namhaftig statt Neys Schlesier lannds an dem fluss Neys gelegen hat von demselben flus iren namen empfangen und ist mit mancherlay gepewen geziert”.

After the praise of Bishop Jan Roth, Schedel mentions Nysa as the second city of Silesia after Wrocław and only then follows Głogów, Legnica, Opole, Świdnica, Cieszyn, Oleśnica, Ząbkowice, Ziębice, Żagań and Brzeg.

“Außerhalb der statt Breßlaw sinnd sunnst namhaftig derumbt stett in diesem lannd. Nemlich dise statt Neyss, Gross Glogau Lignitz Ooppel Schwednitz Teschen Olsna Franckenstein Monsterberg Sagan Brega”.

³¹ Ibid., p. 28.

³² Ibid., p. 21.

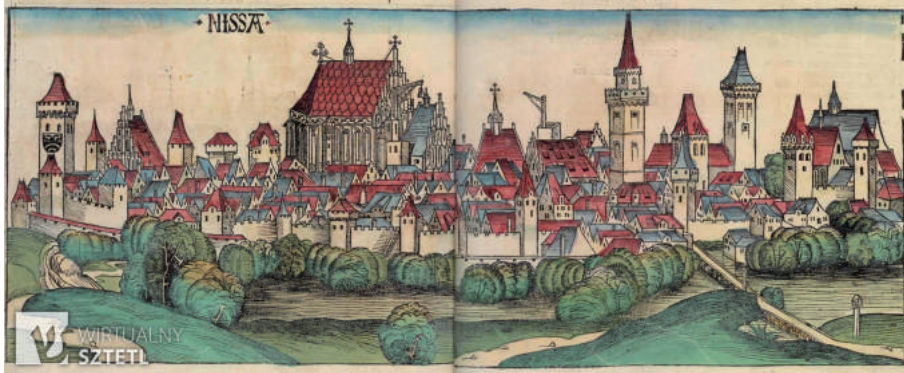
³³ According to Jacek Witkowski, it is the image of King of Bohemia Wenceslaus IV, Duke Bolko II and Henryk II along with 5 knights. Jacek WITKOWSKI, *Posągi na wieży ratuszowej w Jaworze. Warsztat, czas i okoliczności fundacji*, Biuletyn Historii Sztuki, vol. 56: 1994, no. 3, pp. 229–240. Janusz Kęłowski had identified the people in the image in a different way, see: Janusz KĘŁOWSKI, *Pomniki Piastów Śląskich w dobie średniowiecza*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 134–139.

³⁴ Rafał EYSYMONTT, *Symbolika ratuszy w przestrzeni miasta średniowiecznego. Wybrane przykłady*, Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, vol. 74: 2014, pp. 53–76.

³⁵ In the document concerning the redecoration the tower was referred to as ‘marktorm’. Julius FILLA, *Chronik der Stadt Striegau. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1889*, Striegau 1889, p. 340.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 75.

³⁷ H. SCHEDEL, op.cit., tabl. CCLXVII.



Il. 2. The panorama of Nysa from Hartmann Schedel's *Chronicle* from 1493; University Library in Wrocław, Oddział Starych Druków, sygn. XV.F.123

The fact that the image of Wrocław from Hartmann Schedel's *Chronicle* is only a certain emblem and expression of optimism is evidenced by his comparison with Barthel Stein's text of 1512–1513, written twenty years later, which describes a historical city, at the same time showing a certain pessimism towards its future³⁸. It was not unfounded anyway. The beginning of the 16th century is the time when the wave which had raised Silesian cities high in the hierarchy of European cities, had already fallen. Further transformations of the city concerned rather the exchange of helmets on Gothic churches, new gables and portals on Gothic houses, new earthy fortifications – not bricked ones as it was the case with Gothic fortifications. The transformation did not concern new parts of the city and buildings that would alter the image of the city in a significant way.

The second, in terms of time, creation of the city of Wrocław is the view of the city in the background with John of Capistrano, once stored in the Bernardine church in Wrocław, which, unlike the *Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel, had only a local dimension³⁹. The altar painting in the chapel funded by Valentin Haunold in the Church of St. Bernardino of Siena in 1503 presents a monk against the background of the panorama of Wrocław. According to the sources, he commanded the armies of the anti-Turkish crusade at Belgrade in

³⁸ Stein writes: "Breslau, der Hauptstadt Schlesiens und ehemals dem einzigen und sicherlich dem besuchtesten Binnenhandelsplatz der Völker des Nordens, habe ich deshalb eine gesonderte und eingehendere Beschreibung widmen zu sollen geglaubt, weil sein Glück, nicht sowohl durch seine eigene Schuld, als durch die Mißgunst der benachbarten Reiche, Fürsten und Städte, denen sein Wachsthum ein Dorn im Auge ist, allmählich sich zu neigen und auf eine niedrigere Stufe herabzusinken beginnt"; *Bartłomieja Steina renesansowe opisanie Wrocławia*, p. 64.

³⁹ Gustav BARTHEL, *Der Stätte Königin. Das Stadtbild Breslaus in der Schau des Künstlers*, Breslau 1944, il. 1.

July 1456⁴⁰. He tramples the Turkish sultan Mehmed II Fatih with his feet⁴¹. On the right side there is shown a crowd of the city's residents.

The presentation with the new patron of the city resembles images of cities from the early 14th century, in which the saint patron is shown with the model of the city, as taking the city under his protection. The best example here is a painted model of San Gimignano presented by Saint Geminian created by Taddeo di Bartolo of 1391 kept in Pinacoteca Publica in this city⁴². This is not an isolated example. The representation of Saint Blase with the 'model' of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) – painted for the Dominican monastery in this city by Nikola Božidarević, dates back to the beginning of the 16th century⁴³. In these three cases, the view, or symbolic model of the city, is an important attribute of the picture of the saint.

Let us compare two pictures of the city – the one from the Chronicle of Schedel and the other from the representation with John of Capistrano. They were created in a similar time, at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. In both cases, the city view was made from the same point,



Il. 3. The lost panorama of Wrocław in the background of the painting with John of Capistrano; Gustav Barthel, *Der Stätte Königin. Das Stadtbild Breslaus in der Schau des Künstlers*, Breslau 1944, il. 1

⁴⁰ Jakub KOSTOWSKI, *Wrocławski obraz Jana Kapistrana a wczesna ikonografia świętego*, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Nauk o Sztuce. Sprawozdania, vol. 106: 1988, p. 179.

⁴¹ Idem, „*Capistranus Triumphans*” z badań nad wczesną ikonografią świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Jana Kapistrana na północ od Alp, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 57: 1995, no. 1–2, p. 119.

⁴² Attribution after: Enrico GUIDONI, *Storia Urbanistica*, [in:] *Atlante storico delle città italiane. Toscana*, vol. 5: *San Gimignano*, ed. E. GUIDONI, Firenze–Roma 1997, pp. 32, 33. The picture is not listed among the works of this author in another study: Monica LEONCINI, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, [in:] *La Pittura in Italia*, vol. 2: *Il Duecento e il Trecento*, ed. Roberto CONTINI, Clelia GINETTI, Milano 1986, p. 663. On this image as 'Identifikationsmodell' see also: A. J. MARTIN, op.cit., p. 66.

⁴³ Data about the panorama of Dubrovnik after Anton TRAVIRKA, *Dubrovnik. Das goldene Buch*, Zadar 2005.

although the crowning of the towers in the picture with John of Capistrano is somewhat different to what can be seen in the Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel. The town hall tower in the view from the picture with John of Capistrano takes on a more decorative polygonal form, which in reality did not appear in the town hall in Wrocław. This tower is clearly scaled, which certainly carries a specific message.

The city is perfectly protected, which can be seen on both views in the presentation of the fortifications with the magnificent Świdnica Gate, located in the same lot, in the lower left corner. In both cases, the viewer directs their gaze further up to the right along the diagonally led line of fortifications up to the tower of the Church of St. Cross. Near the tower of the Church of St. Elisabeth, in the representation by Schedel there is the inscription “Bresslau”. On the other hand, in the view with John of Capistrano, one can see the flowers, the cross and the symbol of Jesus Christ – IHS – the obvious proof of a purposeful sacralization of the last image. Such an interpretation is also emphasized by the high presbytery with resistance arches visible in the painting with John of Capistrano above the crowded roofs of the gabled houses – this is the city parish church of St. Mary Magdalen.



Il. 4. The panorama of Wrocław from Ottoheinrich's chronicle of 1536–1538; Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Handschriftenabteilung, Reisealbum Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs von seinem Zug nach Krakau, sygn. Delin VI, Bl. 48

In both representations, however, the tower of the parish Church of St. Elisabeth, still bearing the Gothic helmet, from before the catastrophe in 1529, overlooks the city.

In contrast to the above-discussed cityscapes, the image of Wrocław in the chronicle of Ottheinrich's journey of 1536–1538 is unusual, because in reality

it is the presentation of his impressions. The wide, surrounding landscape, not separated from the entourage of the fortified city, unlike the image from the Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, tells us to associate the view from Ottheinrich's chronicle with the first famous depictions of Venice by Jacopo Brabari of 1502, a view of Antwerp by Erhard Reuwich of 1512–1513 or a prospectus of Cologne of 1531, measuring 3.5 meters in length. It is also quite obvious to associate the paintings of Albrecht Dürer emphasizing the unity of the city with the surrounding landscape. Here, the most characteristic is the view of Innsbruck of the years 1494–1495 with the river in the foreground in which the silhouette of the city is reflected⁴⁴.



Il. 5. The gate of the castle in Burghausen with the coats of arms of Georg of Bavaria and Hedwig Jagiellon; fot. R. Eysmontt

According to the inventor, the collection of drawings from Ottheinrich's travel album was made between October 1536 and April 1538. This means that it is the first supra-regional series of cityscapes issued after the Chronicle of the World by Hartmann Schedel of 1493. For many cities, those were also their oldest pre-war representations. The Palatine, a well-known collector of artistic objects, in 1536 went to Cracow to the court of King Sigismund I the Old, the Polish king, to claim the dowry for his grandmother Jadwiga, the king's sister. The result of the trip was not only the recovery of the legacy, but also a great

⁴⁴ Jan Simane provides such a Renaissance panorama of the city; J. SIMANE, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

collection of cityscapes⁴⁵. This work may be attributed to Mathias Gerung, who in the years 1530–1532 portrayed Ottheinrich, a Palatine from Neuburg on the Danube⁴⁶.

The panorama was made from the side of the road towards Grodków and Nysa, and from the place where nowadays Pułaskiego Street ends, i.e. the location of the gallows – the symbol of urban justice visible on the left side. Nowadays, they can be located east of the former Upper Silesian railway station. On the map of the city of 1717, they were marked with the symbol and description as “das Hohe Gericht”⁴⁷. This point had to be slightly higher in relation to the city located on the plain, and therefore became a good place for its depiction. However, considering that whole Wrocław from Mikołajska Gate in the west to Ceglarska Gate in the east is about 1.5 km long, one should agree with Angelika March’s indication that in reality the city must have been sketched from several places⁴⁸. According to the vision of the artist who came from the same country as Albrecht Dürer, the city is represented in a vast landscape with fantastic Trzebnicki Hills in the background, which are reminiscent of the Alps.

The towers are presented here with helmets already changed in relation to Schedel’s image in 1493. Despite the fragmentary meticulousness, the image of Wrocław constitutes a more sketchy than precise documentation, though some of its elements, such as the new late Gothic town hall, the tower of the Church of Mary Magdalen partly destroyed in 1533, or the tower of the imperial castle were presented very precisely. Such fragmentary accuracy, however, does not compensate the shortages of the panorama, which are i.e. the failure to take into account the important Church of St. Cross on Tumska Island, or a misrepresentation of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand. The analyzed panorama differs from Schedel’s view in the fact that it includes the New Town of Wrocław founded in 1263 – normally not drawn by travellers and not surrounded by the city walls. None of the artists had presented the miserable New Town of Wrocław in their panorama so far.

WROCLAW – AN IDEAL CITY

The ideal city shown in the image and functioning for a long time, regular in the geometric sense that completely caters for the material and spiritual

⁴⁵ J. H. BILLER, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Ansichtfolge*, [in:] *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37*, pp. 43–62.

⁴⁶ A. MARSCH, *Einleitung*, [in:] *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ The plan of the city of 1717. Reproduced in: *Legnica*, ed. Rafał EYSYMONTT, Mateusz GOLIŃSKI (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich vol. 4: Śląsk, no. 9), Wrocław 2009, il. 27. The plan is preserved in Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Kartenabteilung, sygn. x/s 20 644.

⁴⁸ A. MARCH, *Breslau*, [in:] *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37*, p. 279.



Il. 6. The view of Wrocław by Barthel Weiner and his son from 1562; University Library in Wrocław, Oddział Zbiorów Kartograficznych, sygn. 5855-A

needs of its residents, results from the productive forces and the particular state of society available at a given time⁴⁹.

As the ideal city, one should see Wrocław presented on a well-known image of 1562 made by Barthel Weiner the son⁵⁰. Today, we use the copy of this plan drawn up in 1826 under the supervision of Dr. Paritus, a copy of 1882 or

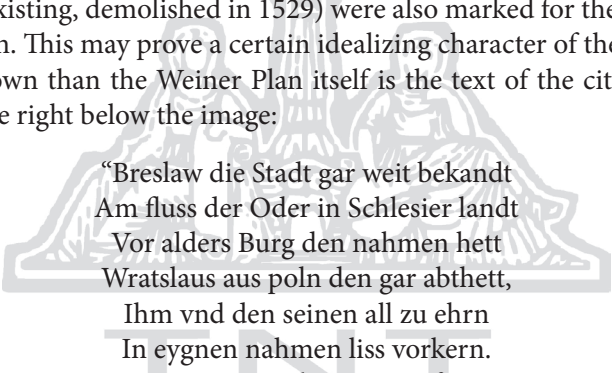
⁴⁹ I quote after: *Idealstadt*, [in:] *Lexikon der Kunst*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1984, p. 361.

⁵⁰ The axonometric-perspective plan of Wrocław, 1562, *Contrafactur der Stadt Bresslau* Barthel Weiner (father and son). Funded by a burgher of Wrocław Georg Uber dedicated to King of Bohemia Maximilian II and his father Emperor Ferdinand I upon the occasion of the coronation in Prague, until 1945 was stored in Stadtbibliothek Breslau. The reproduction modelled on the copy of the plan in the form of lithographs coloured on a 1:1 scale by Christian Friedrich Paritus in 1826 is stored in University Library in Wrocław, Oddział Zbiorów Kartograficznych, sygn. 5855-A.

1929⁵¹. This is the first view plan of Wrocław, or its axonometry. One could also define it as a painted model of the city. The precision of the representation has made many generations of researchers of the city use it. It concerns e.g. the number of houses in individual sections of the frontage, in accordance with the so-called *rejestr karowy* – a list of charges for street cleaning dependent on the width of the lot, expressed in ells, dating from 1564⁵².

The inventory character of the plan confirms the diversity of colors which determined the type of roofs – dark brown roofs were shingle roofs, while red roofs corresponded to tiles. The view also shows the two-color cover of the checkerboard pattern of the roofs of two urban churches – the Church of St. Elizabeth and the Church of St. Mary Magdalen along with the Town Hall and the pattern of the Maltese cross on the roof of the Church of St. Dorothy. Interestingly, the same elements are shown more than 100 years later, in the image of the city by Daniel Datschitzki dating from 1668⁵³. The names of the streets and the Benedictine abbey in Olbin situated north of the fortifications (no longer existing, demolished in 1529) were also marked for the first time in Weiner's plan. This may prove a certain idealizing character of the work.

Less known than the Weiner Plan itself is the text of the city's laudation placed on the right below the image:



“Breslaw die Stadt gar weit bekandt
Am fluss der Oder in Schlesier landt
Vor alders Burg den nahmen hett
Wratslaus aus poln den gar abthett,
Ihm vnd den seinen all zu ehrn
In eygnen nahmen liss vorkern.
Hier ist nue eben Contrafeit
Wie schön sie ist/ wie gross/ wie breit,
Mit kloster/ kirchen/ hospitalnn/
Thurmspitzen/ Mauern/vnd auch waln/
Plazen/ thorn pasteÿn vnd schutten
Vor aller feinde grausam wutten.
Auch strassen/ heusern/ platz dorbeÿ
Sind abgemalt kunstlich vnd freÿ
Aus rechter Geomerischer artt
Wie solchs aus Mas des Circkels wardt

⁵¹ W. KONONOWICZ, op.cit., p. 312.

⁵² Hermann KIENITZ, *Das Karrengeldregister von Breslau aus dem Jahre 1564*, Die Schlesischen Familienforscher, Bd. 2: 1938, no. 7/8, pp. 83–89, 134–154.

⁵³ Angelika MARSCH, Rafał EYSYMONTT, *Breslau 1668. Eine wieder entdeckte Stadtansicht*, Görlitz–Zittau 2005.

Durch Barthel Weihner und sein Sonn
 Georg Vber wagt darauff deñ Johnn
 Machtens zu Breslaw in der Stadt
 Zu lob/ ehr/ preÿss ihr Maiestadt. 1.5.6.2”

A similar inscription was made in the Latin language.

As can be seen, all this perfect multicolored city complex has been made for the glory of the ruler. This is also confirmed by the inscription placed above the painting: “Augustissimis atque in clitiss archidvcibvs Avstriae DD Ferdinando Rom. Imp. Et Maximiliano Hvngariae Bohemia eq. Regibus etc. Doiminis svis clementiss. Obseqviet boniominis ergo dedicatem. Incorporatione Pragen Anno MDLXII”.

In this perspective, the appearance of both father and son (Barthel Weiner and his son) in the signature to the work and in the inscription for the addressees is very interesting. The image is destined to be dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand and his son Maximilian crowned in 1562 to be the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

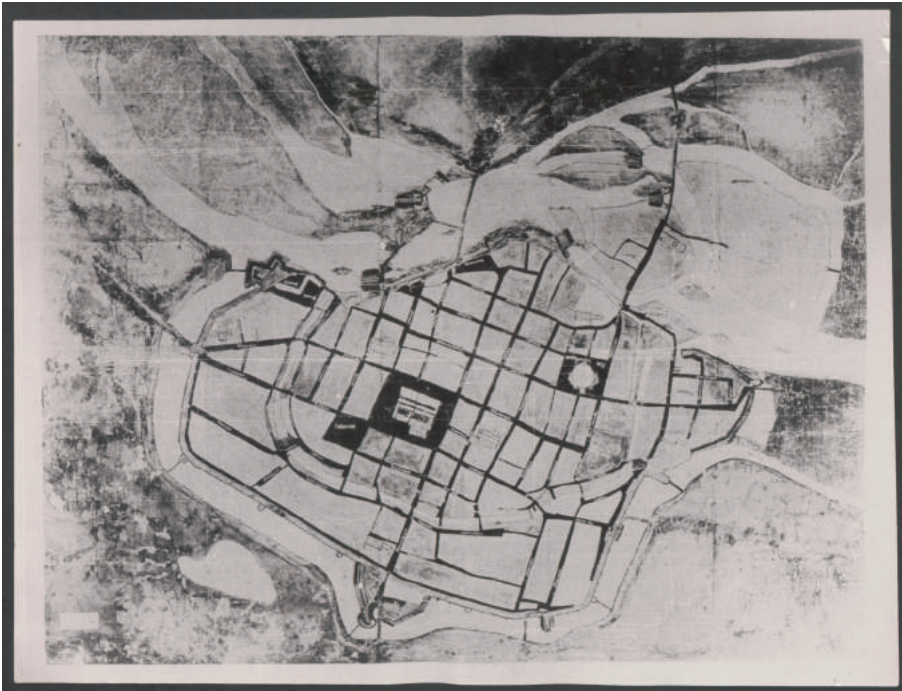
The dedication to the ruler in the text of the caption of the plan has its political foundations. It was the moment when the political role of cities was threatened. Only fifteen years earlier, Ferdinand I had imposed control over cities in the form of royal ‘city judges’ overseeing all urban affairs and cancelled many municipal privileges. A large part of the communal ownership of the Bohemian cities had been then taken over by the Crown.

The plan presents marvellous, modern bastion fortifications, prepared to defend against the Turkish invasion with the help of modern cannons. In the year when the plan was drawn up, Emperor Ferdinand signed a peace treaty in Istanbul, which was a confirmation of the truce of 1547, in which he pledged to pay to the Turks through the king of Hungary an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats. Perhaps the city authorities, offering the emperor the image depicting a rich and safe city, wanted to secure the privileges of Wrocław. The image of the magnificent fortifications was intended to express the readiness to confront the Turkish army and to assure the emperor about the loyalty of burghers. The political affiliation of the city is evidenced by the coats of arms placed in the corners – a two-headed imperial eagle with a gold chain hanging under it, a Bohemian lion, the coat of arms of the bishop of Wrocław and a four-field coat of arms of the city.

RENAISSANCE CITY

In 1578, sixteen years after Weiner’s plan of Wrocław, the city builder, sculptor and stonemason Friedrich Groß made the first measurement plan of the city on a scale of 1 : 4,500. Friedrich Groß, who died in 1589 or 1598, from 1586 made new fortifications upon the commission of the City Council. His

works included, among others, the pulpit in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen and the cover of the baptismal font in this church. His plan was made on the basis of the measurement plan of Frederik Hendricks Vroom⁵⁴. Unfortunately, the original plan has not been preserved, and we only know it from the photosensitive copy of the plan stored at the Herder Institute in Marburg. The original was painted with a tempera technique.



Il. 7. The reproduction of the lost plan of the city of Wrocław by Friedrich Groß; University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory Kartograficzne, sygn. 9077 II C

In the plan of Groß, not only the outline of the building blocks and the streets were carefully marked out, but also the vaults of the most important churches were placed there. This is the evidence of seeing the city as a modular system consisting of the following elements – a span of a the building, a building, a block of buildings, a city as a whole. As an example of a similar method of representing the city, one may recall an extraordinary modular plan of the ideal city of the Renaissance period, Pienza, the foundation of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (the Pope Pius II). The city was built according to the design

⁵⁴ The information about Friedrich Gross the Older on the basis of: Piotr OSZCZANOWSKI, *Gross Friedrich St. (1540–1589)*, [in:] *Leksykon architektury Wrocławia*, ed. Rafał EYSYMONTT, Wrocław 2011, p. 976.

of Bernard Rossellini, who, according to the Pope's order, was to imitate the splendid cathedrals of the north⁵⁵. Silesian analogies to the 16th century plan of Groß, also showing the projections of the most important sacred buildings of the city are two plans of Legnica kept in the Vienna collection. However, they come only from the first half of the 18th century – from ca. 1706⁵⁶ and ca. 1735⁵⁷.

Just a few years later after the plan of Groß had been developed, perhaps the most common view of Wrocław was created on the basis of the famous work *Urbium præciparum mundi theatrum Civitates orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg published in Cologne in 1572–1622⁵⁸.

Theatrum orbis terrarum of a Fleming – Abraham Ortelius who died in 1598, containing 53 maps of countries, a large part of which was drawn by



Il. 8. The view of Wrocław by Braun and Hogenberg of 1582;
University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory Kartograficzne, sygn. 8 IV B. 2

⁵⁵ R. EYSYMONTT, *Laudacja i siatka urbanistyczna*, p. 39.

⁵⁶ Plan de la ville de Liegnitz, ca. 1706, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Kartensammlung, sygn. FKB L 16 Kar. Reproduced in: *Legnica*, op.cit.

⁵⁷ Plan de la ville et Chateau de Liegnitz en Silesie, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Kartensammlung, sygn. FKB F 7/6. Reproduced in: *Legnica*, op.cit.

⁵⁸ The text analysed after: *Contrafactur Und Beschreibung von den vornembsten Stetten der Welt. Liber Tertius*. University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory kartograficzne, sygn. 8 IV b. The annotation in the card indicates that the volume was created in 1582.

Franz Hogenberg, constitutes one of the greatest examples of the editing of the period⁵⁹.

The texts of this work, which depart from the poetics of the aforementioned laudation towards the epic narrative, are undoubtedly less frequently analyzed than the pictures of cities⁶⁰.

In the introduction to the third volume of *Civitates orbis terrarum* (dated 1582) we read about the geography or a description of the world, which only talks about the world in a global way, while the artist (here Albrecht Dürer is recalled) presents the world in accordance with his own taste. The objective of the work of a topographer is distinct as he is the one who conscientiously presents each part of the world. In his work, there are villages, islands, rivers, lakes, mountains, sources etc., and in the end – cities, depicted, as they present themselves in front of the author, who praises Franz Hogenberg for having prepared the book with great artistry, incurring considerable costs and overcoming many hardships. The source of comments for the images of the city are indicated – these are old and new books, but also the author's own experiences. Next, we read about the purpose of the work of cartographers who are to show cities so that every reader can see all the streets, buildings and squares. The author also emphasizes that the reader can get to know them in a safe place in their own home. Here they will see the landscape in which we live, rivers, streams, which others can learn only during distant dangerous trips. The reader can get to know not only the location and shape of the city, but also its internal organization (today we would say the condition), and, among other things, whether free art develops there according to fashion, or whether the trade is strong there. The atlas is also a source of knowledge about the rights and customs of other nations.

It may be said without exaggeration that the texts commenting on the city plans became, according to the creators, a tool for what today we would call “comparative town planning”.

The author of the above-mentioned text was Georg Braun⁶¹, Cologne's canon and dean, who died in 1622. The paintings were engraved by the Flemish artist Franz Hogenberg of Mechelen (died in 1592), who, after leaving his country in 1567, worked in Spain. The Dutchman Simon van Noevel also contributed to publishing the volume *Novellanus*. Among the authors of drawings, it is necessary to mention the court painter of the Bavarian Prince of Munich and the Archduke of Tyrol Georg Hufnagel (1542–1600) from Antwerp.

⁵⁹ The information about the authors of the work is provided by: G. BARTHEL, op.cit., pp. 31–33.

⁶⁰ Such a term to refer to this kind of texts is used by E. KLEINSCHMIDT, op.cit., p. 78.

⁶¹ G. BARTHEL, op.cit., p. 32.

The extremely precise plan of Wrocław attached to the fourth volume of the analyzed work published in Cologne in 1587 was ordered by a patrician Jacob Moravius and paid for by him. His author remains unknown, but he was perhaps inspired by the aforementioned plan of the city builder Fryderyk Groß of 1578⁶². It is also possible that its creator was Georg Hayer, the author of other well-known images of the city, a painter and engraver, the godfather of Groß's children, who died in 1604.

The work has also its symbolic meaning. On the title page of the third volume with a view of Wrocław, four allegories were presented: *OPV-LENTIA*, *SECVRITAS*, *COMMVNITAS*, *OBEDIENTIA* – wealth, security, community, obedience followed by *PAX* and *CONCORDIA* – peace and consent. All these features in the image of Wrocław are clearly visible – wealth is represented by red tile roofs on all houses; security is reflected in a closed system of fortifications; community is the ideal city plan with a public space in the form of a centrally located market; obedience is represented by the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the coat of arms of Wrocław; peace and consent is an obvious wish of the city authorities of every town. In the introductory commentary to this very precise plan, Wrocław is described as a city located on the river, surrounded by fields. In the captions including also the suburbs among 91 items, the objects are numbered according to the itinerary route, which started from the west gate side. The numbering does not take into account the usual hierarchy of objects, and the order of the items in the captions indicates the geographical and encyclopedic character of the work.



Il. 9. The title card of 3rd volume of *Civitates orbis terrarum*; University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory Kartograficzne, sygn. 8 IV B. 3

⁶² Such an opinion is expressed i.e. by W. KONONOWICZ, op.cit., p. 312.

THE IDEAL EARLY-MODERN IMAGE OF THE CITY – THE REPRESENTATION
OF LWÓWEK OF THE BEGINNING OF THE 17TH CENTURY⁶³

In this representation from the beginning of the 17th century, Lwówek is shown as an ideal city, almost like the cities of the colonies of the Florentine Republic painted by Giorgio Vasari in 1563–1565 in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence⁶⁴. It has the outline of a regular rectangle – which was not, of course, true. It is surrounded by unusually solid fortifications with a double ring of walls, a huge south bastion and a roundel in the north-east corner. The City Hall Tower and the tower of the western city gate overlook the city. The city is filled with regular houses situated along the streets. The powerful western towers of the parish church dominate in this part of the city, and their rescaling strengthens the effect of the arbitrariness of the representation⁶⁵.

The image of Lwówek constitutes the glorification of the city authorities, as evidenced by the numbering of the presented buildings, according to which the Town Hall and the Town Hall Tower are numbered 1 and 2, which are followed by the church towers and towers of urban fortifications. It is hard not to notice its emblematic character. The city was shown with a bastion system created around the mid-16th century with the defense fortification running along the southern part of the outer wall, probably designed by Archonati the Elder, who was active in the city in the mid-16th century, and marked by Frederick Bernhardt Werner of 1748 as *Pfortel*⁶⁶. This gate did not, as it can be seen, end with a bridge, and led straight to the Płuczka Stream, which surrounded the city from the south. One can also see the second bastion of Złotoryjska Gate (this is perhaps still preserved so-called Archonati's Bastion) filled with the army with peaks set upright⁶⁷. The representation with the imperial coats of arms probably was to present the city's defensive power prior to the Swedish siege begun in 1640, or the siege by the imperial army in December 1643⁶⁸.

⁶³ Herder Institute in Marburg, sygn. BAG 1672. The representation is known from the reproduction by Paul Poklekowski of 1932. The original in the bishop's archive in Görlitz is attributed to Frederick Bernhardt Werner, which seems to be erroneous owing to the image of the city, the letters in the captions and the placement of Habsburg's eagle in the picture. The surroundings of the city also differ from what is presented in the picture by Frederick Bernhardt Werner from his *Scenography* of the mid-18th century.

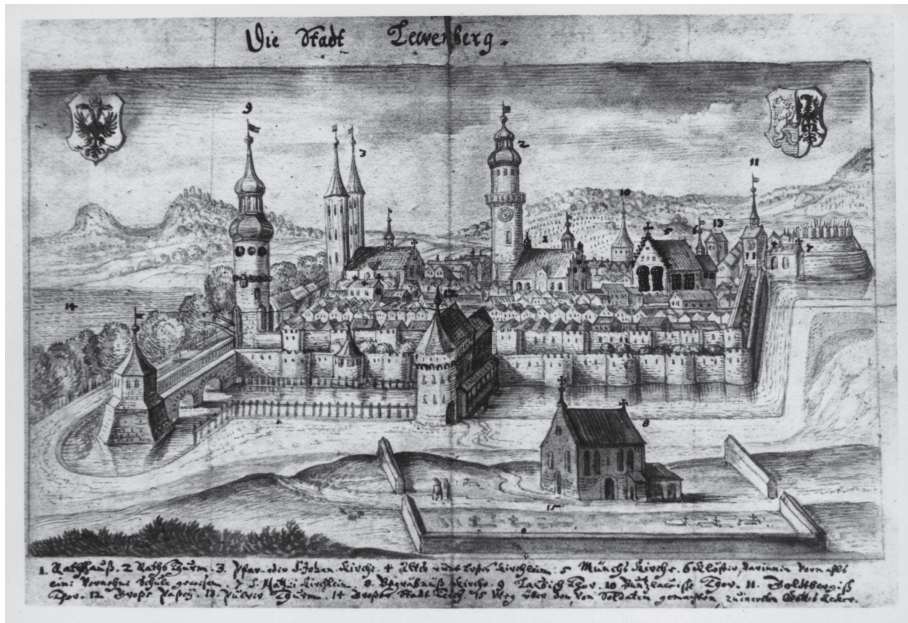
⁶⁴ About the cities with the ideal external rectangular outline: Rafał EYSYMONTT, *Kod genetyczny miasta. Średniowieczne miasta lokacyjne Dolnego Śląska na tle urbanistyki europejskiej*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 147–152.

⁶⁵ Mieczysław ZŁAT, *Lwówek*, Wrocław 1961, p. 130; Mariusz OLCZAK, *Lwówek Śląski i okolice. Przewodnik historyczny*, Warszawa 2000, p. 69. The southern gate of the church collapsed in 1659 and was rebuilt until 1707. M. ZŁAT, *op.cit.*, p. 132.

⁶⁶ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, sygn. GStA PK, XVII. HA, Rep. 135. nr. 526/5. fol. 329.

⁶⁷ About Master Archonati in Lwówek: M. ZŁAT, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

⁶⁸ M. OLCZAK, *op.cit.*, p. 21.



Il. 10. The plan of Lwówek of the beginning of the 17th century;
Herder Institute in Marburg, sygn. BAG 1672



Il. 11. The panorama of Legnica from the west-north side. Eberhardt Kieser,
the copperplate of 1637 made from the plate of 1623. Daniel Meisner, *Thesaurus-philosophicus. Hoc est emblemata sive moralia politica*, Frankfurt am Main, 1723.

University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory Graficzne, sygn. Inw. Graf 1456

In connection with the propaganda role of the image, the south-western bastion, which extends beyond the line of the walls and is connected with the city by two spans of the bridge over the moat, seems to be more than real size. It resembles almost the *dansker* of the Teutonic castle.

CONCLUSION

The image of the city on the city portrayals (*vedutas*), perspective plans and classic flat plans from the 15th and 16th centuries is always drawn in a similar way. It is the space surrounded by the *corona muralis*, filled with buildings erected from certain materials, but also with buildings carrying a political message. The message is addressed to the ruler and the writer, geographer, merchant, and nowadays even to a fan of a given city. As is shown by the recent abundance of websites devoted to the image of cities, the emblematic representation of the city is currently of great interest, although in 1632, in Legnica, we read: “AD LABORES SUBEUNDOS NULLUS INVENTUR HERES”⁶⁹.

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THE REPRESENTATION OF SELECTED SILESIA CITIES IN THE 15TH–17TH CENTURIES

Summary

Key words: urban planning, city iconography, history of architecture, urban laudation

The representation of Silesian cities during the late Middle Ages and early modern times combines illustrative and textual elements. Both of these elements are subject to certain rules typical of the poetics of the so-called *laudation*. The representation

⁶⁹ The panorama of Legnica from the west-north side. Eberhardt Kieser, the copperplate of 1637 made from the plate of 1623. Daniel MEISNER, *Thesaurus-philopoliticus. Hoc est emblemata sive moralia politica*, Frankfurt am Main, 1723. University Library in Wrocław, Zbiory Graficzne, sygn. Inw. Graf 1456.

(imagery) of each of the analyzed cities (the analysis in this case concerns mainly the capital of Lower Silesia – Wrocław) has a *corona muralis*, along with significant dominant profiles, which are naturally the church towers and the town hall. The towers of Nysa in the image of Hartmann Schedel are associated with the idea of Flemish belfries. Since the time of Hartmann Schedel's Chronicle of 1493 the *vedutas* have also been provided with a commentary, fulfilling the functions of a classical laudation that praises the city's good natural location, the beautiful shape and power of its founder. The image and text from Hartmann Schedel's Chronicle may be compared with the famous description of the city of Wrocław by Barthel Stein of 1512. The least-known, if one of the oldest, image of Wrocław is the panorama with John of Capistrano in the background of 1503; it refers to the view from *Weltchronik* of 1493 only to some extent, though presenting a more symbolic, sacred character. On the other hand, the picture of Wrocław made in 1537 during the trip of the Palatine Ottheinrich from Neuburg on the Danube to Cracow is more impressive, although symbolic elements also appear here.

The view of the city of 1562 should be described as a picture of the ideal town, made for specific political reasons. In turn, the first measurement plan of Wrocław by Frederick Groß of 1579 and the view of Wrocław from the volume of Braun and Hogenberg of 1572–1618 should be considered the typical Renaissance plan of the consciously inventory-like character. The plan of Frederick Groß expresses the idea of the modularity of the city consisting of sacral buildings and rectangular building blocks. It can be compared with Legnica's plans from the beginning of the 18th century. The text of Braun and Hogenberg's volume can be regarded as an early example of comparative urban planning. The *veduta* of Lwówek, created in the 17th century, should be considered to be close to the medieval paintings of a perfectly protected city.

DIE DARSTELLUNG VON SCHLESISCHEN STÄDTEN IM 15. BIS 17. JAHRHUNDERT

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Urbanistik, Stadtkonografie, Architekturgeschichte, Stadtlaudation

Die Darstellung von schlesischen Städten im späten Mittelalter und der beginnenden frühen Neuzeit verbindet in sich illustrative und textliche Elemente. Beide Elemente unterliegen bestimmten Regeln, wie sie für die Poetik der sog. „Laudation“ typisch ist. Die Vorstellungen (Darstellungen) jeder der analysierten Städte, wobei die Analyse in diesem Fall vor allem die niederschlesische Hauptstadt Breslau betrifft, besitzen eine *corona muralis* und ebenso bedeutende Dominanten der Silhouette, wobei es sich natürlich um die Türme von Kirchen und Rathaus handelt. Die Türme des bischöflichen Neisse auf der Ansicht von Hartmann Schedel erinnern an die Idee der flandrischen Belfriede. Seit den Zeiten der Chronik von Hartmann Schedel sind die Veduten einer Stadt auch mit einem Kommentar versehen, der die Funktion einer

klasycznych Laudation hat, in der die gute natürliche Lage der Stadt, die schöne Gestalt und die Macht ihres Gründers gepriesen werden. Das Bild und den Text aus der Chronik von Hartmann Schedel kann man der berühmten Beschreibung der Stadt Breslau von Barthel Stein von 1512 gegenüberstellen. Am wenigsten bekannt, obwohl es sich um eine der ältesten Ansichten von Breslau handelt, ist ein Panorama im Hintergrund eines Bildnisses von Johannes von Capestrano von 1503, das nur bis zu einem gewissen Grad auf die Ansicht aus der Weltchronik von 1493 Bezug nimmt, auch wenn es einen eher symbolischen, sakralen Charakter vorstellt. Mehr auf Eindruck gezielt ist dagegen ein Bild Breslaus von 1537, das während einer Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich von Neuburg an der Donau nach Krakau entstand, obwohl auch hier symbolische Elemente erscheinen.

Als Bild einer Idealstadt, das aus bestimmten politischen Gründen ausgeführt wurde, lässt sich eine Ansicht der Stadt von 1562 bezeichnen. Als typische Renaissance-Präsentation einer Stadt mit bewusst inventarisierendem Charakter kann man dagegen den ersten Vermessungsplan Breslaus von Friedrich Gross von 1579 und die Ansicht Breslaus aus dem Band von Braun und Hogenberg aus den Jahren 1572–1618 ansehen. Der Plan von Friedrich Gross bringt die Idee einer Modularität der Stadt zum Ausdruck, die aus sakralen Gebäuden und rechteckigen Baublöcken besteht. Man kann ihn mit den Plänen von Liegnitz von Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts vergleichen. Den Text im Band von Braun und Hogenberg kann man als frühes Beispiel vergleichender Urbanistik ansehen. Eine im 17. Jahrhundert entstandene Vedute von Löwenberg ist als Vorstellung einer ideal verteidigten Stadt anzusehen, die eher noch dem Mittelalter nahesteht.

OBRAZOWANIE WYBRANYCH MIAST ŚLĄSKICH W XV–XVII WIEKU

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: urbanistyka, ikonografia miasta, historia architektury, laudacja miejska

Obrazowanie miast śląskich w okresie późnego średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności łączy ze sobą elementy ilustracyjne i tekstowe. Oba te elementy poddane są pewnym regułom charakterystycznym dla poetyki tzw. laudacji. Przedstawienia (obrazowania) każdego z analizowanych miast, analiza w tym wypadku dotyczy głównie stolicy Dolnego Śląska – Wrocławia, mają *corona muralis*, a także znaczące dominanty sylwety, którymi są oczywiście wieże kościołów i ratusza. Wieże biskupiej Nysy na widoku Hartmanna Schedla kojarzą się z ideą flamandzkich beffroi. Weduty miasta opatrzone są też od czasów kroniki Hartmanna Schedla z 1493 r. komentarzem, wypełniającym funkcje klasycznej laudacji sławiącej dobre naturalne położenie miasta, piękny kształt i potęgę jego założyciela. Obraz i tekst z kroniki Hartmanna Schedla skonfrontować można ze słynnym opisem miasta Wrocławia Barthela Steina z 1512 r. Najsłabiej rozpoznany, choć jednym z najstarszych widoków Wrocławia, jest panorama w tle podobizny Jana Kapistrana z 1503 r., tylko do pewnego stopnia nawiązująca do wido-

ku z *Weltchronik* z 1493 r., choć prezentująca bardziej symboliczny, sakralny charakter. Bardziej wrażliwoy charakter ma natomiast obraz Wrocławia sporządzony w 1537 r. podczas podróży palatyna Ottheinricha z Neuburg nad Dunajem do Krakowa, choć i tu pojawiają się elementy symboliczne.

Jako obraz miasta idealnego, wykonany z określonych powodów politycznych określić należy widok miasta z 1562 r. Z kolei za typowe renesansowe przedstawienie o charakterze świadomie inwetryzacyjnym uznać należy pierwszy plan pomiarowy Wrocławia Fryderyka Grossa z 1579 r. i widok Wrocławia z tomu Brauna i Hogenberga z lat 1572–1618. Plan Fryderyka Grossa wyraża ideę modularności miasta składającego się z budowli sakralnych i prostokątnych bloków zabudowy. Można go porównać z planami Legnicy z początku XVIII w. Tekst tomu Brauna i Hogenberga uznać można za wczesny przykład urbanistyki porównawczej. Powstała na początku XVII w. wędugę Łwówka uznać należy za bliskie średniowiecznym jeszcze obrazom przedstawienie miasta idealnie bronięnego.

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