

The first stage of construction of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kłodzko: dating, scope of work, stylistic genesis*



JAN WIDŁAK · Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków

· <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-9631-4443> · <https://ror.org/0583g9182> · jachoo1999@gmail.com

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Despite the high artistic quality and the abundance of forms, the Gothic architectural structure of the parish church in Kłodzko, formerly in Bohemia, has so far remained on the margins of research on medieval art. Opinions about the stylistic genesis of the building concerned mainly its spatial layout – which we shall discuss further in more detail – and the vault of the central aisle, constructed in the years 1552–1555 under the direction of Lucas Schleierweber the Elder; the latter was aptly linked – also due to the fact they both shared the same designer – to the direct influence of the vault over the analogous compartment of the church of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus in Świdnica (1535), and in the broader context, it was counted among the works derived from the vault structure of the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Görlitz, built by the workshop of Konrad Pflüger in 1495–1497.¹

* The article was mainly based on fragments of the BA thesis written in the academic year 2021/2022 under the supervision of priest Dariusz Tabor, professor at UPJPII.

1 For more information on the stylistic genesis and the attribution of the vault, see for example: H. Lutsch, *Die Landkreise des Reg.-Bezirks Breslau*, Breslau 1889 (= Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien, 2), p. 14; M. Zlat, *Sztuki śląskiej drogi od gotyku*, in: *Późny gotyk. Studia nad sztuką przełomu średniowiecza i czasów nowych. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Wrocław 1962*, J. Białostocki (ed.), Warszawa 1965, p. 204; M. Zlat, *Brzeg*, second edition, Wrocław 1979 (= Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki), pp. 187–188; idem, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, in: *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, T. Mroczko, M. Arszyski (eds.), Warszawa 1995 (= Dzieje sztuki polskiej, 2, part 1), pp. 137, 149–150; T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, second edition, Wrocław 1970 (= Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki), p. 53; D. Hanulanka, *Sklepienia późnogotyckie na Śląsku*, Wrocław 1971 (= Rozprawy Komisji Historii Sztuki, 7), pp. 97–100, 109–110, 114; eadem, *Świdnica*, second edition, Wrocław 1973 (= Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki), p. 62; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, in: *Kłodzko. Dzieje miasta*, R. Gładkiewicz (ed.), Kłodzko 1998, pp. 187–188; R. Sachs, *Sztuka Śląska od XVI do XVIII wieku. Uwagi krytyczne*, in: *Sztuka pograniczy Rzeczypospolitej w okresie nowożytnym od XVI do XVIII wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Warszawa, Październik 1997*, A. J. Baranowski (ed.), Warszawa 1998, p. 86, footnotes 21–22; S. Bürger, *Das figurierte Gewölbe von 1497 in der Pfarrkirche St. Peter und Paul in Görlitz*, “Görlitzer Magazin. Geschichte und Gegenwart der Stadt Görlitz und ihrer Umgebung”, 16, 2003, p. 41; idem, *Figurierte Gewölbe zwischen Saale und Neisse. Spätgotische Wölbkunst von 1400 bis 1600*, vol. 1, Weimar 2007, p. 200, footnote 569; R. Kaczmarek, *Sztuka na Śląsku. Sztuka gotycka. Początek XIII – początek XVI wieku*,



1. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, view from the east. Photo by Jan Widtak
→ see p. 6

2. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, view from the south. Photo by Jan Widtak
→ see p. 6

3. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the northern aisle of the presbytery. Photo by Jakub Adamski
→ see p. 7

4. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, northern apse. Photo by Jan Widtak
→ see p. 7

Once in a while, some attention has been paid to certain other, minor elements – although the selection of comparative material was not always appropriate – while others were altogether ignored.

Serious errors in the dating of various fragments of the discussed church, which appear in numerous texts, constitute a separate problem, although the construction chronology proposed in 1927 by its monographer, whose surname was Neumann, was credible in the most part.²

Due to the fact that architecture of the building was only superficially examined in terms of its stylistic origins, there is a need to take a closer look at the object. Among the several subsequent teams erecting the temple, a particularly wide-ranging repertoire of forms was used by the first one; and then, by the workshop of Hans Strassberger, which is traceable at the end of the fifteenth century. The contributions of these teams will be elaborated in separate articles. Even if we ignore the figural architectural sculpture (I shall leave this topic to other researchers), a comparative analysis that is more comprehensive than the ones conducted before (although it is still fairly cursory), will allow us to outline the areas of artistic education of both the anonymous earliest master mason and Hans Strassberger; that analysis covers the arrangement of space (the work of the original designer), the small architecture (one of the effects of the activity of the second workshop mentioned above), the vaults, and the ornamental details.

The original substance of the church, dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has largely survived. Its original form is still legible: a transept-less basilica with seven *travée* bays and three aisles of equal length, ending with 5/8 apses (see: Fig. 1–6, 9), supported by profiled pillars with an octagonal projection, resting on massive socles and connected by arches (see: Fig. 9, 12, 13) – mostly pointed, but semi-circular in the sixth bay from the east. It is clasped by stepped buttresses (see: Fig. 1–10). All the frames of the aisle window and their closures dating to that time have ogival finials. There are two towers in the façade (the northern one, called the Black Tower, has four storeys; and the southern, White Tower, has five), built on a plan of twin squares in line with the side aisles; also the inter-tower part with a large vertical window, covered with semi-circular arch, in its axis (see: Fig. 8, 9), containing the organ gallery, is of equal length to the towers'. The interiors of the ground floor of the tower block are integrated with each other, as well as with the individual aisles, by means of openings, most of which are crowned with pointed arches (in the Black Tower, these are broken at the base); the exception is the passage from under the matroneum to the central aisle, covered with a segmental arch. The

in: *Śląsk*, S. Brzezicki, C. Nielsen (eds.), Warszawa 2006 (= Zabytki sztuki w Polsce), p. 26; R. Kaczmarek, *Kłodzki rzeźbiarz późnego gotyku – morawski czy śląski?*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy. Wspólne drogi sztuki. Materiały konferencji naukowej dedykowane Profesorowi Janowi Wrabecowi*, M. Kapustka, A. Kozieł, P. Oszczanowski (eds.), Wrocław 2007, p. 149; J. Adamski, *Gotycka fara św. Anny w Ząbkowicach a tradycja i innowacja w architekturze sakralnej Śląska XIV–XVI wieku*, in: *Wokół dziejów miasta. 730 lat Ząbkowic Śląskich*, K. Pawłowski (ed.), Ząbkowice Śląskie 2017, pp. 15–16. Most likely, the patrons from Kłodzko wished to reference both the Świdnica vault, and its imitation from the central aisle of Saint Mary's Church (now Saint Anne's) in Ząbkowice Śląskie, built in 1547. In the case of both buildings, this would have been justified by their short distance from Kłodzko and their representative character (as they were both parish temples).

2 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte der katholischen Pfarrkirche in Glatz im Mittelalter unter Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse böhmische Architektenschulen*, Glatz 1927 (= Glatzer Heimatschriften, 15), s. 7–10, 12–33, 48–50.

whole structure is complemented with late medieval annexes. Of these, the following have survived to this day: from the south, the chapel of Saint James the Greater (single-bay, closed with a 5/8 apse), located at the fourth bay from the west, and the old sacristy (two-bay, located parallel to the axis of the temple), occupying the space at the next two bays (see: Fig. 7, 9); and from the north, the porch (four-bay, parallel to the axis of the building, originally in the form of a portico, in 1522 largely walled up)³ at the third and fourth bays from the west. The chapel of unknown appearance, located at the third bay of the northern aisle from the east, has been lost. The central aisle has a stellar-net vault. The remaining space is usually covered with different versions of stellar vault; with the only exceptions being in two bays of the northern aisle (second–third from the west) with net vault, single bays of the old sacristy (the eastern one) and the chapel of Saint James the Greater with cross-ribbed vaults, the western bays of the old sacristy with a five-partite ribbed vault, and the first portico bay from the west, covered with an isolated reduction of the distorted stellar vault from the adjacent bay (see: Fig. 9). Numerous elements of architectural sculpture have also been preserved (the rest was partially lost due to its replacement with reconstructions); some original tracery also remains.

The modernization, which had been carried out in stages from 1648 to 1729, only slightly affected the older structure of the church. The changes included primarily the construction of galleries over the side aisles, combined with connecting these new spaces with the central aisle by opening its longitudinal walls with arcades (articulated with pairs of pilasters), erecting a chapel over the old sacristy, replacing the former chapel at the third bay of the northern aisle from the east with a new Chapel of the Dead, walling up (some partially, some completely) selected window openings, changing the figurative ribbed vault in the central apse into the conch vault, and erecting several annexes.⁴ As part of the 1929–1937 restoration work, much of the elevation's medieval stonework was replaced with copies.⁵

The formal-genetic analysis of the original project should be preceded by sorting out the dating of the earliest stage of construction (that is, the period when it had been managed by the first master builder) and by the correct classification of the elements implemented at that time.

In numerous studies, the commencement of constructing the present church was unjustifiably shifted back deep into the fourteenth century. Hans Lutsch,⁶ Dagobert Frey,⁷ Tadeusz Broniewski,⁸ Marek Cetwiński,⁹ Dariusz Galewski,¹⁰ Jiří

3 Ibidem, pp. 19–22, 32; M. Zlat, *Śląsk*, p. 147; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, p. 191; R. Kaczmarek, *Kłodzki rzeźbiarz*, pp. 140, 142–144.

4 T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, pp. 46–47, 49–50; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187, 204–206, 208; D. Galewski, *Barokizacja kościoła Wniebowzięcia NMP w Kłodzku. Wybrane aspekty w świetle ostatnich badań*, "Architectus", 12, 2002, pp. 25–26; idem, *Jezuici wobec tradycji średniowiecznej. Barokizacja kościołów w Kłodzku, Jeleniej Górze, Świdnicy i Żaganiu*, Kraków 2012, pp. 211–216.

5 T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, p. 52; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188, 191.

6 H. Lutsch, *Die Landkreise*, p. 13.

7 D. Frey, *Die Kunst im Mittelalter*, in: *Von der Urzeit bis zum Jahre 1526*, Historischen Kommission für Schlesien (ed.), third edition, Stuttgart 1961 (= *Geschichte Schlesiens*, 1), p. 565.

8 T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, pp. 39–40.

9 M. Cetwiński, *Pradzieje i średniowiecze*, in: *Kłodzko. Dzieje miasta*, p. 45.

10 D. Galewski, *Barokizacja kościoła Wniebowzięcia NMP*, p. 25; idem, *Jezuici wobec tradycji średniowiecznej*, s. 211.



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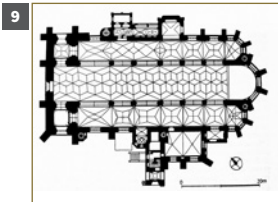
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5. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, central apse. Photo by Jan Wiđtak → see p. 7

6. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, southern apse. Photo by Jan Wiđtak → see p. 7

7. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the old sacristy. Photo by Jan Wiđtak → see p. 7

8. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, tower massif. Photo by Jan Wiđtak → see p. 7



9. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, plan. After G. Grajewski, *Kłodzko/Glatz*, in: *Śląsk*, S. Brzezicki, C. Nielsen (eds.), Warszawa 2006 (= *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce*), p. 414, modifications by Jan Widtak → see p. 7

10. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, window of the longitudinal wall of the southern apse and the wimpergs. Photo by Jan Widtak → see p. 8

Kuthan and Jan Royt,¹¹ Ewa Bicz,¹² Joanna Stoklasek-Michalak,¹³ and Christofer Herrmann¹⁴ favoured this solution. Early dating was associated with the unjustified attribution of the church's foundation to Arnošt of Pardubice, Archbishop of Prague in 1344–1364.¹⁵ Mieczysław Zlat,¹⁶ Stanisław Stulin and Andrzej Włodarek,¹⁷ Grzegorz Grajewski,¹⁸ Vladimír Hrubý,¹⁹ František Musil,²⁰ or Hanna Kozaczewska-Golasz and Hanna Golasz-Szołomicka,²¹ linked the initiation of construction works with the end of the fourteenth century, usually specifying the date around 1390. Dalibor Prix was also in favour of placing the beginning of the construction of the temple in the fourteenth century.²² Hans Tintelnot set the date to around 1400, identifying Arnošt of Pardubice as the founder and benefactor, who, according to this researcher, had allocated the appropriate funds for the investment project several decades before the actual construction.²³ In their publication devoted to the history of art in Kłodzko, Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski proposed the dating at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and in one mention they settled on the end of the fourteenth century. As to the founder, both initially shared the opinion that Arnošt of Pardubice had financed the work;²⁴ in a later article devoted to the temple, Romuald Kaczmarek

- 11 J. Kuthan, *Arcybiskup Arnošt z Pardubic jako stavebník*, in: *Arnošt z Pardubic (1297–1364). Osobnost – okruh – dědictví*, L. Bobková, R. Gładkiewicz, P. Vorel (eds.), Wrocław–Praha–Pardubice 2005, p. 183; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV. Císař a český král – vizionář a zakladatel*, Praha 2016, p. 666.
- 12 E. Bicz, *Działalność arcybiskupa Arnošta z Pardubic na Ziemi Kłodzkiej i w Czechach w XIV wieku (prezentacja pracy magisterskiej)*, in: *Arnošt z Pardubic (1297–1364)*, pp. 263–264.
- 13 J. Stoklasek-Michalak, *Zworniki na sklepieniach przedsionka, naw bocznych i kaplicy św. Jakuba kościoła pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Kłodzku. Przyczynek do dalszych badań*, “Zeszyty Muzeum Ziemi Kłodzkiej”, 12, 2013, p. 91.
- 14 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, in: *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Polen. Romanische und gotische Baukunst zwischen Oder und Weichsel*, C. Herrmann, D. von Winterfeld (eds.), Petersberg 2015, pp. 645–646, 648.
- 15 Compare F. Albert, *Das Testament des Erzbischofs Ernst von Pardubitz (1352)*, “Glatzer Heimatblätter. Zeitschrift des «Vereins für Glatzer Heimatkunde»”, 14, 1928, No. 3, pp. 81–86; R. Kaczmarek, *Joannicka fara w Kłodzku. Kilka aspektów jej funkcjonowania w późnym średniowieczu*, in: *Fara w mieście od średniowiecza do współczesności. Społeczność – duchowość – architektura – wystrój*, R. Eysymontt, D. Galewski (eds.), Wrocław 2019 (= *Studia z historii sztuki*), p. 111.
- 16 M. Zlat, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, p. 135.
- 17 S. Stulin, A. Włodarek, *Kłodzko. Kościół par. p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii*, in: *Architektura gotycka w Polsce. Katalog zabytków*, A. Włodarek (ed.), Warszawa 1995 (= *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, 2, cz. 2), p. 108.
- 18 G. Grajewski, *Kłodzko/Glatz*, w: *Śląsk*, Warszawa 2006, p. 411–412.
- 19 V. Hrubý, *20. Role Poděbradů ve výtvarném umění*, in: O. Felcman et al., *Poděbradové. Rod českomoravských pánů, kladských hrabat a slezských knížat*, Praha 2008 (= *Šlechtické rody Čech, Moravy a Slezska*, 6), p. 510.
- 20 F. Musil, *Kladsko v době vlády Lucemburků (Jan Lucemburský, Karel IV.)*, in: *550 let Hrabství kladského 1459–2009*, V. Wolf (ed.), Trutnov 2009 (= *Kladský sborník, supplementum 6*), p. 71.
- 21 H. Kozaczewska-Golasz, *Średniowieczne kościoły halowe na Śląsku. Część 2. Kościoły z XIV w.*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, 58, 2013, No. 2, p. 38, fig. 25; H. Golasz-Szołomicka, *Okna maswerkowe na Śląsku z XV do połowy XVI w.*, “Architectus”, 44, 2015, p. 7; H. Kozaczewska-Golasz, H. Golasz-Szołomicka, *Bazylika i hala – miejskie kościoły parafialne na Śląsku w średniowieczu (XIII – poł. XVI w.)*, in: *Fara w mieście*, p. 59, fig. 5.
- 22 D. Prix, *Związki śląsko-czeskie w architekturze średniowiecznej w okresie panowania Luksemburgów*, in: *Historia – kultura – sztuka*, M. Kapustka et al. (eds.), Praha–Legnica 2007 (= *Śląsk – perła w Koronie Czeskiej*), p. 162.
- 23 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst Schlesiens*, Kitzingen 1951 (= *Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesischen Geschichte*, 1), p. 106.
- 24 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188, 191.

alone drew attention to the fallacy of the latter hypothesis.²⁵ Neumann pointed to the first decade of the fifteenth century as the period when the construction was initiated,²⁶ and Marian Kutzner considered the temple to be a fifteenth-century structure.²⁷ In view of the information contained in written sources from the era, the fourteenth century origin of the oldest parts of the building should be excluded; in that case, Neumann has been right. Although the first funds for the implementation of the choir for the new parish church were provided already at the end of the fourteenth century (1395–1396, 1399–1400),²⁸ there is a written mention dating from 1402, stating that it had not as yet begun.²⁹ It is therefore the earliest possible year for the beginning of construction. The work could not have started too long after 1402 – after all, already around 1415 the walls of the chancel (that is, the three eastern bays) including the apses were ready, as evidenced by the foundations of altars in all closures of the aisles in this period (the main altar was founded in 1413, and the side altars, in 1414 and 1416).³⁰ The same researcher convincingly stated that the moment when military operations during the Hussite Wars entered Kłodzko in 1428 would have been the latest possible end date for the work by the first team of builders;³¹ Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski were of a similar opinion, when they wrote about the break, following the first phase of construction, caused by the hostilities.³²

When it comes to the walls in the main part of the building, the scope of the work of the first team is very clear: it is marked by the presence of tracery corbels of a consistent form (on both sides inside each of the side aisles, up to and including the border of the third and fourth bays from the east) (see: Fig. 11–13). It is therefore correct to attribute the construction of the presbytery walls to the earliest builders, as had been postulated already by Neumann (based, among other things, on the presence of the above-mentioned corbels),³³ as well as by Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski,³⁴ and by Christofer Herrmann.³⁵ Mieczysław

25 See footnote 15 above.

26 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, p. 8.

27 M. Kutzner, *Kościół bazylikowy w miastach śląskich XIV wieku*, in: *Sztuka i ideologia XIV wieku. Materiały Sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa, 29 i 30 listopada 1973 r.*, P. Skubiszewski (ed.), Warszawa 1975, p. 276.

28 *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz bis zum Jahre 1400*, F. Volkmer, W. Hohaus (eds.), Habelschwerdt 1883 (= *Geschichtsquellen der Grafschaft Glatz*, 1), p. 297; *Das älteste Glatzer Stadtbuch, 1324–1412*, F. Volkmer, W. Hohaus (eds.), Habelschwerdt 1889 (= *Geschichtsquellen der Grafschaft Glatz*, 4), pp. 163–165, 172–173, 175; Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, s. 7; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, p. 187.

29 *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz von 1401 bis 1500*, F. Volkmer, W. Hohaus (eds.), Habelschwerdt 1888 (= *Geschichtsquellen der Grafschaft Glatz*, 2), pp. 7–8; *Das älteste Glatzer Stadtbuch*, p. 177.

30 *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz von 1401 bis 1500*, pp. 63, 71, 78; R. Kaczmarek, *Joannicka fara w Kłodzku*, p. 110. See also: Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, p. 8; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 386–387 (in both publications, only the second foundation is erroneously dated to 1413). Romuald Kaczmarek (*Joannicka fara w Kłodzku*, p. 113) associated this period with intensive construction work upon the choir, when he wrote about a mention from 1414, regarding the vitricus and the construction supervisor.

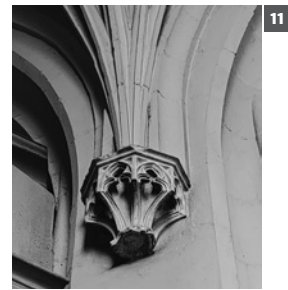
31 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 9–10.

32 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188.

33 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 7–9.

34 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 188, 191.

35 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, pp. 645, 648, including fig. 1157.



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11. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, corbel from the southern aisle of the presbytery. Photo by Jan Widtak

→ see p. 10

12. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, interior of the southern aisle of the presbytery. Photo by Jan Widtak

→ see p. 10

13. Kłodzko, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, interior of the northern aisle of the presbytery. Photo by Jan Widtak

→ see p. 11

Zlat,³⁶ Arno Herzig and Małgorzata Ruchniewicz,³⁷ and František Musil³⁸ spoke more generally, linking the erection of the eastern part of the church with the oldest phase. The opinion of Stanisław Stulin and Andrzej Włodarek – regarding the construction of the eastern part of the structure “up to the fourth span”³⁹ in the initial period – would have been correct if the three-apse closure was considered a separate span. On the other hand, Marian Kutzner’s view that the complete main walls were put in the first phase, followed by the pillars later, must be rejected.⁴⁰ At first glance, there can be doubts as to attributing the clerestory of the chancel to the discussed workshop, as blocks with a much lesser degree of processing were used there for facing, seemingly suggesting a change of contractors before the erection of the main altar; however, it should be assumed that the original elevation was destroyed during the construction campaign in 1552–1555, which included, apart from vaulting the central aisle, also the replacement of its original window frames and perhaps the slight raising of its walls.⁴¹

As Neumann aptly stated, the first team also erected the lower parts of the old sacristy (up to the drip cornice), as evidenced by their formal compatibility with the elevation of the choir (see: Fig. 2, 7). In the opinion of the researcher, which is not backed by a more detailed argumentation, the higher walls were built after 1470, which would be supported by the forms visible here, connected by him with the latest phase of the Gothic architecture.⁴² The style of the pinnacles decorating the buttresses within this annex would suggest earlier dating, as these details are closer to the copies made by the team working from around 1458, placed between the first and second bays of the southern aisle from the west⁴³ – than to those made after 1470, localized in the porch that was completed in 1482 by the workshop of Hans Strassberger:⁴⁴ their arches are acute, not ogee. The window frames in the southern elevation of the sacristy contain mullions intersecting in the key, which differs from those used by the first workshop; however, they could have been implemented by that first team’s direct successors, as evidenced by the crossed bars over the first window of the southern aisle from the west. The above observations

36 M. Zlat, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, p. 135.

37 A. Herzig, M. Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, Hamburg–Wrocław 2006, p. 84.

38 F. Musil, *Kladsko v době vlády Lucemburků*, p. 71.

39 S. Stulin, A. Włodarek, *Kłodzko. Kościół par. p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii*, p. 108.

40 M. Kutzner, *Technika i organizacja budowy gotyckich kościołów miejskich na Śląsku na przykładzie realizacji kościoła św. Mikołaja w Brzegu*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo”, 9, 1980, p. 111.

41 R. Sachs, *Sztuka Śląska*, p. 86, footnote 21

42 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 14–15.

43 This workshop completed, details included, the missing bays of the southern longitudinal walls – the inter-aisle one (at least arcade) and the main one – and they started the construction of the southern, White Tower, either in 1462 or in 1463. The work of this team could have been disturbed by the imposition of an interdict on the county of Kłodzko on April 27, 1467. See especially: *ibidem*, pp. 12–15.

44 *ibidem*, pp. 14, 20–21, 23–24, 49–50; T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, pp. 40, 43; D. Hanulanka, *Sklepienia późnogotyckie*, p. 87; M. Zlat, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, p. 147; S. Stulin, A. Włodarek, *Kłodzko. Kościół par. p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii*, s. 108; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188, 191, 196; G. Grajewski, *Kłodzko/Glatz*, p. 414; A. Herzig, M. Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, p. 84; R. Kaczmarek, *Kłodzki rzeźbiarz*, p. 142; R. Eysymontt, R. Gliński, *Kościół parafialny pw. św. św. Piotra i Pawła w mieście lokacyjnym (komentarz do planszy nr 8)*, in: *Strzegom*, A. Czacharowski (ed.), Wrocław 2015 (= Atlas historyczny miast polskich, 4: Śląsk, No. 6), p. 22. The date has been placed in the key of the first arcade from the east.

allow excluding the upper parts of the sacristy from the oldest stage of construction, and attributing them to the second group of contractors with a high degree of probability. It seems logical that construction would have been resumed as soon as possible in the case of the area that had already been started and abandoned by the previous builders. Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski later suggested that the symbols of the Evangelists from the elevation of the said area would have been carved in the initial period of construction, which would also apply to the walls below;⁴⁵ this view is therefore consistent with the hypothesis of Neumann's about the early initiation of work in this location. Christofer Herrmann – who published a plan of the church of the Assumption with separate phases of work in his text about late medieval Silesian architecture – considered the sacristy and the choir to both derive from the same stage of works.⁴⁶ However, he did not address the issue of the varying chronology for the creation of individual parts of this annex.

Before the Hussite Wars, a chapel was erected, open to the third bay of the northern aisle from the east, confirmed to have already existed in 1428, and modernized to an unknown extent at the end of the fifteenth century (an arcade dating from this period has been preserved), and then demolished in connection with the construction of the Chapel of the Dead (1683).⁴⁷ The lack of traces of a change of the construction team in other elements completed between 1402 and 1428 does not preclude the hypothetical inclusion of this part of the building among the works of the first team of contractors.

We can assume that the scope of work conducted by this team also included the vaulting of the chancel's side aisles in the second or third decade of the fifteenth century. So far, the scholars who studied the history of the building have presented different positions on this issue. Hans Lutsch opted for the creation of all side aisle covers in 1490,⁴⁸ Dobrosław Líbal dated them to the end of the fifteenth century,⁴⁹ Tadeusz Broniewski placed them within the years from around 1487 to 1490,⁵⁰ Joanna Stoklasek-Michalak dated them to the second half of the fifteenth century (until 1490) and attributed their implementation to Hans Strassberger,⁵¹ while Christofer Herrmann considered these structures to have been made around 1500.⁵² Neumann believed that in 1487 at the latest, Hans Strassberger's workshop completed the vaulting over the side aisles. The vaults that were supposed to have collapsed in 1487 (this accident actually happened two years earlier) have been identified by the researcher most likely with those in the three western bays of the northern aisle; in his opinion, another team made new vaults in this location.⁵³ Stanisław Stulin and Andrzej Włodarek, who linked the walls of the eastern part “up

45 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, p. 191.

46 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, p. 645, fig. 1157.

47 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 9, 19, 49–50; T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, pp. 47, 49, 56.

48 H. Lutsch, *Die Landkreise*, pp. 13–14.

49 D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha 1948 (= Cesta k umění – průvodce po dějinách národního umění, 3; V duchovním středu. Česká gotická architektura – sochařství a malba, part 1), p. 221.

50 T. Broniewski, *Kłodzko*, p. 43.

51 J. Stoklasek-Michalak, *Zworniki na sklepieniach*, pp. 89, 95, 98.

52 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, p. 648.

53 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 25–26, 49–50. Compare: *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz von 1401 bis 1500*, p. 411.

to the fourth bay” with the first stage of construction (in those researchers’ opinion, that fragment was built from around 1390 until the beginning of the fifteenth century), also included the vaults of the side aisles within that stage;⁵⁴ their thesis was supported by Grzegorz Grajewski.⁵⁵ Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski put forward the assumption that between the end of the fourteenth century and 1428 the side aisles in the three bays built at that time were covered with vaults;⁵⁶ the first of the authors later dated the central boss from the second bay of the north aisle from the east to the second decade of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Vladimír Hrubý situated the complete vaulting of the side aisles between the 1390s and 1432,⁵⁸ while ignoring such issues as the origin of the walls of their three western bays from the second half of the fifteenth century (already proven by Neumann),⁵⁹ the date 1490 in the boss from the third bay of the northern aisle from the west, or decorating the boss in the second bay of the southern aisle from the west with a heraldic bas-relief identical to the composition on the seal ring belonging to Henry I the Elder of Poděbrady.⁶⁰ František Musil considered the vaults of the side aisles in the eastern part to have been made together with the walls of that aisle, that is, around 1390.⁶¹ In view of the opinions recapitulated above, we should note, first and foremost, that in the vaults of the three eastern and three western bays of the side aisles, a different architectural approaches are visible – respectively: here the unification, and there the intentional differentiation of patterns (see: Fig. 9, 12, 13). This alone allows us to doubt whether the vaults could have been designed by the same master builder. In addition, the length of the period between completing the choir walls and the Hussite wars would have been sufficient to allow completion of the vaulting of the side aisles in this segment of the church. It is most likely that this task had been performed by the first workshop. The analysis of the bas-relief symbols of the Evangelists from the bosses in the southern aisle of the chancel could help to verify this as it would allow us to determine the dating of these elements; Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski have already included them in the oldest stage of the work, although they did not discuss that issue extensively.⁶² Contrary to the opinion of Neumann, the collapse of the vaults need not necessarily be associated with the three western bays of the northern aisle. The mention from 1485 provides quite unclear information about the collapse of the front part of the church: perhaps it meant the northern aisle (as the one facing the centre of town), or perhaps it meant the nave; none of these options either interfere with the researcher’s hypothesis, or confirm it completely. There are no visible traces of the catastrophe in the walls of the side aisles, which indeed allows us to presume that the vaults had collapsed. Nevertheless, in the context of Neumann’s hypothesis,

54 S. Stulin, A. Włodarek, *Kłodzko. Kościół par. p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii*, p. 108.

55 G. Grajewski, *Kłodzko/Glatz*, p. 412.

56 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188, 191.

57 R. Kaczmarek, *Joannicka fara w Kłodzku*, p. 112.

58 V. Hrubý, 20. *Role Poděbradů ve výtvarném umění*, p. 510.

59 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 12–13, 20–21. See also: R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 187–188.

60 K. Müller, 16. *Pečeti minsterberských knížat*, in: O. Felcman et al., *Poděbradové*, p. 431; R. Kaczmarek, *Joannicka fara w Kłodzku*, p. 117, including footnote 65. Imprints of this seal ring were found in documents from the years 1475–1490.

61 F. Musil, *Kladsko v době vlády Lucemburků*, p. 71.

62 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, pp. 188, 191.

the fragment of the space of the building with which he associated this event is problematic. It is not known whether its walls had been completed before 1485: undoubtedly, the work was in progress around 1482, the year when the portico was completed; anyway, we should assume *terminus ante quem* as the beginning of the construction of the Black Tower in 1487, precisely dated thanks to the erection plaque placed therein. The vaults of the three western bays of the northern aisle, completed in 1490, may therefore be the first vaults constructed in this site – it is likely that the initiation of the construction of the neighbouring tower would have been given priority. It is possible that the accident concerned the northern aisle of the chancel of the church, which was then covered with the vaults, maintaining the original composition. A certain argument can be made here by referring to the profiles of the transverse ribs up to the border of the second and third bays from the east. They represent two variants (we should note that these are not present in the remaining spaces of the side aisles): one in the southern aisle and at the northern apse, another one at the boundaries of the first and the second, as well as the second and the third bays of the northern aisle. An alternative explanation is that the vaults over the western bays of the southern aisle might have collapsed (although there is no evidence to confirm that they already existed at the time). To depart from the main topic of this article (and anticipate the content of the next one), it is worth adding that the studied reconstruction could have taken place a bit later than in the period when Hans Strassberger was in charge of the construction. It is impossible to support the attribution proposed by Neumann⁶³ and by Joanna Stoklasek-Michalak,⁶⁴ who asserted that the mark in the boss in the first bay of the northern aisle from the east belonged to that particular architect. This mark, unlike Strassberger's own (in the above-mentioned inscription plaque on the elevation of the Black Tower),⁶⁵ had not been placed within the master's shield; also, as such, the two are too different to be equated with each other. As Romuald Kaczmarek presumed, the mark from the northern aisle of the choir probably belonged to one of the townspeople who co-financed the works.⁶⁶

Therefore, the first team of contractors made the walls up to and including the third bay of the temple from the east, the vaults of the side aisles in this section of the building, the lower parts of the sacristy, and, presumably, also the unpreserved chapel adjacent to the third bay of the northern aisle from the east. In addition, the spatial arrangement established by the architect in charge of the team was implemented later without significant modifications, despite changes in the contracted workshops: given the popularity of two-tower façades, found in similar parish churches discussed in the following paragraphs, we should assume

63 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 25–26.

64 J. Stoklasek-Michalak, *Zworniki na sklepieniach*, p. 98.

65 For more information about the presence of Hans Strassberger's sign, see: E. Wernicke, *Schlesische Steinmetzzeichen. Ein Beitrag zur heimathlichen Baugeschichte*, "Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift. Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Museum schlesischer Alterthümer", 3, 1881, p. 159, fig. II, Löwenberg 20; B. Czechowicz, *Sztuka jako składnik tożsamości Świdnicy i Strzegomia u schyłku średniowiecza*, "Rocznik Świdnicki", 24, 1996, pp. 122, 132, including footnote 40; idem, *Późnogotycka kaplica św. Barbary w Świdnicy*, in: *Dziedzictwo artystyczne Świdnicy*, idem (ed.), Wrocław–Świdnica 2003, pp. 85–87; idem, *Hans Strassberger vel Stransberger – architekt doby późnego gotyku i jego dzieła*, "Sudety. Przyroda, Kultura, Historia", 2008, No. 1, pp. 14–15. Sometimes also the mirror reflection of this architect's mark has been, mistakenly, attributed to him.

66 R. Kaczmarek, *Joannicka fara w Kłodzku*, p. 113.

the presence of such a solution in the original design. This scenario has already been supported by Hans Tintelnot⁶⁷ and, to a lesser degree, by Neumann,⁶⁸ Jiří Kuthan, and Jan Royt.⁶⁹

The spatial program of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been mentioned relatively often in the context of its artistic affiliations. Hans Tintelnot and Marian Kutzner perceived it as a continuation of the solutions developed in Silesian basilicas from the fourteenth century,⁷⁰ or generally in the fourteenth-century sacred architecture of this region.⁷¹ Danuta Hanulanka spoke more precisely, including the building in the group of temples closed from the east with three polygonal apses, just like the ones in Świdnica (church of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus), Wrocław (church of Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, church of Saint Elisabeth), Strzegom (church of Saints Peter and Paul), and Legnica (church of Saints Peter and Paul).⁷² Mieczysław Zlat had a similar take on this issue, assigning an initiating role to the two abovementioned structures in Wrocław and noting an analogous solution of the eastern part also in the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lwówek Śląski, and the church of the Holy Cross in Opole.⁷³ Stefan Bürger expanded this group to include the churches of Saints Peter and Paul in Namysłów, and of Saint George in Ziębice; whereas he considered the influence of the church of Saint Elisabeth to be intermediate, namely, through the mediation of the temple of Canons Regular.⁷⁴ The issue of the historical and artistic context of chancels with analogous plan was developed by Dalibor Prix, who signalled the presence thereof in several Bohemian municipal churches, which he dated to the fourteenth century: in addition to the parish church in Kłodzko, he also named the temples of Our Lady before Týn in Prague, and of Saint Nicholas in Jaroměř. As he argued, this scheme gained more popularity in the towns of Silesia – he presumed that by the mid-fourteenth century it appeared in the churches of Saints Peter and Paul in Legnica, Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus in Świdnica, as well as in the churches of Canons Regular and of Saint Elisabeth in Wrocław, influencing the architecture of Bohemia (when discussing this issue, Prix focused on the Týn church). According to the researcher, later fourteenth-century examples included the churches of Saints Peter and Paul in Strzegom, of Saint George in Ziębice, of Saints Peter and Paul in Namysłów, of the Holy Cross in Opole, and probably of Saints George and Adalbert in Zator. Dalibor Prix considered the building of the Cistercian church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Jemielnica to have been an impulse for the dissemination of the discussed solution throughout Silesia⁷⁵ (the latter hypothesis was later justifiably

67 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst*, p. 106.

68 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, p. 12.

69 J. Kuthan, *Arcybiskup Arnošt z Pardubic*, p. 182; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 666.

70 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst*, pp. 99, 108; M. Kutzner, *Kościół bazylikowe*, pp. 276–277, 285, 287.

71 M. Kutzner, *Śląska architektura sakralna wieku XIV. Pomiędzy stylem uniwersalnym a modusem regionalnym*, in: *Nobile claret opus. Studia z dziejów sztuki dedykowane Mieczysławowi Zlatowi*, L. Kalinowski, S. Mossakowski, Z. Ostrowska-Kęblowska (eds.), Wrocław 1998, pp. 53–54, 65–66.

72 D. Hanulanka, VII. *Sztuka Świdnicy*, in: *Świdnica. Zarys monografii miasta*, W. Korta (ed.), Wrocław–Świdnica 1995 (= *Monografie Regionalne Dolnego Śląska*), p. 227.

73 M. Zlat, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, p. 140.

74 S. Bürger, *Figurierte Gewölbe zwischen Saale und Neisse*, p. 147, footnote 467.

75 D. Prix, *Związki śląsko-czeskie*, pp. 162–165, including footnote 49.

questioned by Jakub Adamski).⁷⁶ In the spatial layout of the Kłodzko church, including the closure of the choir and the inter-aisle pillars, Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski noticed an affinity with the works of Silesian architecture of the fourteenth century, such as the parish churches in Świdnica and Strzegom.⁷⁷ The first of these researchers later drew attention to the regional tendency to include elements of “rich” architecture in “poor” structures, represented, among others, by the two-tower façades of parish churches – also in Kłodzko, Świdnica, and Strzegom, as well as in Wrocław (church of Saint Mary Magdalene), Brzeg (church of Saint Nicholas), Głubczyce (church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), and Legnica (church of Saints Peter and Paul, church of Saint Mary’s).⁷⁸ Christof Herrmann expressed a view about the link between the parish church in Kłodzko and the architecture of Silesia, where other basilicas with a *Staffelchor* and with a façade containing two towers in the extension of the side aisles appeared in Świdnica, Strzegom, and Brzeg; in the opinion of the researcher, among the municipal churches in these areas, the closure of the chancel with three polygonal apses – by far the most popular solution – had its origin in the temple of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Piasek in Wrocław.⁷⁹ On the other hand, Jiří Kuthan, in his text about the artistic foundations by Arnošt of Pardubice, saw in the disposition of the Kłodzko parish church (which he described as conservative) a similarity to the church of Our Lady in Prague;⁸⁰ this view was later maintained in a book he wrote together with Jan Royt on art in the time of Charles IV of Luxembourg.⁸¹

This relatively extensive comparative material presented in the existing literature requires some narrowing down, in order to allow a more precise definition of the direct sources for the basic concept of the church of the Assumption in Kłodzko. In this respect, the temple resembles, above all, the church of the Assumption of Saint Elisabeth in Wrocław (see: Fig. 14), of Saints Peter and Paul in Legnica, of Our Lady before Týn in Prague (see: Fig. 15), of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus in Świdnica (see: Fig. 16, 17), and of Saints Peter and Paul in Strzegom. In all the above-mentioned buildings, the side aisles have a length equal, or almost equal, to the length of the central aisle, and each of them is polygonally closed (although the apses of the central aisle sometimes differ from the apses in Kłodzko in their shape: in Świdnica and in Prague, there are 7/12 and 4/8 variants respectively, in both cases with an additional span); moreover, the internal longitudinal walls do not cross the points where the apses meet. Furthermore, in all the buildings listed above, the central aisle exceeds the side ones; typically (except for the pseudo-basilica in Legnica), a basilica layout is present, in which the central aisle stands out distinctly above the others, exhibiting a pronounced verticality. Nearly all of these buildings (again, except for the one in Legnica) have *travée* layout bays. Most of them (except for the one in Strzegom) have no transept, and encompass two towers on a square plan in the line of the side aisles in the façade (except for the temple in Wrocław); these towers are connected by an equally long

76 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura sakralna na Śląsku w latach 1200–1420. Główne kierunki rozwoju*, Kraków 2017, pp. 281–284.

77 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, p. 188.

78 R. Kaczmarek, *Sztuka na Śląsku*, p. 23.

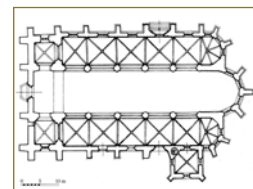
79 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, pp. 637, 641, 645, 648, 679.

80 J. Kuthan, *Arcibiskup Arnošt z Pardubic*, s. 182.

81 J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 666.



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14. Wrocław, church of Saint Elisabeth, presbytery. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 16

15. Prague, church of Our Lady before Týn, plan. According to: J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV. Císař a Český král – vizionář a zakladatel*, Praha 2016, p. 89, fig. 42
→ see p. 16

16. Świdnica, church of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus, view from the north-east. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 17

17. Świdnica, church of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslaus, view from the north-west. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 17

span between them. The basilicas are typified by the dominance of longitudinal walls in the middle of the slender central aisle, giving the interior a tunnel-like character; the arcades between the aisles give the impression of being cut inside the walls, thus enhancing the described effect. A common element of all the abovementioned temples is a large, vertical, arched window opening in the façade axis. The group of similar parish churches here discussed is complemented by the present choir of the church of Saint George in Ziębice, maintained in a convention almost identical to the one in which the eastern parts of the abovementioned basilicas were erected; the only difference being that inside the central aisle, due to the use of high arcades and large, deep window niches, the tunnel quality had disappeared. As in Kłodzko, 5/8 apses were used here exclusively. Before the construction of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary began in the first decade of the fifteenth century, the spatial layouts of all the above-mentioned structures – even those still unfinished – were already legible and as such they could have inspired the architect, even without him having access to the designs. The walls of the church of Saint Elisabeth constructed from around 1300, had been completed between 1359 and 1369, except for the tower (built from the second half of the fourteenth century until the second half of the fifteenth century).⁸² The walls of the parish church of the Upper Town of Legnica, dating back to the mid-1320s in their oldest parts, were finished in 1378 at the latest, under the direction of Konrad (Conrad) of Kraków.⁸³ In the Týn church – constructed from the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps from around 1340 – complete walls of the presbytery and nave had been already standing by the end of the century (at least from the 1380s), and the construction of the tower massif was underway.⁸⁴ From the mid-fourteenth century until no later than 1385, the walls of the chancel of the parish church in Świdnica had been erected, moreover, we can confirm that a significant part of the nave (presumably the main walls and the arcades between the aisles) had been built by the 1380s, and the construction of the tower massif began in the same century.⁸⁵ The construction of the parish church in Strzegom began around 1350.

82 J. Adamski, *Entre Strasbourg et Vratislavie. Sur les origines alsaciennes de la «nouvelle» architecture en Silésie en XIV^e siècle*, “Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg”, 31, 2014, pp. 26–27; idem, *Między Strasburgiem a Wrocławiem. O genezie artykulacji elewacji wewnętrznych śląskich bazylik XIV wieku*, in: *Procesy przemian w sztuce średniowiecznej. Przełom – regres – innowacja – tradycja*, R. Eysymontt, R. Kaczmarek (eds.), Warszawa 2014 (= *Studia z historii sztuki*), pp. 117–119; J. Adamski, *Böhmische Einflüsse in der schlesischen Kirchenbaukunst des mittleren 14. Jahrhunderts. Der Fall Schweidnitz und Striegau*, “Umění”, 65, 2017, No. 4, pp. 331–332; idem, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 312–316, 395–397, 400–411, 448, 450–452, 454.

83 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 489, 491, 493–499.

84 K. Benešová, *2.026 Church of Our Lady Before Týn – I*, in: eadem et al., *Architecture of the Gothic*, Prague 2001 (= *Ten Centuries of Architecture*, 2), p. 94; eadem, *Hlava druhá. 1310–1420*, in: *Architektura*, P. Kratochvíl (ed.), Litomyšl–Praha 2009 (= *Velké dějiny země Koruny české. Tematická řada*, 1), p. 150; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury v České republice do husitských válek*, Praha 2001, p. 371; D. Prix, *Związki śląsko-czeskie*, pp. 164–165, 167; M. Filipec, *Stavební vývoj kostela Matky Boží před Týnem*, Praha 2008, p. 23; J. Kuthan, *Města, církve, korunní země*, Praha 2013 (= *Královské dílo za Jiřího z Poděbrad a dynastie Jagellonců*, 2), p. 36; J. Peroutková, *Architektonická skulptura chrámu Matky Boží před Týnem na Stárem Městě pražském v lucemburském období*, Praha 2014, pp. 15–17; J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 451, footnote 248, p. 557; J. Pařízková Čevonová, *Týnský kostel v kontextu architektury poděbradské doby*, Olomouc 2020, pp. 16–26.

85 J. Adamski, *Böhmische Einflüsse*, pp. 331–334; idem, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 500, 503–507; R. Kaczmarek, *Warsztaty kamieniarskie i ich mistrzowie między Świdnicą, Strzegomiem i Wrocławiem (około 1370 – około 1470)*, “Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej”, 26, 2017, pp. 19–20.

In the first phase, the works included the tower massif, the nave and the transept. The layout of these compartments would have been clearly visible already some 20 years later. Around 1380, Jakub (Jacob) of Świdnica designed the choir, and its walls were certainly ready in 1396; it is known that in 1388, after completing the arcades between the aisles, the foundations for the rest of its walls had been laid.⁸⁶ The construction of the walls of the new chancel within the Ziębice parish church had been initiated between ca. 1375 and ca. 1380, and they had been completed at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸⁷

Without much doubt, we can assume that the designer of the church of the Assumption in Kłodzko knew all of the above-mentioned buildings, as the architectural details used in the Kłodzko temple point to its maker's exposure to the art of both Bohemia (probably also including Prague), and Silesia (most likely including Wrocław).

The simple, high socles of the inter-aisle pillars in the Kłodzko church, in their shape of an octagonal prism, and with an Attic-like cornice running over them, find close analogies in the western parts of the church of Saints Erasmus and Pancras in Jelenia Góra (where they were made by a workshop that continued construction work probably from the second half of the 1390s)⁸⁸ and of the church of Saint George in Dzierżoniów (dating to the last decade of the fourteenth century),⁸⁹ as well as in the church of Saint James the Greater and Saint Agnes in Nysa (the earliest ones date back to the period between 1370 and 1392; later ones, linked to the workshop of Petter from Ząbkowice Śląskie and maintaining that same form, date from the years 1424 – around 1440 at the latest) (see: Fig. 18).⁹⁰ The arcades of the parish churches in Kłodzko and in Jelenia Góra have already been described as similar by Hans Tintelnot, also because of their octagonal projection and the lack of separating them from the upper part of the walls.⁹¹ Jakub Adamski situated the socles of inter-aisle supports in Jelenia Góra in the context of the contemporary Silesian trend, which consisted in using a simplified octagonal projection of the pillars, visible in the last decades of the fourteenth century also in the church of Saint Nicholas in Brzeg (the beginning of constructing these elements took place between 1371 and 1376), and, under its influence, in the churches of Saint George in Ziębice (fourth quarter of the fourteenth century) and of Saint Mary's – currently the church of Saints Peter and Paul – in Chojnów (dating from the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century).⁹² Apparently, in the church of the



18. Nysa, church of Saint James the Greater and Saint Agnes, socle of the pillar. Photo by Jan Widtak
→ see p. 19

86 J. Adamski, *Böhmische Einflüsse*, pp. 336–341, including fig. 10; idem, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 517–527, 530, 536, 539, including fig. 839; R. Kaczmarek, *Warsztaty kamieniarskie*, p. 21.

87 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 566–567.

88 Ibidem, p. 555.

89 Ibidem, pp. 577–578.

90 Ibidem, pp. 668–670, 672–674; idem, *Die Bedeutung der Parlerbauten für die Backsteingotik. Über die Ähnlichkeit der Umgangschöre in Stargard und Neisse*, "Umění", 68, 2020, No. 1, pp. 10–11; idem, *O podobieństwie chórów gotyckich kościołów farnych w Stargardzie i Nysie. Przyczynek do badań nad interregionalnym transferem form w architekturze Europy Środkowej przełomu XIV i XV wieku*, in: *Ingenium et labor. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Ziembie z okazji 60. urodzin*, P. Borusowski et al. (eds.), Warszawa 2020, pp. 38, 40.

91 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst*, p. 106.

92 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 543–546, 548, 555–556, 566–570, including footnote 257. See also: M. Zlat, *Brzeg*, pp. 161–163; M. Kutzner, *Technika i organizacja*, pp. 84, 86, 89, 91–97, 99–101, 103; S. Stulin, A. Włodarek, *Brzeg. Kościół par. p.w. św. Mikołaja*, in: *Architektura gotycka w Polsce. Katalog zabytków*, p. 36; C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, p. 649.



19. Prague, Cathedral of Saints Vitus, Wenceslaus and Adalbert, buttresses of the presbytery. Photo by Piotr Pajor
→ see p. 20

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the general architectural concept, rooted in tradition dating back to the mid-fourteenth century, was edited in the spirit of more recent trends in Silesian construction at the time. Nevertheless, the last three examples are further apart from the Kłodzko pillars in formal terms. The socles in Brzeg and in Ziębice received a more extensive horizontal cross-section (including lesenes as well as the pillars). Furthermore, in Brzeg, the socles are low; the oldest of them (made under the direction of Gunther of Wrocław) also have their cornices profiled in an entirely different way; having said that, also the more recent ones (made by the workshop of Heinrich Pfefferfleisch and Peter Rudel) had been built earlier than those in Kłodzko. Meanwhile, in the parish church in Chojnów, the idea of distinguishing the socles had been abandoned altogether.

In the elevation of the choir, attention is drawn to the rich sculptural decoration of the buttresses, articulated with rectangular panels, decorated in the upper zone with pairs of chimeras in the case of the central apse, and in the side aisles with two-level pinnacles (composed in such a way that two smaller ones, with shafts consistently profiled in relation to the lower parts, grow into a larger one, projected with its edge to the wall), and also with a wimperg in the lower zone of the buttress of the central apse, near its junction with the southern apse (see: Fig. 1–6, 10). The re-forging of the figurative elements between 1929 and 1931 is an obstacle to their analysis,⁹³ while the genesis of other elements of the stonework of the buttresses is plainly visible. The panels as well as the wimperg and pinnacles with crockets, cornices and finials that decorate them are akin to the solutions from the buildings developed at least partially by Peter Parler, namely from the eastern parts of the cathedral of Saints Vitus, Wenceslaus, and Adalbert in Prague (built mostly in 1344–1386, and continued in the years that followed; initially by Matthias of Arras) (see: Fig. 19)⁹⁴ and of the church of Saint Bartholomew in Kolín (main construction from 1360

93 This also applies to the symbols of the Evangelists on the elevation of the sacristy made by the same team of contractors. See footnote 5 above.

94 D. Líbal, *Pražské gotické kostely*, Praha 1946, pp. 101–129; idem, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě*, pp. 107–114, 119–120; idem, *Stavitelství*, in: A. Kutal, D. Líbal, A. Matějčák, *Stavitelství a sochařství*, Praha 1949 (= *České umění gotické*, 1), pp. 24–25; D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura*, in: *Od počátku do konce středověku*, R. Chadraha (ed.), Praha 1984 (= *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění*, 1), pp. 180–184; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, pp. 398–405; V. Mencl, *Česká architektura doby lucemburské*, Praha 1948 (= *Nové cíle*, 1059), pp. 31, 60, 94, 142–143, including fig. 96; V. Kotrba, *Architektura*, in: *České umění gotické 1350–1420*, J. Pešina (ed.), Praha 1970, pp. 58–62, 67–69; V. Kotrba, *Katalog architektury*, in: *České umění gotické*, pp. 77–81; A. Kutal, *České gotické umění*, Praha 1972, pp. 34–35, 50–52, 106; 1350–1470, E. Ullmann (ed.), Leipzig 1981 (= *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*), pp. 110, 112; N. Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, S. Kleager (transl.), New Haven – London 2000, pp. 112, 125–126, 128, 130–131; K. Benešová, *2.002 Cathedral of St Vitus*, in: eadem et al., *Architecture of the Gothic*, pp. 58–59; eadem, *Hlava druhá*, pp. 135, 158–160, 162; M.C. Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers. Der Prager Veitsdom, das Heiligkreuzmünster in Schwäbisch Gmünd und die Bartholomäuskirche zu Kolin im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und Geschichte*, Ostfildern 2003, pp. 52–58, 65–69, 145–146, 149; J. Kuthan, 1. *Prag (Praha), Veitsdom*, in: *Gotik*, B. Klein (ed.), München 2007 (= *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, 3), pp. 202, 204–205; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha. Svatyně českých patronů a králů*, Praha 2011, pp. 79, 82–84, 90, 93–98, 125–126, 131, 138–139, 143, 147–148, 151, 156, 158–159, 164, 166–169, 171; iidem, *Karel IV.*, pp. 167–168, 171, 180–183, 366–368; Y. Gallet, *Matthieu d'Arras et l'Alsace. Les relations architecturales entre les cathédrales de Strasbourg et Prague avant Peter Parler*, "Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg", 30, 2012, pp. 19, 29–31, 33, 36, 38–40; K. Schröck, *Der Prager Veitsdom – Aspekte des Bauens*, in: *Kirche als Baustelle. Große Sakralbauten des Mittelalters*, K. Schröck, B. Klein, S. Bürger (eds.), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, pp. 214–217, 219, 221–223; J. Sojka, *Katedrální motivy v české gotické architektuře doby okolo roku 1400*, Praha 2013, p. 12.

to around 1378, minor works until around 1400) (see: Fig. 20).⁹⁵ This resemblance has already been identified. Neumann stated that the above-mentioned elements of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary depended on the works of Peter Parler's workshop, and he paid particular attention to the similarities with the parish church in Kolín (especially in terms of crockets).⁹⁶ Dagobert Frey also noticed the influence of the solutions used in the latter temple on the decoration of the buttresses in Kłodzko.⁹⁷ Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt focused on inspirations from the Prague cathedral.⁹⁸ The Bohemian provenance of the buttress decoration was also emphasized by: Hans Lutsch,⁹⁹ Hans Tintelnot (who described it together with the rest of the elevation stonework as an example of the reception of courtly art from the Luxembourg Dynasty period),¹⁰⁰ Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski,¹⁰¹ and Christofer Herrmann.¹⁰² In view of the observed origins of the parts of the basilica in Kłodzko here discussed, Neumann imagined a disciple of Peter Parler as the head of the first construction team.¹⁰³ The indicated analogies do not exclude this possibility, but they are also not sufficient to unambiguously confirm the researcher's assumptions – Parlerian art was only a part of the inspiration of the master employed in Kłodzko, and not even the dominant part (as it follows from the entire analysis carried out for the purpose of this article). According to František Musil¹⁰⁴ and Christofer Herrmann,¹⁰⁵ part of the workshop of the cathedral in Prague was probably commissioned for the construction. In the writings of both authors, such an attribution was associated with too early dating of the beginning of the construction of the Kłodzko parish church (the second author explained the high level of execution of the ashlar cladding by stating that work had been initiated during the life of Arnošt of Pardubice, who could have brought stonemasons from the capital), although also after the correction of this error, the solution that these researchers proposed cannot be excluded for strictly chronological reasons: Prague cathedral's construction lodge functioned until 1419 or possibly until 1420, it was



20. Kolín, church of Saint Bartholomew, clerestory of the presbytery with the buttresses. Photo by Piotr Pajor
→ see p. 21

95 D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě*, pp. 120–121; idem, *Gotická architektura*, p. 184; idem, *Katalog gotické architektury*, pp. 186–188, 191; V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, p. 85; V. Kotrba, *Architektura*, pp. 63–64; idem, *Katalog architektury*, pp. 83–84; A. Kotal, *České gotické umění*, p. 52; D. Líbal, V. Líbalová, *Gotická architektura středních Čech*, Praha 1983, p. 25; N. Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, p. 134; K. Benešová, 2.141 *Church of St Bartholomew – II, Kolín*, in: K. Benešová et al., *Architecture of the Gothic*, p. 225; K. Benešová, *Hlava druhá*, pp. 165–167; J. Kuthan, *K Parléřovu chóru kostela sv. Bartoloměje v Kolíně nad Labem*, in: *Pro arte. Sborník k počtě Ivo Hlobila*, D. Prix (ed.), Praha 2002, pp. 127–130, 132; J. Kuthan, 8. *Kolín, Chor der Bartholomäuskirche*, in: *Gotik*, pp. 211–212; M.C. Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers*, pp. 89–90, 94, 155; M. Patrný, J. Beránek, *Arciděkaný chrám sv. Bartoloměje v Kolíně. Historický a stavební vývoj*, České Budějovice 2014, pp. 28, 30–32, 97, 99–100, 160–162; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, pp. 366, 373, 379; J. Adamski, *Die Bedeutung der Parlerbauten*, p. 15; idem, *O podobieństwie chórów*, p. 41. Perhaps the whole eastern segment of the building had been completed before the fire in 1395, and the slightly later works were linked to repairing the damage from that fire.

96 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, pp. 7–8.

97 D. Frey, *Die Kunst im Mittelalter*, p. 565.

98 J. Kuthan, *Archiepiskup Arnošt z Pardubic*, p. 183; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 666.

99 H. Lutsch, *Bilderwerk Schlesischer Kunstdenkmäler. Im Auftrage des Provinzial-Ausschusses von Schlesien*, Breslau 1903, p. 66.

100 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst*, pp. 106, 108, 174, 206.

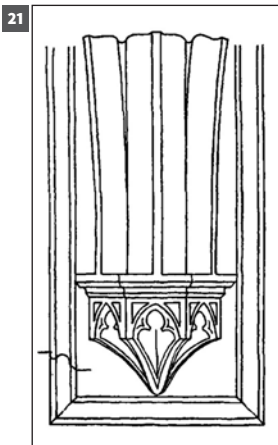
101 R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, *Zarys dziejów sztuki w Kłodzku*, p. 188.

102 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, p. 645.

103 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, p. 7.

104 F. Musil, *Kladsko v době vlády Lucemburků*, p. 71.

105 C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, p. 648.



21. Prague, church of Saint Apollinaire, corbel from the nave. According to: V. Mencl, *Česká architektura doby lucemburské*, Praha 1948 (= *Nové cíle*, 1059), p. 92, fig. 39
→ see p. 23

22. Wrocław, town hall, corbel from the northern aisle of the Great Hall. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 23

only dispersed during the Hussite wars.¹⁰⁶ We should add that other authors also tried to clarify the question of the origin of the creators of the oldest parts of the temple in question: Hans Tintelnot assumed the involvement of a Bohemian team of contractors, justifying his opinion with the fact that the elevation is very meticulously developed,¹⁰⁷ whereas Mieczysław Zlat put forward a hypothesis about the functioning, in the years ca. 1350 – ca. 1430, of the construction group inspired by models from Bohemia, formed perhaps in Ząbkowice Śląskie, and responsible to various extent for the construction of Saint Mary's Church – currently Saint Anne's – in that town; Saint Bartholomew's church in Głogówek; the church of Saint James the Greater and Saint Agnes in Nysa (in the final stage of its construction); and the church of the Assumption in Kłodzko (the eastern part thereof).¹⁰⁸ The issue outlined above is still unclear, and it remains the subject of continued research.

Located in the side aisles of the chancel of the basilica in Kłodzko, the deeply modelled corbels with a $5/8$ horizontal cross-section, with tracery cusps carved in the walls of the upper zone in acute arches clasped in frames, and with a funnel-shaped lower part (see: Fig. 11–13), also fit into the Bohemian traditions. In this context, they reveal a close formal resemblance to the corbels from the chapter house of the Benedictine monastery in Sázava (between ca. 1330 and ca. 1340),¹⁰⁹ from the nave of the church of Saint Apollinaire in Prague (between ca. 1365 and ca. 1370) (see: Fig. 21)¹¹⁰ or from the sacristy of the church of Saint Lawrence in Vysoké Mýto (between ca. 1365 and ca. 1370).¹¹¹ They also had a Silesian precedent: between ca. 1355 and ca. 1365, similar ones were used in the Wrocław town hall, specifically in the northern aisle of the Great Hall (see: Fig. 22);¹¹² and those from the neighbouring chapel were also made in a very similar convention (ca. 1356, 1358 at the latest), although in this case the ogival niches were placed within plain walls instead of frames; as for other differences, these corbels only with their upper parts blend in the walls in the same way as in the other cases cited above. In the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the discussed model was enriched by the addition of with a flower turned downwards at the tip.¹¹³

The concept of the sacristy portal (see: Fig. 23) was adopted from Silesian architecture. More precisely, its general form (rectangular entrance opening covered

106 D. Líbal, *Pražské gotické kostely*, p. 124; idem, *Staviteľství*, p. 25; idem, *Gotická architektura*, p. 184; V. Kotrba, *Katalog architektury*, p. 79; K. Benešová, *2.002 Cathedral of St Vitus*, pp. 58–59; M.C. Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers*, p. 69; J. Kuthan, *1 Prag (Praha), Veitsdom*, p. 205; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha*, p. 160; eidem, *Karel IV.*, pp. 181, 367; J. Sojka, *Katedrální motivy*, p. 9.

107 H. Tintelnot, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst*, p. 106.

108 M. Zlat, *Śląsk. Okres 1350–1550 roku*, p. 135.

109 V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, pp. 52–54, 86, including fig. 8; idem, *Romanská a gotická hlavice jako prostředek k datování české architektury*, "Zprávy památkové péče", 10, 1950, No. 1, p. 19; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 442; M. Walczak, *Rzeźba architektoniczna w Małopolsce za czasów Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Kraków 2006 (= *Ars vetus et nova*, 20), pp. 47–48; J. Adamski, *Biskupi Nanker i Jan Grot a architektoniczna awangarda około roku 1300. Uwagi o chronologii i stylu gotyckiego chóru katedry krakowskiej*, in: *Działalność fundacyjna biskupów krakowskich*, vol. 1, M. Walczak (ed.), Kraków 2016, pp. 69–70.

110 V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, pp. 86, 92, including fig. 39; idem, *Romanská a gotická hlavice*, p. 20; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, pp. 382–383.

111 V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, pp. 86, 93, including fig. 40; idem, *Romanská a gotická hlavice*, p. 20.

112 R. Kaczmarek, *Rzeźba architektoniczna XIV wieku we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 1999, p. 203.

113 Ibidem, pp. 201, 205.

with a two-centred arch and having an acute arch above it) corresponds to the works from the town hall in Wrocław (in the eastern façade – executed between ca. 1345 and 1357¹¹⁴ and in the passage from the chapel to the Great Hall – ca. 1356, 1358 at the latest) (see: Fig. 24);¹¹⁵ the nave of the Wrocław church of the Holy Cross (between ca. 1360 and ca. 1370);¹¹⁶ and parish churches in Brzeg (in the chancel, between 1383 and ca. 1389, that is in the times of master Heinrich Pfefferfleisch or his successor Peter Rudel),¹¹⁷ and in Ząbkowice Śląskie (in the sacristy, second half of the fourteenth century).¹¹⁸ A particular similarity can be observed in the realizations in the chapel of the Wrocław town hall (except for the lavish decoration), and in the parish church in Ząbkowice Śląskie: those portals share a few other features with the Kłodzko one, like high socles of the jambs without chamfering, recessed frame of the entrance opening, or sloping lintel which, in Wrocław, also crosses the vertical mullions.

Also, the composition of the tracery from the four windows of the side aisles (the first and the third in the south aisle, and the second and the third in the north aisle, counting from the individual apse joints) – a trefoil with three smaller trefoils inscribed with single endings (see: Fig. 10) – betrays the influence of Silesia. In the middle decades of the fourteenth century, Peschke used it in two unified traceries from the southern aisle of Saint Mary's Church in Wrocław (he had begun the construction of this temple in the mid- or late 1330s, and its walls had been mostly completed in the second half of the 1360s), although he enriched it further with a repetition of the same pattern, once again, on a smaller scale: in each of the small trefoils, three even smaller trefoils are inscribed, similarly intertwining (see: Fig. 25).¹¹⁹ Around 1390, a motif from this temple was found – in a reduced version identical to the one seen later in Kłodzko – in four locations within the formally extended tracery from the axial window of the main apse of the parish church in Ziębice.¹²⁰ As far as the genesis of the Kłodzko structures is concerned, the key role should be attributed to following the Wrocław examples, but the designer's awareness of the Ziębice tracery

114 Idem, *Rzeźba architektoniczna*, pp. 196–199; C. Herrmann, *Schlesien*, pp. 704–705; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV*, p. 755; J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 549, footnote 290; idem, *Gotycka fara św. Anny*, p. 6.

115 R. Kaczmarek, *Rzeźba architektoniczna*, pp. 202, 205.

116 Ibidem, p. 95.

117 M. Zlat, *Brzeg*, pp. 162–163, 170; J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 544–545, 549, including footnote 290; idem, *Gotycka fara św. Anny*, p. 6. See also: M. Kutzner, *Technika i organizacja budowy*, pp. 100–101.

118 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 582, footnote 409; idem, *Gotycka fara św. Anny*, pp. 5–7. In the first publication, the author seems to have suggested the precedence of the Brzeg portal before the Ząbkowice Śląskie one (“portal leading to the sacristy, referring in form to the eastern portal of the town hall in Wrocław and the northern portal of the choir at the parish church in Brzeg”), which in this case would have narrowed down the dating of the latter to the end of the fourteenth century.

119 For more information about the tracery, see: *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 445, 447, 472–476 (there, it is dated to the 1350s); idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens in der Ausprägung des spätgotischen Masswerkrepertoires um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Modestia est signum Sapientiae. Studie nejen o středověkém umění k počtě Dalibora Prixe*, K. Dolejší, O. Haničák (eds.), Praha–Opava 2021, pp. 91–92 (there, the possibility of designing these details before the commencement of the construction of the building ca. 1335 was taken into account, while the beginning of their assembly is estimated at ca. 1350 at the latest). For more information on the chronology of church construction, see: R. Kaczmarek, *Rzeźba architektoniczna*, p. 122; J. Adamski, *Entre Strasbourg et Bratislavie*, p. 24; idem, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 437–438, 440, 445, 472; idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, pp. 91–92.

120 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 567; idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, pp. 96–97.



24



23



25

23. Kłodzko, the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, portal of the old sacristy. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 24

24. Wrocław, town hall, portal in the passage from the chapel to the Great Hall. Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 24

25. Wrocław, church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, tracery (currently in the Museum of Architecture in Wrocław). Photo by Jan Widłak
→ see p. 25

and drawing inspiration therefrom is also highly probable. A triad of trefoils, joined together by single torn petals, also appeared earlier in the tracery on the eastern arm of the cloisters next to Saint Mary's Cathedral in Konstanz (between ca. 1300 and 1317)¹²¹ or – probably for the first time as the main motif – on the southern arm of the transept of Saint Mary's Cathedral in Basel (second quarter of the fourteenth century).¹²² In the first mentioned instance, it was inscribed in a pointed trefoil and a spherical triangle; in the second instance, it was inscribed within a ring.

The currently bricked-up tracery in the front window of the northern aisle closure (see: Fig. 4), with a *couronnement* in the form of a triad of centrifugally swirling mouchettes (the solution that also exists as a fragment of a more advanced composition from the diagonal wall of the southern apse), has so far interested only Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt. Those researchers mentioned the rotated mouchettes in this context as a characteristic element of Parlerian architecture in Prague.¹²³ This motif of Upper Rhine origins¹²⁴ did indeed occur there, but in the form of pairs; in a triple version, Peter Parler also applied it, although not in the capital, but in Kolín: in one of the traceries of the high choir of the parish church, constructed in parallel with the walls (more precisely, within the northern tracery in the eastern bay).¹²⁵ In the case of the details from the parish church in Kłodzko here discussed, another transmission route led from Silesia. Here again Peschke's work in Wrocław attracts attention, specifically, the tracery used in the two central window openings of the northern aisle in the Canons Regular temple¹²⁶ and – in the 1360s – within the axial window of the chancel of the church of Saint Mary Magdalene.¹²⁷ In all of the above works, the triads of mouchettes in a centripetal rotating arrangement are included in much richer compositions. As a complete *couronnement* they were used in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saints John the Evangelist and John the Baptist in Paczków. The walls of that church were erected from around 1350 until no later than 1389,¹²⁸ the tracery itself seems to originate from that same period.¹²⁹ So far, considering the overall form of the work in the diagonal window of the southern end of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, no precedents have been found that would match it exactly.

121 For instance, P. Pajor, *Kilka uwag o okolicznościach budowy i formie architektonicznej kościoła Klarysek w Starym Sączu*, "Modus. Prace z Historii Sztuki", 18, 2018, p. 15. On the issue of dating, see also, for instance, J. Adamski, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, p. 89.

122 For instance, P. Pajor, *Kilka uwag*, pp. 15–16.

123 J. Kuthan, *Arcybiskup Arnošt z Pardubic*, p. 183; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 666.

124 Np. D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 403; J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 428, footnote 150; idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, p. 89.

125 D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě*, p. 122; idem, *Gotická architektura*, p. 184; idem, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 187; V. Mencl, *Vývoj okna v architektuře českého středověku*, "Zprávy památkové péče", 20, 1960, No. 5–6, pp. 220, 222; D. Líbal, V. Líbalová, *Gotická architektura středních Čech*, p. 25; K. Benešová, 2.141 *Church of St Bartholomew – II, Kolín*, p. 225; eadem, *Hlava druhá*, p. 167; J. Kuthan, *K Parlérovu chóru*, p. 133; idem, 8. *Kolín, Chor der Bartholomäuskirche*, p. 212; M. C. Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers*, pp. 92–93, 157; M. Patrný, J. Beránek, *Arciděkanství chrám sv. Bartoloměje*, pp. 34, 163; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 379.

126 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 443, 445; idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, pp. 92–93. See also footnote 119 above.

127 Idem, *Über die Bedeutung Schlesiens*, pp. 94–95.

128 B. Steinborn, *Otmuchów. Paczków*, second edition, Wrocław 1982 (= Śląsk w zabytkach sztuki), p. 153; J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 585.

129 H. Golasz-Szołomicka, *Tracery Windows from the 14th Century in Silesia*, "Architectus", 31, 2012, p. 28.

The artistic affiliation of the four-armed stellar vault with a central cross and without diagonal ribs (see: Fig. 9, 12, 13), used in the three eastern side bays, was first addressed by Neumann, who mistakenly assumed them to be the same as those in the aisles of Saint Barbara in Kutná Hora.¹³⁰ Contrary to the researcher's suggestions, the vaults from Kutná Hora represented a different type: the star was pushed inside, and it rested on sections of diagonals. Otherwise, the alleged equivalence was used by Neumann as one of the arguments building the wrong hypothesis that identified Hans Strassberger to be the same as Hanuš, a foreman working in the church of Saint Barbara in the 1480s.¹³¹ Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt saw the most probable source of Kłodzko structures in the Prague cathedral, in the ground floor of the Great South Tower,¹³² but even there the pattern applied was not identical (for example, it contained diagonal ribs).¹³³ In the case of the discussed vaults from the church of the Assumption, credible inspirations are to be found elsewhere. The pattern could have come to Kłodzko both from other centres in Bohemia and from Silesia. Shortly after 1375 (ca. 1380?), this variation was used in the central aisle of the church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław (see: Fig. 26);¹³⁴ at a similar time, it was also used in several Bohemian buildings: in the ground floor of the southern (White) tower of the church of Saint Nicholas (now Saint Giles) in Nymburk,¹³⁵ in the presbytery of the church of Saint Appolinaire in Sadská,¹³⁶ and in the passage of the castle gate in Lipnice nad Sázavou.¹³⁷ In addition, Jakub Adamski allowed the possibility of the replication of this scheme in the central aisle of the parish church in Paczków in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century.¹³⁸ The list of older equivalents could possibly be extended to the church of the Holy Trinity in Sulejovice (located at a certain distance from the emerging area of artistic education of the first designer of the parish church in Kłodzko), where the choir was identically vaulted before the Hussite wars¹³⁹ – it is not known, however, whether this had been done earlier than in Kłodzko. With a view to future research, it is



26. Wrocław, the church of the Holy Cross, the vault of the central aisle. Photo by Jan Widtak
→ see p. 27

130 Neumann, *Stilkritische Untersuchungen der Baugeschichte*, p. 25.

131 Ibidem, pp. 49–50. This hypothesis is contradicted in the first place by the activity of Hans Strassberger in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, documented with stonemason signs (see footnote 65 above). Hanuš died in 1489 or shortly after. A broader discussion of the researcher's views is going to be found in the article devoted to the elements of the parish church in Kłodzko which were made under the direction of master Hans.

132 J. Kuthan, *Arcibiskup Arnošt z Pardubic*, p. 183; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Karel IV.*, p. 666.

133 D. Líbal, *Pražské gotické kostely*, p. 124; A. Kotal, *České gotické umění*, p. 52; M.C. Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers*, p. 154; J. Kuthan, J. Royt, *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha*, pp. 157–158.

134 J. Adamski, *Nurty stylowe późnogotyckich sklepień w Krakowie. Przekrycia chórów kościołów Mariackiego, Augustianów i Dominikanów*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", 75, 2013, No. 2, p. 21, including footnote 54; idem, *Gotycka architektura*, p. 424.

135 V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, pp. 99–100; idem, *České středověké klenby*, Praha 1974, pp. 74, 80; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 287; D. Líbal, V. Líbalová, *Gotická architektura středních Čech*, pp. 28–29; K. Benešová, *Hlava druhá*, p. 199; J. Sojka, *Katedrální motivy*, pp. 14, 17.

136 D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura v Čechách a na Moravě*, p. 158; idem, *Gotická architektura*, p. 201; idem, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 438; V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, pp. 99–100; idem, *České středověké klenby*, pp. 74, 80; D. Líbal, V. Líbalová, *Gotická architektura středních Čech*, p. 30.

137 V. Mencl, *Česká architektura*, p. 99; idem, *České středověké klenby*, pp. 74, 80; D. Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury*, pp. 232, 234.

138 J. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, pp. 585–587.

139 D. Líbal, *Gotická architektura*, p. 201; idem, *Katalog gotické architektury*, p. 473.

worth noting that the oldest vault ribs from the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (except for the transverse ribs) received a pear-shaped profile, flanked by two rollers in the version previously known from the house of Johlin Rothlev in Prague (second half of the fourteenth century).¹⁴⁰

The new observations presented above regarding the location of the sources for the original design of the parish church in Kłodzko remain consistent with the older findings by art historians, who have noted in the forms used here an adaptation of the spatial arrangement known from the Wrocław church of Saint Elisabeth and its Silesian-Bohemian derivatives, as well as a reference in the decoration of buttresses to the eastern parts of the Prague cathedral and the parish church in Kolín. Some of the elements from the earliest construction phase still require examination (for instance, the symbols of the Evangelists from the bosses in the southern aisle of the chancel), nevertheless, the reconstruction of the artistic horizons of the master in charge of the first workshop is already clear: the artist was very well versed in the art of Lower Silesia as well as of central and eastern Bohemia. The relatively large size of the basilica, as well as the unmistakable modelling on extremely prestigious buildings, which were among the top achievements of the fourteenth-century architecture of these areas (a feature that had already been noticed by researchers), coupled with the high quality of workmanship were well suited to the rank of the main temple of the wealthy town, which was also the resting place of the first Prague archbishop – Arnošt of Pardubice.

Abstract

The first stage of construction of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kłodzko: dating, scope of work, stylistic genesis

The purpose of the article was to systematize and expand the knowledge about the church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary in Kłodzko, and more specifically, to address the oldest stage of the development of this parish church, that is the period when the first construction workshop was active on the site. Based primarily on medieval written sources, the paper specifies the dating of the discussed phase, up to the first two or three decades of the fifteenth century, with the beginning of the works in 1402 or slightly later, and their end between around 1415 and 1428. We have identified fragments of the temple, made at least hypothetically by the earliest team of builders: the walls of the presbytery with the vaults of its side aisles, the lower parts of the old sacristy, and the chapel to the north of the choir. Subsequently, a formal-genetic analysis was applied in order to extend the previous findings regarding the stylistic origins of the primary project (only in terms of spatial arrangement consistently implemented also by later construction teams). The spatial program, details, and vaults were compared with the Bohemian and Silesian Gothic architecture, finding potential prototypes for individual elements, which allowed for a hypothetical outline of the area of artistic education of the first master in charge of the building's construction; the aforementioned area most probably extended at least from Prague, through eastern Bohemia and the Sudeten part of Silesia, all the way to Wrocław. ●

KEYWORDS:

Kłodzko,
Bohemia,
Middle Ages,
fifteenth century,
Gothic architecture

ISSN 1641-9715 (print)

ISSN 2545-3882

(online)

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140 V. Mencl, *Tvary klenebních žeber v české gotické architektuře*, "Zprávy památkové péče", 11–12, 1951–1952, No. 9–10, pp. 275–276, including fig. VII.5.