



ŚLĄSKI KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY SOBÓTKA

NOT ONLY THE REFORMATION.
CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN SILESIA
THROUGH THE CENTURIES

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EDITORIAL

The choice of subject matter undertaken in the second volume of the English-language edition of the *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* (Silesian Historical Quarterly Sobótka) was dictated by the 500th anniversary of the speech of Martin Luther celebrated this year. The events of 1517 in Wittenberg are widely regarded as the beginning of the Reformation. At the same time, many historians and publicists recognize them as a breakthrough in the religious and cultural dimension of Europe, separating the Middle Ages from modern times.

In Silesia, anti-church attitudes were derived from the former Waldensian heresy (Beguines and Beghards). The new reformation influences of John Wicliffe's philosophy and to a much greater extent of Hussitism – in the context of belonging to the Czech Crown – were marked at the beginning of the 15th century. Initiated by Jan Hus, a professor at the University of Prague, the religious and social movement turned into a revolutionary resistance of the lower social strata towards secular and church feudals. In Wrocław, it was revealed in 1418, with the rise of craftsmen, dissatisfied with the municipal council, who took the town hall and killed several councillors; the same was done in Prague in 1419. In 1420, the new ruler Sigismund of Luxembourg, the king of Hungary and Germany, brutally dealt with the craftsmen of Wrocław in order to intimidate his subjects and directed the army against the Czechs who refused him the Czech crown. The Hussites repulsed his attack and transferred military operations to the neighboring lands, including Silesia. Many years of expeditions ended in defeat in 1434.

The problem of Hussitism, as a religious difference, being a deviation from Catholicism, reappeared in 1458 after the assumption of the king of Bohemia and Hungary, George of Poděbrady, who was a supporter of its moderate faction. For Wrocław did not recognize the choice of the Hussite states of the Czech Republic, acting out against the “king-heretic” and accepting after his death in 1471 the authority of the Catholic, Matthias Corvinus. Regarding the evolving movement of the Lutheran Reformation in Silesia after 1517, it was first adopted in the duchy of Legnica-Brzeg-Wołów, whose prince Frederic II was related to the Poděbrady dynasty. The second centre was Wrocław, where the city authorities gradually carried out a confession in 1523–1525. Taking over the functions of the church authorities, they planted city parish supporters of Luther and thus liquidated

Catholic parishes within the city walls. The new denominational order was introduced in a peaceful manner, so as not to complicate the situation of the “royal” city, which was the capital of the bishopric and the centre of numerous religious foundations, from 1526 under the direct authority of ultra-Catholic Habsburgs.

The title of the volume “Not only the Reformation. Churches and religious movements in Silesia through the centuries” emphasizes the starting point for presenting the general confessional relations in Silesia, in connection with the religious, social and national demands of its inhabitants from the early Middle Ages to the 21st century. The findings of Polish, German and Czech historiography were used, presented by a group of historians, and art historians interested in the problems of religious life in Silesia, especially the deviation from universally accepted religious norms, expressed e.g. in heretical movements or mystical experiences. Thus, the texts included religious movements from the pre-reformation period which were treated as a departure from the teaching of the Catholic Church. The Czech and Silesian contributions to the history of the Reformation and later Counter-Reformation were presented.

Contemporary times are depicted in the discussion of the problems of religious life and religious associations in Silesia and Wrocław after the end of World War II. This is complemented by a reflection on the objects of Silesian religious architecture created in the years 1945–2015, aimed at searching for cultural contents contained in them. The volume is concluded by discussion (in the form of a review article and review) of several examples of publications on religious issues from the current German and Polish literature and a summary of the course of scientific and cultural events accompanying the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Wrocław and Silesia.

The publication of the volume was preceded by a working meeting at the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław, held on 10 March 2017. Attendees at this meeting included the future authors of the volume, professionals from various academic centres also attended. The discussions held at that time did not affect the final shape of the published materials. As in the case of the first English-language volume, it covers the historical period from the Middle Ages to the time after World War II.

A study by Krzysztof Bracha entitled ‘Medieval Church of Silesia in the face of heresy, magic and spells’ opens the ARTICLES AND STUDIES chapter. It is a review of the behavior and the state of recognition within the Church of Silesian religious folklore of the faithful during the 12th–15th centuries, presented mainly

on the basis of preserved church literature. The existence of records of rituals of magic and witchcraft, understood as heretical, are treated by the author as a kind of paradox in the face of the religious life of the Catholic Church in Silesia in the 13th century, enriched by the existence of monastic foundations and the cult of Saint Hedwig of Silesia. He also draws attention to the parish network, correlated with the successive processes of urbanization and colonization in the region. In view of the potential that Silesia had for the evangelization of the faithful, the author's amazement is aroused by the fact that the preserved pastoral books, written after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, describe the struggle against the practiced relics of paganism. The priests were ordered to lock up the churches after services to protect the holy water, the holy oils and the Host's communicants from theft by the magicians and sorcerers, who would use them for witchcraft. Similar records of practices prohibited within Christian worship are repeated in synodal resolutions, including examples from 1326 and 1471. The author states that in anthropological terms most of these practices belonged to protective magic: against illness and to ensure prosperity in the family and well-being on the farm, and church utensils were utilised to effectively strengthen it. The hope of fulfilling requests made in objects and words, not in God, was a manifestation of idolatry.

The preaching practice undertaken by German Catholic preachers in the second half of the 15th century was the focus of Martin Čapský. Referring to his earlier studies on the influence of preachers on the policies of cities within the lands of the Czech Crown and the impact of their fanatical speeches on social communication, the author, in an article entitled 'Prelude to the Reformation? Municipal preachers at the time of the Hussites', presented the activities of the radical Prague preacher Jan Želivský during the initial period of the Hussite Revolution and Wrocław's Nicholas Tempelfeld, active during the reign of King George of Poděbrady. He used for this purpose, among others contemporary sources of news. An interesting study by M. Čapský shows the preaching of that time as a tool of political propaganda motivated religiously, in order to weaken the influence of Hussitism in the first case, and in the second case directly against George of Poděbrady, who was Czech and Hussite. German preaching influenced the medieval urban community, steering its hostility against the Hussites and provoking it to violent behavior, culminating in the speeches against the legal power of the native king. In the conclusions of his text, Martin Čapský is inclined to respond positively to the question raised in the title of the article and proves that in fact the activities of Catholic city preachers can be considered

a prelude to the Reformation events, especially as their religious postulates have influenced the Czech autonomous social and national movement.

Radek Fukala, known among others from his studies on the history of Silesia in the modern era, in the article entitled 'The Reformation in Silesia' presents a synthetic outline of the history of the Reformation in Silesia, treating it as a breakdown of medieval universalism at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. Dynamically occurring reform processes in this region are perceived as part of a pan-European phenomenon. In Silesia, the capital Wrocław came to be a great anti-Hussite stronghold until 1471, Martin Luther's ideas being quickly accepted first in the principalities of: Legnica, Brzeg and Wołów, thanks to the activities of Johannes Hess and Ambrosius Moibanus among others, revealed in Wrocław. R. Fukala connects the spreading of the Reformation with the activity of the educational institution, which in this case was the Protestant academy established in Legnica. It found a continuation in the Protestant gymnasium in Złotoryja, run by Valentin Trotzen-dorf, famous in the wider European arena. Dominicus Schleupner, Franz Faber, Valentin Krautwald and most famously Caspar von Schwenckfeld worked, among others under the protection of duke Frederic II of Legnica. R. Fukala notes that the wake of German historiography and the literary works created in Silesia under the influence of the Reformation had a great influence on the formation of language and German national consciousness. However, the weakening of the progress of the Reformation in Silesia was influenced by the Habsburgs policy and the provisions of the Council of Trent which initiated Counter-Reformation. In his conclusions, R. Fukala emphasizes that Czech historiography has not devoted much attention to research on the Silesian issues, while the Czech context in the religious history of Silesia is very important. It is also not included in Polish historiography, influenced by the achievements of German historians.

Leszek Ziátkowski, a specialist in studies on the modern history of Silesia, in the work entitled 'Silesia after the Westphalian Peace – a Counter-Reformation ideological offensive or a program of reconstruction from war damage?' discussed the essence of the Silesian Counter-Reformation. Assessing the situation after the Thirty Years' War, he stressed the uniqueness of Silesia in comparison with other lands belonging to the Czech Crown, subordinate to the Habsburgs. In 1609, freedom to practice under the Augsburg Confession was granted, but the Catholic Church was also granted restitution of temples and monasteries previously occupied by Protestants.

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) in the lands subordinated to the Habsburgs led to enormous material losses, leading to economic and financial distortion in areas under their rule, thus excluding state aid in their reconstruction. Essentially, only the Catholic Church had the most significant means, to whom Protestants had to pay compensation for the seized property, sometimes devastated. The possibility of combining the goals of secular and church authorities in the investment program concerning mainly churches and monasteries was created. Contemplating the addressee of this program, the author points out to highly specialized Catholic craftsmen, producers of building materials and luxury goods. In the process of reconstruction, in Silesia, this was the province dominated by Protestants, it was necessary to engage “Protestant” personnel, even if they were “second level”. With time, the number of craftsmen and Catholic buyers grew, and the material progress of the recatholisation began to materialize. In summary, the author proposes a new look at the “baroquisation” of Silesia, as the investment program undertaken not only led to ideological changes but was also an element of economic stimulation.

Paweł Jaworski, doing research mainly on the history of the 20th century, began his presentation of religious relations in Silesia after World War II by detailing the demographic changes. The settlement of Wrocław and Lower Silesia by the Polish population, mostly Catholic, made the percentage of Catholics in the region increased to 90% (from pre-war 30%), while the followers of other religions were a few minorities, which were mostly associated with ethnic minorities (Jewish, Ukrainian, German). Following the changes of denominational structure, changes were made in the administration of the Catholic Church, including recognition by the Holy See (only in 1972) of the new borders of the Polish archbishopric with its seat in Wrocław. The Catholic Church also took over the former church buildings, most of which required reconstruction. P. Jaworski also drew attention to the then problem of the instrumental use of Catholicism by the communist authorities, by whom it was initially used as a form of polonization tool. However, after 1947, with the Stalinization of the system, the Catholic Church and its believers suffered repression from the communist authorities, questioning the religious needs of the population.

Cezary Wąs, a specialist in contemporary art research, conducted an investigation of the objects of Silesian sacred architecture created in the years 1945–2015 in search of the cultural content they conveyed (‘Cultural content of outstanding architecture in Silesia in the years 1945–2015’). He noticed the clear influence of

post-war political events, more Polish than Silesian ones, beginning with the reconstructed and relatively post-World War II cathedrals in Wrocław and Katowice, as well as in other churches of the Silesian dioceses. The 1951 consecration of the restored St. John the Baptist in Wrocław took place during the intensification of communist terror and can now also be considered an element of collective memory of the times of Stalinism. The author states that all important works of sacral architecture built at a later time, were similarly related to political events in Poland.

After October 1956, in the first phase of the liberalization of the socialist system, the authorities issued permits for the construction of new churches, and then returned to their vision of creating a completely secular society. The clergy building churches were arrested under false allegations and even when they succeeded in completing the erected objects, part of their ideological content is the memory of their persecution (Chorzów: the church of St. Florian and the church of the Holy Spirit). Subsequent waves of church building appeared after the tragic events of December 1976 (the church in Siechnice near Wrocław and of the Holy Spirit in Wrocław), after a wave of protests in June 1976 (the church at the Tysiąclecia housing estate in Katowice), and after the revolution of *Solidarność* in August 1980 a church was built on the Popowice estate in Wrocław. The political context of the creation of temples is confirmed by the fact that after the declaration of martial law in December 1981, military commissioners massively granted permits for erecting sacred buildings throughout Poland. A characteristic feature of this period is the church of St. Barbara in Giszowiec, a district of Katowice. In his conclusion, C. Wąs emphasizes that in the background of the signalled successive periods of new churches building, which were always rooted in tragic historical events, stands out the church of Christ the Redeemer of the World, dedicated in 2000, on the 1000th anniversary of the establishment of the bishopric in Wrocław. It was the first work in half a century that did not contain cultural links with political events in Poland.

A source study '*Visiones cuiusdam devote mulieris*' was included in the Source Miscellanea section. A contribution to the history of mysticism in medieval Silesia, developed by the medievalist Wojciech Mrozowicz, is a part of the research concerning of mysticism, understood as a religious experience, consisting of establishing extrasensory contact with God. Silesian mysticism gained recognition only in the modern era thanks to authority figures such as Jakob Böhme, Abraham Franckenberg or Angelus Silesius. Mysticism had a significant influence on the

then religious life. The great modern mystics of Silesia were preceded by the late medieval, almost forgotten today mystic Dorothea Behir from Żagan. After the death of her husband, she maintained her work for the local monastery of the Canons of St. Augustine. The presented text was devoted to the revelations of Dorothea from 1451–1458, written by her confessor, the abbot of the monastery Simon Arnoldi. On the basis of the analysis of three manuscripts and contemporary chronicle accounts, W. Mrozowicz made the initial characteristics of these visions. They express piety with Christological and Mariological characteristics and are located in the mainstream religious life of late medieval Europe, especially female mysticism and the so-called modern devotion (*devotio moderna*).

In the CHRONICLE section, Lucyna Harc summarized the course of scientific and cultural events accompanying the local celebrations of the anniversary of the Reformation (Celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Wrocław and Silesia). It shows that the Jubilee Year 2017 abounded in important events in various areas of public life, both religious and political as well as artistic and scientific. The ceremonies involved the authorities of the Catholic Church and the Evangelical-Augsburg Church as well as local authorities and the Consulate General of the German Federal Republic in Wrocław. Museum and music environments as well as higher Silesian universities, were also represented mainly in Wrocław, along with associated institutions and organizations. As L. Harc notes, all the events of the jubilee year contributed to the understanding of the phenomenon of the rapid reception of the Reformation in Silesia and brought to light its heritage in the cultural landscape of the region.

Editorial Board

ARTYKUŁY I STUDIA MATERIAŁOWE ARTICLES AND STUDIES

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MEDIEVAL CHURCH OF SILESIA IN THE FACE OF HERESY, MAGIC AND SPELLS

ABSTRACT: The article is a review of the behaviour and the state of recognition within the Church of Silesian religious folklore of the faithful during the 12th-15th centuries. The existence of records of rituals of magic and witchcraft are treated here as a kind of paradox in the local religious life.

KEYWORDS: religion, rituals, witchcraft, Middle Ages, Silesia, heresy, superstitions

Silesia is one of the most interesting regions in Central Europe for the purpose of researching the matters raised in the title. We mean not only an exceptionally extensive source basis, including spectacular documents, a sequence of phenomena and events within a rich religious life, especially interesting folklore and religious ferment, but also the environment of local authors for the last two centuries, and finally geographical location, borderline, intercultural and ethnic coloring of the Silesian territory.

Let us quote the characteristic words of Karen Lambrecht, the author of a monograph on witch trials in Silesia in the modern period: “Wie der gesamte habsburgische Territorienverband gehörte Schlesien zwar nicht zu den Kernländern der Hexenverfolgung, die südschlesische Grenzregion ist jedoch durchaus als Kernzone (underlining: K.B.) zu werten”¹. Without going into a detailed internal

¹ Karen Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung und Zaubereiprozesse in den schlesischen Territorien*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1995, p. 3.

division of Silesia difficult to translate into such a subtle matter of religious life, the aforementioned “Kernzone” can be extrapolated more widely to all the phenomena included in the title, which can be found from sources of Silesian origin or in documentation regarding Silesia. Observation in this area becomes all the more interesting as it concerns a territory which, despite the border location and intense cultural reception, managed to form its own identity and distinct regional consciousness towards the end of the Middle Ages². The progressive intensification of research in this field observed in recent years, in which we see a continuation of German achievements, especially by Joseph Klapper, seems to justify the presentation undertaken in the form of a synthesis and review of the state of research in a framework of limited volume³.

² Halina Manikowska, *Świadomość regionalna na Śląsku w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary 1929–1983*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 253–267; Tomasz Jurek, *Die Entwicklung eines schlesischen Regionalbewußtseins im Mittelalter*, „Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung”, 47, 1998, 1, pp. 21–48 (mainly p. 35); *idem*, „Nacionis de Slesia”. *Ze studiów nad świadomością historyczną na późnośredniowiecznym Śląsku*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, eds. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Józef Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 441–448.

³ Joseph Klapper, *Das Gebet im Zauberglauben des Mittelalters. Aus schlesischen Quellen*, „Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde” (further quoted MSGV), 9, 1907, 18, pp. 5–41; *idem*, *Altschlesische Schutzbriefe und Schutzgebete*, MSGV, 30, 1929, pp. 134–179; *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche Volksschauspiel in Schlesien*, MSGV, 29, 1928, pp. 168–216; *idem*, *Deutscher Volksglaube in Schlesien in ältester Zeit*, MSGV, 17, 1915, pp. 19–57; *idem*, *Volkskundliches in altschlesischen Gebetbüchern*, *ibidem*, 18, 1916, pp. 34–70; *idem*, *Bürgerliche Kultur im schlesischen Mittelalter*, MSGV, 27, 1926, pp. 50–91; *idem*, *Das Volksgebet im schlesischen Mittelalter*, MSGV, 34, 1934, pp. 85–117; *idem*, *Nikolaus von Kosel. Oberschlesische Kultur am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, MSGV, 36, 1937, p. 1–106; *idem*, *Schlesische Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, MSGV, 12, 1910, 1, pp. 77–109; *idem*, *Schlesische Volkskunde auf kulturgeschichtlicher Grundlage*, Breslau 1925; *idem*, *Religiöse Volkskunde im gesamtchlesischen Raum*, Aschaffenburg 1953 and Paul Drechsler, *Das Verhältnis des Schlesiers zu seinen Haustieren und Bäumen*, Zaborze 1904 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Progymnasiums zu Zaborze. Ostern 1901), pp. 4–18; *idem*, *Mytische Erscheinungen im Schlesischen Volksglauben. I. Der wilde Jäger und Frau Holle*, Zaborze 1902 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Progymnasiums zu Zaborze. Ostern 1902), pp. 3–14; *idem*, *Mytische Erscheinungen im Schlesischen Volksglauben. II. Die Druck- und Quälgeister*, Zaborze 1904 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Progymnasiums zu Zaborze. Ostern 1904), pp. 3–13 and newer works: Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung und Zaubereiprozesse, passim*; Jarosław Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie na Śląsku w XIII i XIV wieku*, Katowice 2007; Krzysztof Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug. Nikolaus Magni von Jauer: Ein Reformtheologe des Spätmittelalters gegen Aberglaube und Götzendienst*, Dettelbach 2013 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, ed. Dieter Harmening, vol. XXV); *idem*, *Katalog magii Rudolfa (Na marginesie dotychczasowych prac)*, [in:] *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej. Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów*, Poznań–Kraków–Mogiła 5–10 października 1998, eds. Andrzej M. Wyrwa, Józef Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 806–820; Ryszard Ganszyniec, *Review: E. Karwot, Katalog magii Rudolfa. Źródło etnograficzne XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1955, „Lud”, 43, 1956, pp. 314–323; Roman Barnat, *Problem wierzeń*

From the beginning of its history, the Silesian Church was a separate issue in German, Polish and Czech historiography. It has always caused a difficulty, because practically none of the phenomena could be included in the proven tools of regional history, but rather “interlocal” with a multicultural look, or differently with supra-local ties in the borderland, subjected to Christianity with rich infrastructure and close links with the church of the western and southern neighbor in the Middle Ages. The process of building church infrastructure in Silesia, loaded in historiography with biased national tendencies in Polish, German and Czech approaches, is not easy to be determined. However, it is impossible to deny the noticeable intensification and the increasing number of monastic foundations, especially from the 13th century, developing a parish network correlated with the progressing urbanization and colonization process, all under the new Czech leadership in the flow of revitalizing new religious ideas and civilization impulses of Western Christianity⁴. The very meaningful list of the parishes of Poland at the end of the Middle Ages made by Eugeniusz Wiśniowski speaks for itself. The long list is dominated by the diocese of Wrocław with 1,400 parishes, in second place is the diocese of Kraków with 900 parishes and a total of approximately 6,000 parishes of the former Polish lands⁵. If we add a monastic network to this, then this picture clearly demonstrates the potential that Silesia had for the evangelization of

demonologicznych w Katalogu magii Rudolfa, [in:] *Z dziejów Śląska. Zbiór studiów*, eds. Antoni Barciak, Teresa Rduch-Michalik, Katowice 2000, pp. 9–27; Daria Smoczyńska-Reiner, *Świat pogańskich wierzeń ludowych w dziele „Summa de confessione discretione” brata Rudolfa*, „*Slavia Antiqua*”, 48, 2007, pp. 189–250; Marek L. Wójcik, *Chwile strachu i trwogi. Kłęski żywiołowe, konflikty zbrojne i tumulty w średniowiecznym Wrocławiu*, Racibórz 2008; Dagmara Wójcik, *Dominikanin Marcin Polak – autor kolekcji kazań De tempore et de sanctis*, „*Przegląd Tomistyczny*”, 9, 2003, pp. 255–279; *eadem*, *Semen beati Dominici – l’Ordre des Prêcheurs vu par ses frères d’après quelques sermons modèles du XIIIe siècle*, [in:] *Religieux, saints et dévotions. France et Pologne, XIII^{ème}–XVIII^{ème} siècles*, ed. Bernard Dompnier, „*Siècles*”, 16, 2002, pp. 25–40; Anna Zajchowska, *Między uniwersytetem a zakonem. Biografia i spuścizna pisarska dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic (†1446)*, Warszawa 2013, p. 272; *eadem*, *Inkwizytor wrocławski Jan z Ząbkowic i obraz herezji w jego kazaniach ad clerum*, [in:] *Święty Jacek Odrowąż i dominikanie na Śląsku*, ed. Antoni Barciak, Katowice 2008, pp. 181–183; *eadem*, *Judaizm jako herezja chrystologiczna w kazaniach dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic (zm. 1446)*, [in:] *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. Paweł Kras, Kraków 2010, pp. 294–307; *Proces beginek świdnickich w 1332 roku. Studia historyczne i edycja łacińsko-polska*, eds. Paweł Kras, Tomasz Gałuszka, OP, Adam Poznański, Lublin 2017.

⁴ Kazimierz Dola, *Śląsk miejscem spotkania kultury polskiej i niemieckiej w dobie humanizmu*, „*Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego*”, 8, 1980, pp. 219–232 (mainly p. 219); Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie na Śląsku*, p. 10.

⁵ Eugeniusz Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, Lublin 2004, p. 49, Table 1.

the faithful and the resulting wealth of the literary output⁶. The total of over 3,000 medieval manuscripts of mainly monastic origin and mostly pastoral content held today in the collections of Wrocław libraries is an inalienable witness to the above-mentioned achievements, and only an insufficient state of research constitutes an obstacle to the formulation of final conclusions⁷. This state of affairs implies a scale of phenomena-religious developments which, in comparison with the rest of Poland, seems more intense in Silesia, more mature and with an earlier metric. In the current of increasing self-esteem towards neighbors, the cult of St. Hedwig of Silesia was presented not only as “patron et ducissa terrarum Slesie”, but also as a propagator of faith in barbarian Poland⁸.

The basis of the phenomena we are interested in is the multifaceted process of the Silesian interiorisation of Western religious trends and their reception, which has its own considerable research status and discussing it is not within the purview of the study. We will discuss them based on selected examples of Silesian literature as a testimony to these changes. Under this concept, we understand the broadest possible source base, and therefore also the activity of Silesian authors outside Silesia.

It is not a coincidence that the main part of this literature comes from the last three centuries of the middle ages, especially from the 14th–15th, when new religious

⁶ Tadeusz Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w. XIV*, Warszawa 1953, p. 93; 366 and recently: *Bernardyni na Śląsku w późnym średniowieczu*, ed. Jakub Kostowski, Wrocław 2005; Krzysztof Kaczmarek, *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich w późnym średniowieczu*, Poznań–Wrocław 2008; Święty Jacek Odrowąż i dominikanie na Śląsku, ed. Antoni Barciak, Katowice 2008; Michał Broda, *Biblioteka klasztoru cystersów w Henrykowie do końca XV wieku*, Kraków 2014.

⁷ See for instance: Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften oberschlesischer Autoren in der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau/Wrocław*, Heidelberg 2000 (Archivreihe der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien, 5).

⁸ Joseph Klapper, *Hedwigis electa. Eine Hedwigsvita aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts*, „Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, 19, 1961, p. 60; Halina Manikowska, *Legenda św. Jadwigi – obieg i transformacja*, [in:] *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. Bronisław Geremek, Wrocław 1978, pp. 155–171; Stanisław Araszczyk, *Kult św. Jadwigi na Śląsku w świetle przedtrydenckich wrocławskich ksiąg liturgicznych*, Opole 1995, (especially pp. 15–18); Sabine Seelbach, *Die Legende der heiligen Hedwig. Zweisprachige Ausgabe nach Codex Schleusingen G 189*, Münster 2015; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Materiały rękopiśmienne dotyczące św. Jadwigi w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, [in:] *Księga Jadwiżańska. Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Naukowe Święta Jadwiga w dziejach i kulturze Śląska Wrocław–Trzebnica 21–23 września 1993 roku*, eds. Kazimierz Bobowski, Michał Kaczmarek, Marek L. Wójcik, Wrocław 1995, pp. 234–249; Ewald Walter, *Anmerkungen zu Leben und Verehrung der hl. Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien*, [in:] *Heilige und Heiligenverehrung in Schlesien*, eds. Joachim Köhler, Gundel Keil, Sigmaringen 1997 (Veröffentlichungen des Gerhard-Möbus-Instituts für Schlesienforschung an der Universität Würzburg, 7), pp. 51–67; Winfried Irgang, *Die politische Bedeutung der Heiligen im Mittelalter (Wenzel, Adalbert, Stanislaus, Hedwig)*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 31–50.

trends and the reformist climate from the West began to reach the Czech political authority through Czech-German via Prague, where many Silesians studied, through the exchange of ideas, people and books⁹. The decisive impulse was the transformation in Western Christianity of a reformist ideological foundation and a complex genesis. In the course of the discussion that broke out at that time on the state of Christianity, the piety of the laity and the clergy and the vision of the Church's reform, pastoral literature promoted from the year of the Lateran Council of 1215 was intensively developed. In the spirit of the new non-speculative theology (*theologia practica*) and in the *devotio moderna* trend, the church writers turned towards practical applications and various pastoral problems with moral instruction, correction and rejection of all non-biblical 'ad inventiones'¹⁰. This mood of criticism drew the attention of many church authors and generally sensitized all to negative phenomena in the cult, above all to the heresy and superstitious practices, for which both lay and clerics were accused. As one researcher noted, in the writings of the Czech reformers it is difficult to find a pre-Vatican struggle with relics of paganism, and there is opposition to the approval and participation in such practices of some clergymen¹¹. Reforming ideas and subsequent literature reached the then Silesia from the neighboring Czech lands, from which a reformist climate and the most ardent religious debate of the late Middle Ages spread throughout Central Europe¹². The Silesian reception of this literature, including the writings of many Czech, German and European critics of superstitions and anti-heretic polemics, is a clear testimony to the aforementioned cultural transfer.

⁹ Wilhelm Wostry, *Die Schlesier an der Universität Prag vor 1409*, „Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens”, 66, 1932, pp. 1–33; Franz Machilek, *Die Schlesier an der Universität Prag vor 1409. Ein Forschungsbericht*, „Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, 32, 1974, pp. 81–102.

¹⁰ Compare: Heiko A. Oberman, *Contra vanam curiositatem. Ein Kapitel der Theologie zwischen Seelenwinkel und Weltall*, Zürich 1974 (Theologische Studien, 113), pp. 34–36; Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1933, pp. 102–105, 109–115; Mikołaj Olszewski, *O praktycznej bądź teoretycznej naturze teologii: metateologia scholastyczna 1200–1350*, Kraków 2002, p. 63; Krzysztof Bracha, *Der Einfluss der neuen Frömmigkeit auf die spätmittelalterliche Kritik am Aberglauben im Reformschrifttum Mitteleuropas*, [in:] *Die „Neue Frömmigkeit“ in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Marek Derwich, Martial Staub, Göttingen 2004 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 205), pp. 225–248; *idem*, *Des Teufels Lug*, pp. 51–53.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 37–46.

¹² Stanisław Bylina, *Z problematyki kontaktów Macieja z Janowa ze Śląskiem w drugiej połowie XIV wieku*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 19, 1964, 3/4, pp. 328–335; *idem*, *Wpływ Konrada Walhausera na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław 1966; *idem*, *Czeska myśl reformatorska drugiej połowy XIV wieku i jej echa na Śląsku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, 21, 1978, 3–4 (83–84), pp. 63–83.

The first echoes of the Church's response appear in normative sources¹³. In the earliest resolutions of the diocese of the thirteenth century (1256, 1257, 1279), it is most talked about through publicly proclaiming excommunicated people with an emphasis on non-payment of tithes¹⁴. However, a little earlier in 1248 in the Wrocław region synod, Jacob, the Archdeacon of Leodia, gave orders to close the baptismal fonts and the place of storage of the Host, in order to protect the sacraments from theft by diviners and sorcerers¹⁵. Somewhat more generally in 1290, the synodal statutes of the Bishop of Wrocław, Thomas II, remind us of the order to hand over the most serious cases of sins reserved for bishop's absolution, among which schismatics, sacrilegers, fortune tellers and those who practice witchcraft using the sacraments, were named in one series¹⁶. Of course, similar records are repeated later in the resolutions of 1326 and 1471¹⁷. One of the resolutions – from 1326, of the provincial synod in Uniejów, adopted also for the diocese of Wrocław, is especially effusive in this group¹⁸. The resolution concerns the prohibition of the use of masks (*monstris larvarum*) by clergy and laity in the church or in cemeteries, under threat of excommunication, also, the organisation of superstitious games (*ludos supersticiosos*) during church processions before Christmas, which we can guess are annual folk customs similar to carolling¹⁹. One can also indicate here the act of the Wrocław synod from 1446 on the prohibition of propagating suspect

¹³ Compare: Dieter Harmening, *Superstitio. Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1979, pp. 221–224, footnote No. 37; Angela Treiber, *Die Autorität der Tradition. Theoriegeschichtliche und quellenkritische Studien zur sogenannten „Volkskultur“ am Beispiel spätmittelalterlichen Synodalstatuten der Kirchenprovinz Salzburg*, Dettelbach 1996, pp. 11–56; Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 60.

¹⁴ *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 10, ed. Jakub Sawicki, Wrocław–Kraków 1963, p. 327, 329, 332.

¹⁵ „propter sortiarias et malificas recludentur”, *Statuta synodalia dioecesiana sanctae ecclesiae Wratislaviensis. Secunda Editio*, § 21, ed. Mortimer de Montbach, Wratislaviae 1855, pp. 321–322. Compare: Kazimierz Dola, *Religijność rycerstwa śląskiego i mieszczan w XIII wieku*, [in:] *Bitwa legnicka. Historia i tradycja*, ed. Wacław Korta, Wrocław–Warszawa 1994, p. 343.

¹⁶ „scismaticos et sacrilegos et divinatores et eos, qui ad eos accedunt; qui de sacramentis aliqua commiserunt maleficia, vel auxilium prestiterunt”, *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 10, p. 335.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 347, 549.

¹⁸ Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku*, p. 222.

¹⁹ „nulli omnino clerici vel layci induti monstris larvarum ecclesias aut cymiteria earum ingredi presumant (...) clerici seu layci ludos supersticiosos iuxta quorundam locorum abusum in processionibus ecclesiarum ante Natale Domini exercentes”, *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 10, p. 347. Compare: Hermann Usener, *Das Weihnachtfest*, [in:] *idem, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, part 1, Bonn 1889, *passim* and Jerzy Pośpiech, *Zwyczaje i obrzędy doroczne na Śląsku*, Opole 1987, pp. 42–85.

cults of images and figures of saints by the parish clergy²⁰. The penitent context is not accidental here, because the church criticism of all errores especially in the post-lateran period and the ennoblement of two religious teaching tools of confession and preaching, focused primarily on the pages of confessional textbooks and casuistic summits²¹.

The most famous example of such literature in Silesia remains a large fragment of the second part of the "Summa confessional" (Summa de confessionis discretione de admittendis vel removendis a corpore Christi) from the turn of 13th/14th century by the mysterious brother Rudolf, known in the literature as "Rudolf's catalog of magic"²². It is also one of the most interesting and cognitively valuable testimonies of critics of the middle-aged superstitiones in general. Regardless of the final decisions on the identification of the morality and ethnic affiliation described, the genesis and dating of the text, especially that not all of them were free of subjective pressure, it seems that the manuscript of Brother Rudolf was used in Silesia for pastoral work, especially in the confessional. However, it is difficult to determine the scope and extent of this impact. Among the four known copies of "Summa", the manuscript of University Library of Wrocław I. Q. 160 is the oldest (13th/14th century) and the only text of Rudolf's textbook preserved in its entirety in the provenance of the Cistercians of Rudy, where it was acquired in the first half of 14th century by purchase²³. Other, incomplete (Ms Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek 639)

²⁰ „idolatrie cultus plurimum induxerunt et inducunt signa fieri ab imaginibus suarum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum sive capellarum”, *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 10, pp. 454–455. Compare: Halina Manikowska, *Ruch pielgrzymkowy na Śląsku w średniowieczu – problemy badawcze*, [in:] *Peregrinationes w kulturze dawnej Europy*, eds. Halina Manikowska, Hanna Zaremska, Warszawa 1995, pp. 235–236, footnote No. 44; Kazimierz Dola, *Problemy kościelno-duszpasterskie w diecezji wrocławskiej w XV wieku*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 41, 1986, 4, p. 531.

²¹ Compare: Krzysztof Bracha, *Casus pulchri de vitandis erroribus conscientiae purae. Orzeczenia kazuistyczne kanonistów i teologów krakowskich z XV w.*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 16–26, 56, footnote No. 219.

²² Editions: Adolph Franz, *Des Frater Rudolfus Buch De officio Cherubyn*, „Theologische Quartalschrift”, 88, 1906, pp. 411–436; Joseph Klapper, *Deutscher Volksglaube in Schlesien in ältester Zeit*, „Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde”, 17, 1915, pp. 20–24; Edward Karwot, *Katalog magii Rudolfa. Źródło etnograficzne XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1955, pp. 19–30; Marco Mostert, *Boerengeloof in de dertiende eeuw. Met een uitgave en vertaling van Frater Rudolfus, De officio cherubim II*, [in:] *De Betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom. Studies over ritueel en magie in de Middeleeuwen*, eds. Marco Mostert, Albert Demyttenaere, Hilversum 1995 (Amsterdamse historische reeks. Grote serie, 22), pp. 241–242 and footnote No. 3 above.

²³ Rudolf, *Summa de confessionis discretione, de admittendis vel removendis a corpore Christi*, Ms University Library of Wrocław (further quoted: BUWr.) I. Q. 160, f. 1v–49v. See: Stanisław Rybandt, *Katalog ksiąg zachowanych z średniowiecznej biblioteki cystersów w Rudach*, Warszawa 1979, p. 8, 17–19 (poz. 5); *idem*, *Średniowieczne opactwo cystersów w Rudach*, Wrocław 1977,

from the beginning of the 14th century was the property of the Dominican Conrad of Nysa²⁴. Rudolf's "Summa", in turn, was known by Bernard Fabri, an extremely prolific Augustinian preacher from Zielona Góra (Grünberg) in the 15th century²⁵. The folklore exemplification collected by Rudolf is a mix of literary topos (exceptions from Burchard of Worms) with material that could have come from the author's personal experience taken from the confessional. This one points more to the ethnic German environment than Slavic. Another evidence of this is provided, among others, by Old German voices in the description of the mythological threads of Summa, namely the theonyms, the names of demonic beings: Holda and stetevaldiu²⁶. Rudolf tells us that on Christmas night they set a table for the Queen of Heaven, commonly called Mrs. Holda to help them²⁷. Rudolf also talks about a related cult of house ghosts, "which they commonly call stetevaldiu", and for which in new homes people leave pots of food buried or behind the stove, so that these spirits can be won over and be well disposed toward the inhabitants of the house²⁸. These fragments of the "Catalog" indicate that Rudolf recreates the beliefs in demonic creatures with chthonical symbolism from the Germanic cultural circle, though with a broader Indo-European basis. The author of the "Catalog" collected them, it seems, ex audit, and thus from the mouths of German-speaking penitents, which he himself suggested in the text, counseling other spectators to urgently dig under the wall of conscience²⁹. This is confirmed by the next commentary given by J. Klapper in the fragment, when Rudolf reminded the contemporary priest of fashionable vices, among others the wearing of eye-catching curls, rather than tonsure³⁰. As the Cistercians of Rudy themselves did not exhibit too

pp. 133–138; Karwot, *Katalog magii Rudolfa*, p. 7, 11, 16–17, footnote No. 41; Franciszek Wolnik, *Śłużba Boża w Rudzkim opactwie cystersów*, Opole 2006, p. 28. There are also 3 other later and incomplete copies of „Summa”: Ms Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek 639, f. 1ra–18va from half of the XIV century; Hannover Stadtbibliothek 7, f. 148ra–157vb from XV century (of unclear provenance) and in the fragment discovered by Joseph Klappera, *Schlesisches Volkstum im Mittelalter*, [in:] *idem*, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, Wrocław 1938, p. 390 in Ms Elbląg City Library (unavailable for the author).

²⁴ *Idem*, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, pp. 23–24.

²⁵ *Idem*, *Bürgerliche Kultur*, pp. 67, 83–85 (ad No. 21).

²⁶ Compare: Bracha, *Katalog magii Rudolfa*, *passim*.

²⁷ Klapper, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, p. 36.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

²⁹ „Has abhominaciones de tali materia et multo plures inuenies, o cherubin, si inquirendo discrete parietem in confessione foderis diligenter (...) Quas si inuestigare uolueris, o cherubim, sapienti inquisitione fode parietem”, ed. Klapper, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, pp. 35, 29.

³⁰ Klapper, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, p. 27; Ganszyniec, *Review: E. Karwot, Katalog magii*, p. 322.

much pastoral commitment, it should be remembered that the abbey in Rudy kept only lay parish priests under its patronage to maintain parish churches in Macio-wakrze and Stanice³¹.

In three paragraphs (c. VIII–IX), of “Summa”, Rudolf compiled an extensive catalog totalling 53 practices. It is a huge collection of religious folklore with a high order of originality, discussed with unusual precision worthy of modern ethnological observation. Interestingly, they mainly concern women’s behavior during childbirth, baptism and upbringing of children and so-called love magic and happiness, prosperity in the family and prosperity on the farm. In the anthropological categories, most customs are practices belonging to protective magic in the birth and education of children, protective measures against illness and evil spells and rites to acquire desirable personality traits: smartness, courage, avoiding threats in future life. In the heat of condemnation, there were also practices within the Christian cult, abuse of holy oils, baptismal water, Holy Communion, superstitious celebrations of Christmas or the Apostles St. Philip and St. Jacob (1.05), the practice of baptism of children to ensure their well-being, good education and beauty or preparing a special bath after baptism with the addition of a special set of 9 kinds of herbs and some scrap metal.

What is particularly noteworthy is the allusion to the practices of old women, incantations and spells (incantationes fornicariarum), which brings “Summa” of Rudolf closer to later accusations against women of witchcraft and the outbreak of Silesian witch hunts³². Let us remind you that at the end of the 14th century, the theme of a trip to Blocksberg and interference in milk production by witches mentioned in a certain decalogue treaty appeared for the first time in Silesia³³. It

³¹ Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Z zagadnień funkcji społecznych cystersów w Polsce średniowiecznej. Problematyka duszpasterstwa parafialnego*, [in:] *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki septuagenario dedicata*, Wrocław 1959, pp. 124–125 i p. 98 and p. 109, par. 17; Stanisław Rybandt, *Średniowieczne opactwo*, pp. 61–63; Heinrich Grüger, *Die Beobachtung der Statuten von Cîteaux bei den Zisterziensern in Schlesien*, [in:] *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Poznań 1987, pp. 163–179 (here mainly pp. 174–175); Peter Browe, *Die Beichtpflicht im Mittelalter*, „Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie”, 57, 1933, pp. 354–362 and summarised ‘Summa Confessional’ by Dominikan Paul from Hungary – Ms BUWr. I. F. 94 from XV c. was more frequently referred to in Rudy.

³² Klapper, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, p. 37; Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung, passim*. See native local studies of various quality: Władysław Korcz, *Wspólniczka diabła czyli o procesach czarownic na Śląsku w XVII wieku*, Katowice 1985; Adam Górski, *Procesy czarownic w Kolsku*, Zielona Góra 2013.

³³ *De decem preceptis von den czeen gebotyn*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 250, f. 17v. Compare: Paul Pietsch, *Kleine Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Aberglaubens des Mittelalters*, „Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie”, 16, 1884, pp. 185–196; Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung*, p. 24.

describes those who sin against the first commandment, heretics, doubting faith or worshipping superstitions, who believe in peleweis and mulkenstelerynnen and in blockesberg flights³⁴. Blocksberg is a topical name belonging to the canon of literature shaping the so-called collective concept of witchcraft, which included night flights to the Sabbaths on Blocksberg, in the Polish tradition corresponding to the so-called 'bald mountain'³⁵. So-called 'bald mountains', of which there are plenty in the world, or mountain peaks in general because of their universal symbolism of the center of the world (axis mundi) and proximity to the sky have had their long and separate mythology as a stronghold of evil powers. The Blocksberg motif was an important repetitive theme in the process of making accusations of spells and heresy on a pan-European basis, demonization of heretical sects and their penalisation, which closes in the sect's concept of 'maleficorum'³⁶. Before the tribunals of the Inquisition there was a wave of numerous trials against women suspected of taking part in sabbaths on mountaintops capped with bare rock outcrops (blokkes berghe)³⁷. The most widely known of such infamous mountains in the German lands was Brocken (1142 m above sea level), the highest peak of the Harz Mountains, the oldest mountain range in Europe. By 1668, John Praetorius (Hans Schultze), whose works were known in Silesia, had devoted a special tractate to it, "Blockes Berges Verrichtung"³⁸. It is Pretorius to whom we owe the inclusion of the mountain spirit – 'liczyrzepa' (Rübezahl) in the Silesian demonomania

³⁴ „Weder das sacrament sunden die keczter und die an gloubin zwifeln und die unglouben an in han als peleweis und mulkenstelerynnen und die off den brockesberg varen”, *ibidem*, p. 24.

³⁵ Jerzy Adamowski, Łysa Góra, [in:] *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych*, eds. Jerzy Bartmiński, Stanisława Niebrzegowska, Lublin 1999, vol. 1. *Kosmos*, part 2. *Ziemia, woda, podziemie*, pp. 121–122; *idem*, *Droga na łysogórski sabat*, „Literatura Ludowa”, 3, 2000, pp. 23–35 and Alain Cabantous, *La turbulence des sacralités montagnardes dans l'Europe moderne*, [in:] *Montagnes sacrées d'Europe. Actes du colloque "Religion" et montagnes* Tarbes, 30 mai–2 juin 2002, eds. Serge Brunet, Dominoque Julia, Nicole Lemaitre, Paris 2005, pp. 47–55.

³⁶ Edward Potkowski, *Haeresis et secta maleficorum. Powstanie stereotypu*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 469–483; Jeffrey B. Russell, Mark W. Wyndham, *Witchcraft and the Demonization of Heresy*, „Mediaevalia. A Journal of Mediaeval Studies”, 2, 1976, pp. 1–21.

³⁷ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin 1876, v. 2, p. 879.

³⁸ Ed.: Johannes Praetorius, *Hexen – Zauber und Spukgeschichten aus dem Blocksberg. Mit Holzschnitten des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Möhring, Frankfurt am Main 1979. Compare: Lily Weiser-Aall, *Blocksberg*, [in:] *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, v. 1, Berlin-New York 1987², column 1424. Compare: Otto Knoop, *Blocksberge in Pommern*, „Blätter für Pommersche Volkskunde”, 1, 1894, p. 5.

process in the repeatedly issued treatises “*Daemonologia Rubinzalia Silesia*” and “*Satyrus Etymologicus*”³⁹.

Interestingly, late-modern Silesian authors (Henel von Hennenfeld) tried to link the ‘peleweis’ etymology with the Silesian witch’s name as Bilweisen from Biel-Weisen, that is with the name Biele (Biała Głuchołaska, tributary of the Nysa Kłodzka River), indicating the city of Nysa (Neisse) next to Głogówek (Glogau) and the surrounding area as a Silesian centre for witches, and the local library of the parish church of St. Jacob in Nysa as a specific seedbed for these ideas (demonological works and engravings)⁴⁰. K. Lambrecht approached the etymology of ‘peleweis’ and ‘Biel-Weisen’, pointing to the ancient German roots ‘büel’, meaning Hügel, Berge – ‘hill’, ‘mountain’, on which the witches were said to perform their ritual sabbaths⁴¹.

The reformist trend of contestation included penalizing all errors of faith, obviously above all manifest errors, especially those heretical groups which originated from the idea of voluntary poverty. Beginning at the end of the twelfth century this became the most urgent problem of the Church and the most powerful mainstream of medieval religious contestation, especially after the damnation of the Beguines and Beghards and the free spirit sect at the Council of Vienne in 1311-1312⁴². It was no different in Silesia, where the implementation of the resolutions of Vienne was taken by Bishop Henry of Wierzbno from Wrocław (died in 1319), engaging the Franciscan and Dominican inquisitors. Peregrine of Opole became the first pontifical inquisitor in the diocese⁴³. Repressions were first inflicted on the

³⁹ Johannes Paul Praetorius, *Daemonologia Rubinzalii Silesii*, Arnstadt 1662; *idem*, *Satyrus Etymologicus*, Arnstadt 1662. Compare: Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgungen*, p. 29; Lucyna Biały, *Duch gór – Rübezahl. Geneza i upowszechnienie legendy*, Jelenia Góra 2007, pp. 35–67.

⁴⁰ Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgungen*, pp. 24–25, 28, lists, that library had among others 7 editions of „*Malleus maleficarum*” and 3 editions of „*Carolina*” (Halsgerichts-Ordnung).

⁴¹ Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgungen*, p. 28, footnote No. 102. Other interpretation by Claude Lecouteux, *Zwerge und Verwandte*, „*Euphorion*”, 75, 1981, p. 370, „*pilweisen*” or „*pilibispawm*” are gnomes, with a kindly disposition, which inhabit the branches of trees or in peasant huts Bilwis (pilbis pawm) it also has references to well-known English poems from XIII c. „*imp-tree*” and „*el-dyntree*” – holy trees, under which the elves gathered and danced, see.: Gervasius von Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed. Felix Liebrecht, Hannover 1856, p. 117 and footnote No. 44.

⁴² *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, p. 55.

⁴³ Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku*, p. 210; Paweł Kras, *Dominican inquisitors in medieval Poland (14th–15th c.)*, [in:] *Praedicatores, inquisitores. The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acta of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition. 23–25 February 2002, Roma 2004*, pp. 251–252; *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, p. 66; Zygmunt Mazur, *Powstanie i działalność inkwizycji dominikańskiej na Śląsku w XIV wieku*, „*Nasza Przyszłość*”, 39, 1973, p. 182.

Waldenses in the subsequent trials in Wrocław, Nysa and Świdnica (Schweidnitz), where several dozen people were burned⁴⁴. The bishop of Wrocław then became interested in the Silesian Beguines by way of issuing three documents in 1318, with an order to the parish priests to read out his ordinances in churches⁴⁵. Due to the bishop's imminent death, the repressions took place only after his successor Bishop Nanker came to office. The Beguines (sisters in hoods) of Świdnica were placed before the tribunal of the papal Inquisition led by the Dominican John of Schwenkenfeld in 1332⁴⁶. The papal inquisitor implemented the ordinances of the two council constitutions "Cum de quibusdam mulieribus" and "Ad nostrum". The first of them ordered the liquidation of the Beguines state and the closure of Beguines and Beghards houses. The second ordered combating the so-called heresy of free spirit which found many followers among the Beguines and Beghards. We know the process of this trial thanks to a new edition based on the recently discovered original notary document in the Vatican manuscript⁴⁷. The Beguines of Świdnica were generally accused of religious exclusivism and striving for complete unity of the soul with God, conviction of their own perfection and freedom of spirit, purity equal to the Blessed Virgin Mary, sinlessness and renunciation of carnal cravings, relativizing church sacraments, strong anti-clericalism, adherence to the principle of extreme poverty and asceticism by mortifying the body. They also did not manage to avoid the superstitious errors⁴⁸. One of the accused sisters in hoods testified that her superior taught her to cast spells to reverse adversity⁴⁹.

Of course, the beginnings of heretical movements in Silesia date back to the 13th century, associated at this time mainly with the arrival of flagellants and the above-mentioned Waldenses' process from 1315, but in these cases the conjunction

⁴⁴ *Rocznik cystersów henrykowskich*, ed. Adam Bielowski, Warszawa 1961 (Monumenta Poloniae Historicae, vol. 3 / further quoted: MPH), p. 703; *Rocznik lubiąski*, ed. Adam Bielowski, Warszawa 1961 (MPH, vol. 3), p. 708; Alexander Patschovsky, *Waldenserforschung in Schweidnitz 1315*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 36, 1980, pp. 137–176; Szymański, *Ruchy hereetyckie*, pp. 25–50, footnote No. 3; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Annotatio rerum notabilium. Średniowieczny rocznik świdnicki*, „Roczniki Historyczne”, 65, 1999, p. 98; *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, p. 67.

⁴⁵ *Das Formelbuch des Arnold von Protzan*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, Breslau 1862 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, vol. 5), pp. 59–62 (No. 76–77); *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, p. 67.

⁴⁶ *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, pp. 67–68.

⁴⁷ Ms Bibliotheca Vaticana Latina 13119a, ed. *ibidem*, pp. 177–249.

⁴⁸ *Proces beginiek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, pp. 115–122.

⁴⁹ „Item dixit, quod eadem instruxit eam multa incantationes, pro aliquibus desideriis consequendis et aduersitatibus auertendis”, ed. *ibidem*, pp. 236–237.

between superstitions and heretical errors is difficult to find⁵⁰. It would be difficult to include the accusation made against the Waldenses of faith in Lucifer (Luciferianism) from 1315 into idolatry in the light of the disputed and questioned record of the nature of rhetorical depreciation and demonization from the mouths of the inquisitors not only of everything heretical but also suspected of witchcraft⁵¹. We do not find such traces in the proceedings against a heretic of uncertain origin, Stephen of Żagań (Sagan) burnt at the stake in 1398, although with more than 50 errores we know only a fragment of his erroneous doctrine⁵². The resultant climate of contestation and criticism of the mendicant orders was later used by the Hussite movement born in the neighboring Czech, which in Silesia became a real threat to the Church and the object of mass criticism, just as in other heretical movements. In a climate of reform, the Dominican from Wrocław and Inquisitor John of Ząbkowice (Frankenstein) calculated the succumbing to heresy as one of the three causes of the crisis in the Church, along with the sloth and licentiousness of the clergy. He identified heretics without revealing the name of a particular sect with the higher clergy, with thieves and false shepherds controlled by pride⁵³. He also charged Jews with errors and identified them with heretics⁵⁴.

However, we meet with systematic criticism of heretics and superstitions only at the beginning of the 15th century. It is no accident that in this century two large

⁵⁰ Compare: Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Begardzi i beginki w Polsce*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne”, 35, 1971, pp. 7–22; Bohdan Lapis, Danuta Lapis, *Beginki w Polsce w XIII i XIV w.*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 79, 1972, 3, pp. 521–543; Marek Cetwiński, *Beginki w Jaworze. Przyczynek do dziejów śląskiego miasta*, [in:] *Zeszyty historyczne*, vol. 4: *In honorem Jan Związek*, ed. Andrzej J. Zakrzewski, Częstochowa 1997, pp. 239–241; Janusz Turpinda, *Herezja wolnego ducha na ziemiach polskich i w Prusach*, [in:] *Władcy, mnisi, rycerze*, ed. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 341–362; Magdalena Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi na Śląsku do końca XIV wieku*, Racibórz 2012 (and critical review of this work by Paweł Krasa „Roczniki Historyczne”, 79, 2013, pp. 238–243); *Proces beginek świdnickich w 1332 roku*, pp. 15–31 and other literature. Another trace of them comes from 1349 r., when their leader was sentenced to death, see *Kronika książąt polskich*, ed. Tadeusz Wierzbowski, Warszawa 1961, (MPH, vol. 3), p. 555; *Rocznik wrocławski większy*, ed. A. Bielowski, Warszawa 1961 (MPH, vol. 3), p. 689. See Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie*, pp. 142–152.

⁵¹ Patschovsky, *Waldenserforschung in Schweidnitz 1315*, pp. 163–176 (edition); Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie*, pp. 30–33 (translation) and summary of discussion, *ibidem*, pp. 36–44.

⁵² Compare: *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, ed. Georg A. Stenzel, Breslau 1835 (Scriptores rerum silesiacarum, vol. 1), pp. 251–252; *Teksty źródłowe do historii Wrocławia. I do końca XVIII w.*, prepared by Karol Maleczyński, Jan Reiter, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 2, 1951, Seria B, pp. 38–39 (in translation); Szymański, *Ruchy heretyckie*, pp. 152–155: in translation.

⁵³ Zajchowska, *Między uniwersytetem a zakonem. Biografia i spuścizna pisarska dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic*, p. 272; *eadem*, *Inkwizytor wrocławski Jan z Ząbkowic*, pp. 181–183.

⁵⁴ *Eadem*, *Judaizm jako herezja chrystologiczna w kazaniach dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic*, pp. 294–307.

treaties “De superstitionibus” were created by two authors of Silesian origin: Nicholas Magni of Jawor (Jauer) (1355–1435) and John of Wünschelburg (Radków) (died in 1456)⁵⁵. The influence of these treaties on the attitude of the Silesian church to heresies and spells is not easy to determine, although we found them also in several Silesian manuscripts⁵⁶.

The treaty of Nicholas Magni of Jawor, a graduate of Prague’s Karolina, and from 1402 a professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg, belongs to one of the earliest European lectures on demonology and critique of the ‘superstitiones’ of the late Middle Ages, which was created around 1405 in Heidelberg, and was copied over 130 times into manuscripts throughout Europe. Nicholas Magni introduced and spread the demonological views of William of Auvergne throughout Germany and associated them with the Augustinian-Thomistic (causative-semantic) concept of ‘superstitiones’ into one eclectic whole, later developed and modernized. His work is divided into 2 parts, firstly – demonological, describing in a lecture on demonology the ways and means of interference by demons in human life and the use of their demonic powers. The second part, including a lecture of individual categories of ‘superstitiones’, discusses almost all classical diviner practices (necromancy, dreams, geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy and haruspicum, astrology, augurium, palmistry and spatulamance, (casting lots) and magical treatments using various objects and words reserved for the purposes of the prophets, observing time, divination of accidentally found objects and starting certain activities⁵⁷. Folkloric material – Nicholas’s object of criticism is largely dependent on the literary tradition, and a portion of the examples of ‘superstitiones’ referred to is of

⁵⁵ Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, *passim*; *idem*, *Jana z Wünschelburga († ca. 1456) życie i twórczość*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 2, 2016, pp. 47–59.

⁵⁶ Nicholas Magni of Jawor, *De superstitionibus*, among 131 manuscripts, 4 are silesian but 2 purchased in XX c.: Ms Wrocław Biblioteka Katedralna / Cathedral Church Library 309, prov. – the gift of A. Franz from 1917.; BUWr I. F. 266, prov. – monastery of St. Matthias in Wrocław; I. F. 266a, prov. – purchased in 1915.; I. F. 313, prov. – dominican monastery in Wrocław; John of Wünschelburg, *De superstitionibus*, among 6 manuscripts, 3 are silesian, BUWr.: I. F. 212, f. 228ra–258vb, prov. Nysa/Neisse, collegiate library of Saint James; I. F. 274, f. 229r–258r, prov. – Żagań/ Sagan, monastery of regular canons of St. Augustine; I. Q. 384, f. 40r–102r, prov. – parish of St. Hedwiga of Silesia in Zielona Góra/Grünberg; 6098/Mil.II.46, f. 419ra–446rb, prov. – Lipsk/ Leipzig, University in Leipzig; Landes- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden Mscr. Dresd. P. 104, f. 1r–38v, prov. – Miśnia/Meissen, Franciscan monastery, Zgorzelec/Görlitz, Erfurt (?); Gymnasialbibliothek Magdeburg Ms. 113, f. 350v–377r, prov. – Magdeburg (lost during the Second World War). Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 213; *idem*, *Jana z Wünschelburga († ca. 1456) życie i twórczość*, p. 56.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, *Des Teufels Lug*, pp. 214–215: disposition of the tractate’s content.

topical character, however, it is not completely devoid of original observations. Nicholas Magni criticizes the abuse of church sacramentals (Easter palms, dedicated herbs, holy water, carrying crosses over fields for crop protection), words of saints (prayers, church benedictions, evangelical verses, divine names and saintly figures, evangelical verses, amulets) or unapproved Mass customs, pilgrimages, God's judgments and observation of time (holidays, horoscopes, the so-called Egyptian days). Some of the examples described could be taken from Silesian autopsies and experiences, although they also belong to the universal repertory of condemnations in European literature⁵⁸. Such local sources could include a report by a Silesian theologian from a meeting with an old woman who regarded the sun as a goddess and called her a "holy lady" (*sancta domina*). She spoke to her, made blessings in her name, and even, she confessed, healed many diseases this way for more than forty years⁵⁹. Treaty of Nicholas Magni, thanks to its popularity especially in German countries, stood on the path to the literary genesis of the creation of "*Malleus maleficarum*". Nicholas of Jawor, however, was skeptical about the validity of the night flights of witches, the most important constituent element of the so-called "Collective concept of witchcraft". He co-opted from William of Auvergne an extremely popular tale of arriving at night at the feast of goddesses Habundi and Sati to feed and give abundance to his family, but he denied belief in the reality of women's night flights or the human nature of Habundi and Sati. The whole event is simply an illusion of demons, he concludes⁶⁰. He did the same his interpretation of the stories of foundlings, who are believed to be sons of demons or incubi, and commonly called changers (*cambiones*) or scraggies (*macilenti*). Nicholas lectured that in fact they are not real children, but demons in childish form. They are not

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 18–19, footnote No. 4.

⁵⁹ „Sic aliquam vetulam novi, que credidit solem esse quasi deam vocans eam sanctam dominam et alloquendo solem benedixit per eum sub certis verbis cum observancia quadam supersticiosam, que dixit; se plus quam 40 annis se credidisse hoc et multas infirmitates curasse”, Nicholas Magni of Jawor, *De superstitionibus*, rkps BUWr. I. F. 313, f. 261vb. Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 117.

⁶⁰ „Propterea precepit eciam omnia vasa cooperiri et quod vasculum non habens coopertorium immundum esset, propter ydolatriam quorundam, qui de nocte aperiunt venientibus dominabus huldie et socie cum suis ut omnia aperta inveniant cibum et potum sive ad epulacionem pertinencium et sic epulentur et postea abundancius impleant et tribuant”, Nicholas Magni of Jawor, *De superstitionibus*, f. 262r2; *Gulielmi Alverni episcopi parisiensis De universo* II-III, c. 12, c. 24, [in:] *Gulielmi Alverni opera omnia*, Venetiis. Ex Officina Damiani Zenari 1591, column 976, 1004 and 1006; *idem*, *De fide et legibus*, c. 7, *ibidem*, column 36. Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 96; Laurent Guyénot, *La mort féerique. Anthropologie du merveilleux XII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris 2011, pp. 357–365.

people, but demons, which in the form of old women appear to people and kidnap babies from cradles⁶¹. Interestingly, similar motifs are also known from Silesian sources⁶². Demonology of Nicholas did not present extreme views in its assessment of the power of demons and manifestations of their power, and similarly as the appointed authorities continued to enforce Canon Episcopi and the Gracian Decree, anyone who believes in such demonic transformations of any creatures nature is said to believe “procul dubio infidelis est et pagano evior”⁶³.

Later on after the treaty by Nicholas of Jawor, a dissertation with the same title “De superstitionibus” by John of Wünschelburg was drafted before the middle of the 15th century in Leipzig. It was published in only a few copies and was immeasurably less known mainly in Silesia and adjacent eastern Germany⁶⁴. In the lecture on ‘superstitiones’, Wünschelburg remained secondary to, and dependent on the message of William of Auvergne and Nicholas of Jawor⁶⁵. John of Wünschelburg was a graduate of the University of Prague and later a professor of theology and a lawyer in Leipzig and a preacher in Amberg⁶⁶. The scholarly writing of the Leipzig theologian is divided into six broad questions, the first two of which concern the criticism of superstitions (De superstitionis verborum, De superstitionis temporis), and subsequent criticisms of the Hussite iconophobia

⁶¹ „propter quod et cambiones dicuntur, quia cambiti et commutati sunt et mulieribus parentibus filiis propriis suppositi, hos dicunt macilenti, semper evigilantes, lactis usque bibulos, quod et quatuor nutrices per nullam ubertate lactis, unum lactare sufficiunt. (...) Ex quo patet, quod tales pueri non generantur a demonibus, sed sunt ipsimet demones sic etiam possunt apparere in specie vetularum rapiendum pueros de cunabulis, quo vulgo larve vocantur nocte apparentes et parvulos, ut apparent laniare vel igne assare, que demones sunt in specie vetularum”, Nicholas Magni of Jawor, *De superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 313, f. 263v1–2. Compare: *Gulielmi Alverni episcopi parisiensis De universo*, II–III, c. 25, column 1008–1011; Claude Lecouteux, *Lamia-holzmuowa-holzfrowe-Lamich*, „Euphorion”, 75, 1981, pp. 360–365.

⁶² Klaper, *Deutscher Volksglaube*, pp. 42–52.

⁶³ *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, pars II, causa 26, qu. 5, can. 12, ed. Emil Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1879, column 1030; *Canon Episcopi*, [in:] *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, ed. Joseph Hansen, Bonn 1901, p. 38. Compare: Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 96–99; Carlo Ginzburg, *Der Hexensabbat. Entzifferung einer nächtlichen Geschichte*, Berlin 1990, p. 91; Jeffrey B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Age*, Ithaca, NY 1972, pp. 291–294.

⁶⁴ Two manuscripts: Ms BUWr. I. F. 274; I. Q. 384 in possession of regular canons from Żagan and Zielona Góra.

⁶⁵ John of Wünschelburg, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 212, f. 235va–b; f. 237va–238ra; *Gulielmi Alverni episcopi parisiensis De fide et legibus*, column 1a–98b; *idem, De universo*, [in:] *ibidem*, column 561a–1012b. Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 147, footnote No. 51; *idem, Jana z Wünschelburga († ca. 1456) Tractatus de superstitionibus. Badania i źródła*, (in print).

⁶⁶ *Idem, Jana z Wünschelburga († ca. 1456) życie i twórczość*, p. 48.

and church jubilees. The Treaty of Wünschelburg is the result of frustration and conviction that the author's modern times, full of errors and distortions, are the most appropriate moment for an active response against the spreading triple evil: unbelief, persecution and superstition. The first two are defeated, but the superstitions of heretics and wretched Christians still remain, Wünschelburg ruled. Superstitions stop the development of flowers of good deeds and therefore should be cut with a scythe⁶⁷. A large part of the interpretation of the Wünschelburg treaty presents lesser known examples of medieval folklore, often of unique value, perhaps in some part known to the author from autopsy. This is indicated by, among other things, reports in the German vernacular, including above all, unique formulas of old German folk spells⁶⁸. Wünschelburg talked about peculiar therapeutic practices concerning sick children. If a child dies within eight days of christening, the superstitious women prepare a ribbon or a piece of twig the length of the dead child's body and cover it with wax costing 1 fenig, set it on fire and pray on their knees before a crucifix until it is burned. They believe then that what they ask God will come true. If the child is sick, they put it on the doorstep of the house under the sun, and recite the formula: "Du bist meun fleisch unde meun blut das seu dir vor den reten gut". At other times, a child affected by disease is taken to a gushing spring and is bathed in it before sunrise for three days, then some of the water is taken from this spring and brought with the child to a horse trough, over which it is sprinkled while the words: "loße dich longe unde lebir von der rijp als das futir von der krip" are recited⁶⁹. At other times, children who suffer from frequent vomiting are put over the fence and forced to vomit, then wait until this emetic ointment is eaten by the birds, after which the child will be healthy⁷⁰. They preserve the butter which remains from the cake prepared on Ash Wednesday (pastillis), as a liniment for a variety of ailments, especially for treating foot injuries from

⁶⁷ „Sed tertium malum superstitionis hereticorum et parvorum christianorum adhuc restat, quod apparentes flores bonorum operum suffocare videtur, et ideo falce disputationis est amputandum”, John of Wünschelburg, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 212, f. 230rb.

⁶⁸ Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, pp. 191–192.

⁶⁹ „Item puerum langwes ponunt super limen domus versus solem et facit tres circuitus dicentes ritmice «Du bist meun fleisch unde meun blut das seu dir vor den reten gut». (...) et portant pueros super presepe equorum perfundentes eum aqua eadem dicentes «loße dich longe unde lebir von der rijp als das futir von der krip»”, John of Wünschelburg, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 212, f. 233rb.

⁷⁰ „Item pueros frequentantes vomitum ponunt super sepem et materiam, quam evomunt, permittunt a volucris coendi et puer sanetur”, *ibidem*, f. 233rb.

treading on a nail. When serfs want to separate a calf from a feeding cow, they do it on the day on which Christmas falls⁷¹. Similarly, on Ash Wednesday, they watch the sun, if it flashes quickly in the morning, it is a good sign to sow linen early in the morning⁷². In turn, a nail from a horse shoe (a horseshoe nail) or another hammered into a wall or a nail from under the hoof of a badly hobbled horse is used to trigger gangrene or as a tool for knocking out the eyes⁷³.

However, this is not a typical theological lecture of superstitions and their criticism, as we know from the extensive literature on superstitions of the era. Wünschelburg does not repeat faithfully the Thomistic typology of superstitions⁷⁴. There are no threads connected with witchcraft or criticism of women accused of participating in the Sabbaths. On the other four issues, Wünschelburg discussed the official doctrine of the Church and defended the place of adoration of images in heretical cults against especially Wycliffite-Hussite contestation. But his criticism also included abuse and superstition in the official cult of images and imaginations of saints, especially the participation of clergy in these practices⁷⁵. A characteristic focus on the criticism of fabricated miracles brings to mind the earlier, unpreserved Wünschelburg treaty “De signis et miraculis falsis”, known only from indirect later accounts of the criticism of pilgrimages to the bleeding host in Wilsnack, famous for its blessings⁷⁶. It was noted, *inter alia*, in one of them that

⁷¹ „Item pingwedinem, que super est pastillis in Carnisprivio reservat pro unccione contra certas infirmitates et presertim cum offendit pedem in clavo ferreo inpingendo applicant hanc pingwedinem, ut sanetur citius. Item rustici volentes ablactare vitulos pro vaccis curandis ablactare eas, incipiunt tali die qualis fuit dies Nativitatis Domini”, *ibidem*, f. 232rb.

⁷² „Item in Carnisprivio auscultant Solem, si Sol mane cito splendescit, extunc bonum fit mane linum seminare”, *ibidem*, f. 232rb–232va.

⁷³ „Quid facit ad effectum qumphus aut alius clavus infixus parieti aut sub pede equi male subferrati ad eliciendum putredinem vel ad excuciendum oculum”, *ibidem*, f. 234vb.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 232ra. Compare: Thomas of Aquin, *Summa theologiae*, II.II. qu. 92–96, ed. *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Opera omnia iussu impensaque Leonis XIII P.M. edita*, vol. 9, Romae 1897, qu. 92–96, pp. 298–335. Compare: Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 311–317; Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, pp. 47–74; Michel D. Bailey, *Fearful Spirits, Reasoned Follies. The Boundaries of Superstitions in Late Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY 2013, pp. 7–34; *idem*, *Magic and Superstition in Europe. A concise History from antiquity to the Present*, Lanham, MD 2007, pp. 107–140; Graziella F. Vescovini, *Le Moyen ge magique. La magie entre religion et science aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris 2011, pp. 17–36; Jean Verdon, *Les superstitions au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2008, pp. 223–245.

⁷⁵ John of Wünschelburg, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 212, f. 239rb–245ra; 245ra–248rb and „Unde quidam lector ymmo potius seductor de certo ordine pronunc innominato ex causa publice in sermone ad populum predicavit”, *ibidem*, f. 235vb and f. 232vb.

⁷⁶ Treaty *De signis et miraculis falsis* from 1557 was included in the list *Index librorum prohibitorum* in Rome. Compare: *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite au XVI^e siècle, Auteurs, ouvrages*, éditions, ed. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Québec 1996 (*Index des livres interdits*, 10), p. 413;

the theologian “talked about the imaginary blood of Christ in Wilsnack in the diocese of Havelberg”⁷⁷.

It is certain that in the genesis of both treaties one can see the influence of the Prague reformist milieu, where the problem of cults of images has long been discussed, and by the Hussites fought (iconoclasm). Wünschelburg transferred such interests to Leipzig, where this issue was revived along with pressure from Hussite ideology during the Council of Basel and discussions about pilgrimages to Wilsnack⁷⁸. These remarks do not exclude the role of diocesan environments. Recall the above-mentioned act of the Wrocław synod from 1446 on the prohibition of propagating suspected cults of images by the parish clergy. In the case of Wünschelburg, the question remains the impact of the situation in the hometown of the Leipzig theologian or, more broadly, in Silesia in general⁷⁹. The city of Wünschelburg was not bypassed by the open Hussite religious war in the whole of Kłodzko (Glatz) county⁸⁰.

The works of Matthias of Legnica (Matthias Hildebrandi de Legnicz/Liegnitz 1350–1413 or 1416/17), the Prague and Krakow theologian are of a slightly different character. As a result of the edict of Kutna Hora in 1409, he left Prague and in about 1412 he appeared at the University of Krakow, maintaining close contacts

Krzysztof Bracha, *Zwischen miracula, mirabilia und mira. Die Wallfahrten nach Wilsnack im Urteil Jakobs von Paradies*, [in:] *Die Wilsnackfahrt. Ein Wallfahrts- und Kommunikationszentrum Nord- und Mitteleuropas im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Felix Escher, Hartmuth Kühne, Frankfurt am Main 2006 (Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, vol. 2), pp. 165–177; Hartmuth Boockmann, *Der Streit um das Wilsnacker Blut. Zur Situation des deutschen Klerus in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, „Zeitschrift für historische Forschung”, 9, 1982, pp. 385–408; *Wunder-Wallfahrt-Widersacher. Die Wilsnackfahrt*, eds. Hartmuth Kühne, Anne-Katrin Ziesak, Regensburg 2005.

⁷⁷ *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri*, eds. Conrad Gessner, Konrad Lykosthenes, Josias Simler, Tiguri 1555, f. 112b. Quoted after Joseph Schmidt, *Johannes von Wünschelburg*, [in:] *Festschrift zu Dr. Franz Volkmers 75 Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Albert, Habelschwerdt 1921 (Glatzer Heimatschriften, 5), p. 36.

⁷⁸ See: Krzysztof Bracha, *Polemik gegen den hussitischen Bildersturm im Lichte des Traktates „De superstitionibus” Johannes von Wünschelburg (1380/1385–ca.1456)*, „Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission”, 11, 2016, pp. 147–208, where there is further literature.

⁷⁹ See. recently: Franz Machilek, *Schlesien, Hus und die Hussiten 1403–1435*, [in:] *Die Hussitische Revolution. Religiöse, politische und regionale Aspekte*, ed. Franz Machilek, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2012, pp. 109–141; Norbert Mika, *Prudnik w obliczu zagrożenia i najazdów husyckich*, [in:] *Prudnik w średniowieczu. Studia nad początkami miasta*, ed. Wojciech Dominiak, Prudnik 2016; Marek Mika, *Górny Śląsk w dobie wojen husyckich. Przemysłowcy opawscy i raciborscy a rewolucja husycka*, Kraków 2015 (in case of this work checking the reviews is essential).

⁸⁰ Paul Bretschneider, *Die Hussiten in Wünschelburg*, [in:] *Die Hussitennot im Glatzer Lande. Gedenkbücher zum Fünfhundertjahrtag des Gefechts am Roten Berge*, ed. Franz Albert, Glatz 1928 (Glatzer Heimatschriften, vol. 20), pp. 39–42 and further Bracha, *Polemik gegen den hussitischen Bildersturm, passim*.

with his native Silesia and Legnica⁸¹. His “Quaestiones theologicae” from 1395 is a comprehensive pastoral treaty which discusses a variety of pastoral issues and contentious issues of morality of everyday life and the correction of erroneous attitudes. We know the treaty on the basis of three manuscript copies from the fifteenth century, we know nothing of Silesian ones⁸². This is an extremely interesting collection of several dozen issues (Respons) divided into six paragraphs (De angelis et animabus, De dyabolo, De mechanicis et in festis laborantibus, De pascha, De sanctis, de Beata Virgine et de festis, De mechanicis et laborantibus in festis) from all areas of theology, dogmatics, ethics, canon law and pastoral care.

Any treaty containing such a range of issues could not lack criticism of spells and ‘superstitiones’, to which he devoted one of the more extensive issues with a long catalog of condemned practices. Matthias of Legnica rejected the legitimacy of the custom of consecrating oats for horses by praying to St. Stephen and assessed these practices unambiguously as superstition and unbelief⁸³. Similarly, he evaluated the practice of examining sick throats with a candle or blowing a candle in the eyes while appealing to St. Blaise⁸⁴. He condemned the blessings of old women against the pain of toothache beyond Pater Noster’s prayer, for only God Almighty can help in sickness, not some old woman⁸⁵. It is also unbelief and a mistake to believe that an arrow cannot be drawn from the body of a person who ate meat on holy days⁸⁶. Doubts were raised by the theologian concerning the custom

⁸¹ Adolph Franz, *Matthias von Liegnitz und Nicolaus Stör von Schweidnitz. Zwei schlesische Theologen aus dem 14/15 Jahrhundert*, „Der Katholik. Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliche Leben”, 78, 1898, 17, pp. 9–16; Stanisław Bylina, *Maciej z Legnicy, śląski propagator pism Konrada Waldhausera*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 17, 1962, pp. 334–344; *idem*, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausera*, pp. 59–66; Marian Zwiercan, *Maciej z Legnicy*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19, Wrocław–Gdańsk 1974, pp. 22–23; Stanisław Jujeczka, *Maciej z Legnicy – uzupełnienia do biografii*, „Szkice Legnickie”, 22, 2001, pp. 119–124; *idem*, *Duchowni średniowiecznej Legnicy. Studium prozopograficzne*, Legnica 2006, pp. 343–344.

⁸² Manuscripts: München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 23788, f. 112r–134r; 17784, f. 127ra–146rb (all the quotations below come from this manuscript); Salzburg St. Peterstift b III 27. Compare: Jerzy Wolny, Mieczysław Markowski, Zenon Kuksewicz, *Polonica w średniowiecznych rękopisach bibliotek monachijskich*, Wrocław–Kraków 1969, pp. 122, 160; Franz, *Matthias von Liegnitz*, pp. 9–11.

⁸³ „Queritur, quare in die s. Stephani consecratur avenum ad dandum equis?”, Matthias of Legnica, *Quaestiones theologicae*, f. 142ra.

⁸⁴ „Queritur, utrum in die Blasij debemus non mensurare cum candelis per collum vel lumina sufflare in oculis extingwenda ea”, *ibidem*, f. 142rb.

⁸⁵ „Queritur, utrum benedictiones possunt fieri dentibus? Respondetur, quod non, sed dicas Pater Noster pro benedictione, quia iste Deus omnipotens melius potest te iuvare quam una vetula”, *ibidem*, f. 142rb.

⁸⁶ „Queritur, utrum hoc sit verum, quod tela non potest extrahi alicui infixio presente uno qui sabbatis diebus comedit carnes”, *ibidem*, f. 142rb.

of women gathering at Pentecost and regular clapping of hands to commemorate the beginning of summer and the first cattle grazing⁸⁷. He also did not approve of the custom of singing Christmas carols on Christmas Eve with relics and blessings and the incensation of the faithful by the parish priest⁸⁸. On the eve of this feast, however, it is forbidden to organize feasts, cover tables with tablecloth and lay down bread in hopes of multiplying material goods next year⁸⁹. Many similar appearances can be found in numerous other writings preserved in Silesian manuscripts. Unfortunately, most of them are awaiting research⁹⁰.

Extensive collections of sermons are also waiting for analysis. Preaching, as John of Wünschelburg argued, was the best predestined tool for criticism and repair⁹¹. Also, in the sermons of Peregrine from Opole, we find similar threads, since the preacher reminds us that witches would not enter “Sancta Santorum” because they carry the mark of the devil⁹². He stigmatized tardiness in acquiring confessions, a useful tool for purification from vices⁹³. The most interesting monuments of Silesian preaching from the era include the extensive legacy of Bernard Fabri, the regular canon of St. Augustines in Żagań and Zielona Góra. It includes 20 large

⁸⁷ „Queritur, utrum mulieres, que conveniunt in festo penthecostes plaudentes manibus peccant sicut est mos in aliquibus partibus”, *ibidem*, f. 142vb. Compare: Krzysztof Bracha, *Tria ydola Polonorum na Zielone Świątki w dydaktyce kaznodziejskiej Polski późnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie. Kontynuacja miejsc kultu we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, eds. Krzysztof Bracha, Czesław Hadamik, Warszawa 2010, pp. 373–404.

⁸⁸ „Queritur, utrum calendisasicones (!) in vigilia nativitatis Christi sunt convenientes transire cum reliquis in quamlibet domum”, Matthias of Legnica, *Quaestiones theologicae*, f. 142vb.

⁸⁹ „Item in vigilia nativitatis mensale non debet (...), ut augmententur res temporales, supersticionum est”, *ibidem*, f. 143ra.

⁹⁰ See ie.: *Contra primum articulum, qui ponit quod error est dicere, quod anima cristi non sit nobilior anima Iude*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 193, f. 151ra–152ra; *Tractatulus de BMV et de daemonibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 213, f. 262vab+charta teg. II^o; *De haeresibus et erroribus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 193, f. 215vb–216v; *De vitio superstitionis*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 204, f. 281va–286rb; *Breve compendium de confessionibus audiendis*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 250, f. 80va–113vb. Compare: Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung*, pp. 24–24.

⁹¹ John of Wünschelburg, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. F. 212, f. 228ra–b. Compare: Jan Drabina, *Rola argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu*, Kraków 1984 (Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, z. DCCXLVIII. Studia Religiológica, z. 13); Krzysztof Bracha, *Nourishment and Correction: Preaching and Reform in Central–Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny”, 22, 2016, pp. 201–229; *idem*, Kogut, czyli dobry kaznodzieja, [in:] *Ambona. Teksty o kulturze średniowiecza ofiarowane Stanisławowi Bylinie*, eds. Krzysztof Bracha, Wojciech Brojer, Warszawa 2016, pp. 240–241; Zajchowska, *Inkwizytor wrocławski Jan z Żąbkowic*, pp. 181–183.

⁹² Peregrine of Opole, *Sermo: Feria tertia post Pentecosten* (No. 38), ed. *Peregrini de Opole Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. Ryszard Tatarzyński, Warszawa 1997, p. 174.

⁹³ *Idem*, *Sermo: Feria secunda post Pentecosten*, *ibidem*, p. 171.

handwritten manuscripts from the 15th century and is a very interesting narrative material, rich in moral threads and critique of popular religiosity and many kinds of errors and abuse in worship⁹⁴. In the case of Bernard Fabri, we have no doubt about the local mainly German-speaking audience, whom he referred to using the local tradition, as evidenced by numerous voices in vulgari, eg songs (children), folk proverbs and sentences in German⁹⁵. In one of the sermons referring to John Herolt, he listed 20 categories of suspicious practices. In one of the sermons, he chastised Christmas customs of a biblical character intended to ensure prosperity in the next year. Fabri's testimony seems to reflect local customs, since the preacher himself confessed that he recognized them from the autopsy (quod vidi). He said that in some cities the populace run around dressed in cowhide leather or women's outfits, wearing masks called "schuteuefel", sell beer and arrange various stupid plays, bring herbs to the gardens and make witchcraft, gather on drunken bounties, and after sunset, they organize feasts, games and dances to ensure their well-being next year. To explain the wisdom of these practices, he cited the folk etymology of the German name for Christmas, where "Wynachten" means "quales noctes" in the opinion of the people⁹⁶. In another he testified knowledge of the activity of night voyages to the goddess Vorhawle (Holda, Holle) with retinue and arranging ritual feasts for ghosts (manes), who ride horses at night and drag children onto rooftops⁹⁷. Fabri addressed his sermons, of course, to the German-speaking population of the city, and it is difficult to say how they were perceived by the Slavic populace⁹⁸.

Similarly critical about theatricalization of the folk background of liturgical events on Good Friday was another Silesian preacher Franciscan Nicholas of Koźle (Kosel), born around 1390, who expressed a more tolerant approach for folklore, it seems, and was closer to the Slavic ethos. Contained in of the most interesting of

⁹⁴ Ms BUWr. I. Q. 144; I. Q. 76; IV. Q. 145; II. Q. 16; I. Q. 313; I. Q. 327; I. Q. 353; I. Q. 362; I. Q. 366; I. Q. 428; I. Q. 440, (vol. 1–4); I. Q. 441; I. Q. 442; I. Q. 443; I. Q. 444; I. Q. 445; I. Q. 446. Compare: Klapper, *Bürgerliche Kultur*, p. 54, footnote No. 2. Compare: Dagmar Ladisch-Grube, Fabri, Bernhard, [in:] *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 2, Berlin–New York 1980, column 682; Alfred Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych regularnych św. Augustyna w Żaganiu*, Wrocław 1965, pp. 152–153.

⁹⁵ Klapper, *Bürgerliche Kultur*, p. 62, 68–70.

⁹⁶ „Ob hoc ille noctes dicuntur in vulgari Wynachten, id est: quales noctes? propter illas abusiones, vel Wynachten propter noctem Christi, qui fuit mirabilis, quia fuit lucida”, *ibidem*, p. 63, 81; *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche Volksschauspiele in Schlesien*, „MsGV”, 29, 1928, p. 187.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, *Bürgerliche Kultur*, p. 67.

⁹⁸ In the half of XV c. silesian preacher Antoni Crosser quoted polish name in one of his sermons *Selnagora*, *ibidem*, p. 74 (Ms BUWr. I. Q. 419, f. 48v, 73v).

Nicholas's works is "Quaestiones optime curam animarum concernentes", a catalog of 100 pastoral questions. We find reports of gargoyles, masks and costumed children during Easter, and criticism of dance and actors, among which the insidious devil hunts for human weaknesses⁹⁹. There is also an interpretation of the Christian symbolism of the custom of using candles during a funeral ceremony, with a warning against superstitious abuses and a pagan tradition of carrying torches¹⁰⁰. The writing of Nicholas of Koźle also seems to derive from the customs of Czech-Polish Silesia, since in one place it refers to the customs prevailing in the Czech Republic and Poland¹⁰¹. Likewise, the aforementioned Bernard Fabri testified in Silesia on the anomaly of the rite of banishing winter with the accompanying chant – "Treywe wir den tot awsz... Treywe wir den tot awsz!", which we also know in Polish customs under the act of driving out Marzanna. He warned that the children who take part in it are led to spiritual death and eternal condemnation¹⁰².

A somewhat different repertoire of religious folklore can be found in the prayer practice selected from sermons collected by J. Klapper, full of phenomena from the borderline of licite et illicite¹⁰³. Small non-liturgical prenotations and so-called "Reliable prayers", especially of the nature of suffragia, often with apotropaic features were written into the content of many contemporary prayer books¹⁰⁴. Such a prayer practice was based on a traditional belief in the performative function of

⁹⁹ Józef Majchrzak, *Kodeks Mikołaja z Koźla i zawarte w nim elementy folklorystyczno-muzyczne*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 33, 1978, 1, p. 26 (Ms BUWr I. Q. 466, f. 15v, 16r, 83r–v); Klapper, *Nikolaus von Kosel*, p. 38, pp. 47–48; *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche Volksschauspiel*, p. 185; Mieczysław Walter, *Śląskie polonica rękopiśmienne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 3, 1948, pp. 305–307; Ludwig Denecke, *Nikolaus von Kosel OFM*, [in:] VL, vol. 6, Berlin–New York 1987, column 1089–1093; Jan Drabina, *Piętnastowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny Mikołaja z Koźla*, „Rocznik Muzeum w Gliwicach”, 7–8, 1994, pp. 47–72.

¹⁰⁰ Klapper, *Nikolaus von Kosel*, p. 35.

¹⁰¹ „Weil wir uns an die Verkündigung der Botschaft des Engels bei Maria erinnern sollen; so ist es Sitte in Böhmen und in Polen”, *ibidem*, p. 38 (edition in german translation.).

¹⁰² Klapper, *Bürgerliche Kultur*, p. 80; *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche Volksschauspiel*, p. 191; Michał Łuczyński, *Semantyka obrzędów wiosennych związanych z Marzanna i Jaryłą. (Próba rekonstrukcji „prasłowiańskiego tekstu”)*, „Respectus Philologicus”, 10, 2016, 15, pp. 165–176.

¹⁰³ See above, footnote No. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Franz X. Haimperl, *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands*, München 1952 (Münchener Theologische Studien, vol. 4), pp. 109–160. The research was recently summarised by Edina Bozóky, *Charmes et prières apotropaïques*, Turnhout 2003 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, Fasc. 86, ed. R. Noël), pp. 9–29; Bibliography, pp. 49–58 and Barbara H. Jaye, *Artes orandi*, Turnhout 1992 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, Fasc. 61, ed. Léopold Genicot), pp. 88–89; Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Pennsylvania 2006, pp. 1–19.

words that resembled a medieval proverb: “virtus est herbis, lapidi, sed maxima verbis”¹⁰⁵. Almost all these phenomena can be found in the Silesian source material. Multiplication of prayers (dreu hundert aue maria; fvmfczig aue maria), for whom “fumfczen Paternoster vnd XV Aue Maria dor czuu spricht... dy sal sicher seyn von dem bosen geiste dem tewfel vnd vor aller seyner kraft vnd gespenste”¹⁰⁶. The so-called “certain prayer”, who prays for 30 days before the painting of the Mother of God: “Domina mea sancta Maria, perpetua virgho virginum...”, will receive everything he asks for¹⁰⁷. Whoever denounces Pater Noster and Ave Maria 50 times, 50 souls will be freed from hell, 50 sinners will be converted from sins and 50 good Christians will be strengthened in faith¹⁰⁸. Abuse of rudimentary prayers in spells – using healing herbs, drinking a verbena extract and pronouncing Pater Noster three times will free the sufferer from epilepsy¹⁰⁹. His superstitious repertoire also included the abuse of the holy names of biblical characters, the Greek and Hebrew names of God, biblical and liturgical verses (eg Christus autem transiens... Lutum fecit... Verbum caro factum est...) and their multiplication in prayers. For example, the names of the Three Kings protect against bad weather or miscarriage¹¹⁰. Most of the so-called “Certain prayers” protected against all diseases of people and animals (epilepsy, fever, toothache, headache, eye pain, insomnia, swellings, plaque, viper’s bite, attacks of wolves or bears, bleeding during blood-dropping surgery, gout, worms in horses, stiffness of horse hooves) and against all evil and misfortune (theft, wounding with white weapons, shooting with an arrow or bullet, assault of enemies, misfortune during travel, conflagration)¹¹¹. Prayers have won or strengthened mutual love, protected bees and assisted the dowers, sanctified herbs, weapons and warring¹¹². Although older women have been accused of such misuse of prayers or the use of spells, we

¹⁰⁵ Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung (Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, vol. 2, parts 1–5: *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*), vol. 5, Göttingen 1967, No. 33662, p. 789, and other versions, No.: 2748, 7310, 14224, 14515, 11787, 11927, 30325, 33675, 33676, 33372, 33377. Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁶ Klapper, *Volkskundliches in altschlesischen Gebetbüchern*, pp. 54–55, 62.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹ Klapper, *Das Gebet im Zauberglauben*, p. 20.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 32, 37; Karl Zickendraht, *Das Johannisevangelium im Volksglauben und Volksbrauch*, „Archives suisses des traditions populaires”, 23, 1920–1921, pp. 22–30.

¹¹¹ Klapper, *Das Gebet im Zauberglauben*, p. 7; *idem*, *Altschlesische Schutzbriefe*, p. 149; *idem*, *Alte Arzneibücher*, „Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde”, 7, 1905, p. 25.

¹¹² *Idem*, *Beschwörungsformel bei Gewinnung dwer Wünschelrute*, „MSGW”, 8, 14, 1905, pp. 51–58.

know that most of these formulas were written by the clergy. In one of the issues of “De benedictionibus vetularum” from the fifteenth century from the Silesian manuscript, an anonymous author penned rhyming blessings (*verba ricmatice composita*) with official prayers against diseases recognized as superstitious. He allowed these prayers over the sick but not over an apple, pear or bandolet for a sword. They may be pronounced by a clergyman or even a lay person, also a woman worthy of faith¹¹³.

The difference between licite and illicite was based on intentions, which Nicholas of Jawor accurately defined. The hope of fulfillment of requests made only in words, not in God, was a manifestation of idolatry, for “*virtutes ille mirifice ipsis attribuntur, quod est divinitatem eis ascribere et propter illam falsam et vanam opinionem habent, occultum pactum dyabolo et reverencia faciunt verbis*”¹¹⁴. The methods of Christianization of such formulas were presented in one of the Silesian manuscripts from the 15th century. A monk, a clerical scribe, aware of the obligation to Christianize everything that is pagan, crossed out the ancient formula of the spell pronounced when collecting herbs called “*Herba cucumeris*”. An invocation to the old deities of Asclepius and Mother Earth was placed there. The anonymous author has added a warning in simple words over the crossed out formula: “*Quod hic sequitur, non valet, sed pro hoc dicatur Pater Noster et Credo*”¹¹⁵. Superstitious intentions in prayer practice represent one of the most interesting phenomena in the piety of the late Middle Ages, and some paradoxes of the then religious culture in general. On one hand, the Church’s struggle with the phenomenon of too far-reaching inculturation, or, perhaps, a missed Christianization, and on the other hand, objective difficulties with the church control of private piety, and participation in such practices of the clergy themselves¹¹⁶. The variety of similar “prayers” preserved in Silesian manuscripts from the era, show that this phenomenon and its criticism did not pass over Silesia.

¹¹³ *Idem*, *Das Gebet im Zanberglauben*, p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Nicholas Magni of Jawor, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Ms BUWr. I. F. 313, f. 277va; *Gulielmi Alverni episcopi parisiensis De fide et legibus*, c. 27, column 88. Compare: Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug*, p. 155.

¹¹⁵ Klapper, *Das Gebet im Zauberglauben*, p. 19 (Ms BUWr. III. F. 19, f. 81r).

¹¹⁶ Heather Stuart, Fred Walla, *Die Überlieferung der mittelalterlichen Segen*, „Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur”, 1, 116, 1987, pp. 53–79; Dieter Harmening, *Contra Paganos = Gegen die vom Dorfe? Zum Theologischen Hintergrund ethnologischer Begriffe*, „Jahrbuch für Volkskunde”, 19, 1996, pp. 126–138; *idem*, *Antropologie historique ou hermétique littéraire? Une critique ethnographique des sources médiévales*, „Ethnologie française”, 27, 1997, 4, pp. 445–456; *idem*, *Aus „tieferer Schicht“ des Volksbewusstseins”? Quellenkritische Anmerkungen zu Aaron J. Gurjewitsch: Mittelalterliche Volkskultur*, „Bayerische Jahrbuch für Volkskunde”, 9, 1994, pp. 137–150.

The overview of the relation of the Silesian Church to folklore and religious ferment presented above can not be complete, not only because of the lack of space, but above all the still insufficient state of research and recognition of particularly handwritten sources. Only future in-depth studies using the full-fledged works of J. Klapper, an author who is extremely well-deserved in this respect, will allow for a wider monographic approach. It is certain that the Church of Silesia, thanks to the richness of church literature, mostly luckily preserved to this day, had an excellent tool for assessing, criticizing and criminalizing the above-mentioned phenomena in the pastoral sphere, which was fostered by the late medieval climate of reform and reform of the universal Church.

ŚREDNIOWIECZNY KOŚCIÓŁ ŚLĄSKI WOBEC HEREZJI, MAGII I CZARÓW

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł Krzysztofa Brachy dotyczy stosunku średniowiecznego kościoła śląskiego wobec herezji, magii i zaklęć. Autor uwzględnił w swojej analizie istnienie fundacji klasztornych oraz rozwój kultu św. Jadwigi Śląskiej. Zwraca też uwagę na sieć parafialną, skorelowaną z kolejnymi procesami urbanizacji i kolonizacji w regionie. Wobec potencjału, jaki Śląsk oferował w kontekście ewangelizacji wiernych, zdumienie autora budzi fakt, że piśmiennictwo pastoralne po IV Soborze Laterańskim z 1215 r., opisuje walkę z praktykowanymi relikami pogaństwa. Kapłanom nakazano zamykanie kościołów po nabożeństwach, aby chronić wodę święconą, święte oleje i naczynia na hostię przed kradzieżą przez wiernych, którzy używali ich do odprawiania czarów. Podobne zapisy praktyk zakazanych w ramach kultu chrześcijańskiego powtarzają się w rezolucjach synodalnych (podano przykłady z 1326 i 1471 r.). Autor stwierdza, że w ujęciu antropologicznym większość tych praktyk należała do magii ochronnej: przed chorobą oraz w celu zapewnienia dobrobytu w rodzinie i pomyślności w gospodarstwie, a naczynia kościelne wykorzystywano do jej skutecznego wzmocnienia. Nadzieja na spełnienie prośb stawianych w przedmiotach i słowach, a nie w Bogu, była przejawem relików myślenia w kategoriach magicznych, przesądnych.

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PRELUDE TO THE REFORMATION? MUNICIPAL PREACHERS AT THE TIME OF THE HUSSITES

ABSTRACT: The aim of the study is the analysis of various levels of late medieval communication of the preacher with the town milieu (in the sense of the “sociology of medieval preaching”) that will focus on both the verbal and non-verbal levels of communication. The comparatively based study will concentrate on the ways of acquiring power and dealing with it, as well as on the strategies of endangered town elites that were directed at the elimination of the dominance of the charismatic religious leaders.

KEYWORDS: Urban History, Middle Ages, Town Elites, Preachers, Conflict, Communication

The Reformation began the process of the disintegration of confessional homogeneity of the Central European areas. Thanks to its European-wide dimension, it became one of the most-studied themes of the pre-Modern period. Besides the teachings of Luther and Calvin themselves, historians also research the social and political background of their spread. Attention is drawn, for instance, by the speed, with which the reformation teachings found a way to those they addressed. A new phenomenon – book printing – certainly played its part but also the intensive sermonizing activity of the clergy. Historians therefore attempt to follow the processes of the reception and interpretation of the reform texts in the context of the social and political space in which the preachers worked. The influence of the sermonizer on the community of the believers developed from his rhetorical abilities, charisma, life example and the used arrangement. The activity of the reformation clergy entailed also a political level. Disobedience to traditional ecclesiastical structures could also escalate into conflict with secular power. In some cases,

preachers have even reversed local power relations. Under their leadership, a charismatic dominion was established, legitimizing its duration with biblical parables. What limits did this charismatic dominion encounter? In what way was it kept alive? What was its relation to the traditional administrative structures? Even these are the questions that are broached in the papers published so far. We cannot forget even another aspect. The study of the early reform processes in the empire offer several interpretational approaches, which we can apply to the situation in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown in the 15th century. One of the distinctive bonds of the two epochs were the manifestations of religiously motivated violence realized in real or in symbolic form¹.

At the same time, the paradigmatic interpretation of the relationship of the town and church with roots in the 19th century perceived similar events as mere excesses, as a deviation from the path of “progress” connected with burgher society. In its interpretations, liberal historiography put its emphasis on the process of the emancipation of the urban municipalities, namely both in terms of the sovereign (or other manorial lord) or in terms of the church maintaining its exclusive position within the urban topography for the large part of the pre-Modern period. However, the views of contemporary historiography differ from the theses of the authors of the first municipal syntheses. Even the view of the actual urban municipality changed. While the world of the medieval and early modern town was symbolically delimited by the wreath of its fortifications, that cannot be said by far of its homogeneity. Not even in terms of law, to which urban historiography paid such intensive attention. Within the ring of the town walls, the urban topography was divided into parts under the direct administration of the councils, to places enjoying ecclesiastical immunity, houses and palaces of the nobility, districts set aside for Jews or buildings and areas under the sovereignty of the monarch. The research approach of the past decades has therefore tended more towards an interpretation emphasizing the processes of the merger and distinction of a number of spheres instead of a unilateral urban emancipation. In the same way, it was the case that the town councils endeavoured to assert their powers over all of the urban area including checks of the ecclesiastical prebendaries. The Central European sources

¹ Cf. Hubertus Lutterbach, *Charismatische Herrschaft im Täuferium von Münster (1534/1535)*, [in:] *Institution und Charisma. Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehm, Stefan Weinmayer, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2003, pp. 589–605 and Kaspar von Greyerz, Kim Siebenhüner, *Einleitung*, [in:] *Religion und Gewalt. Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)*, eds. Kaspar von Greyerz, Kim Siebenhüner et alii, Göttingen 2006, pp. 9–25.

of the Late Middle Ages prove the participation of the administration of the town in the reconstructions and expansions of the parish churches, which thus become representatives of the municipality and the councillors themselves seated in prestigious places in the newly built church. The councillors held the leading role also in the subsequent church festivities. Their place in the procession and accompanying attributes in the form of the symbols of the town administration, ceremonial clothing or covering with a baldachin confirmed the position of the councillors for the entire municipality. Hence, the ecclesiastical processions leaving the complex of the parish church simultaneously became components of the religious practices and a hierarchizing act. The councillors in no way endeavoured to force ecclesiastical institutions from the urban milieu, they “only” wanted them to be subject to their oversight (disciplination), force them “to suffer” with the town (fiscal interest) and at the same time intensively share in their activities (representation). The ties between the town councils and the main town preachers were also tight. With the expansion of the interpretational limits of the relation of the town and church, we escape from the dead end of the earlier interpretation, which using a number of examples only documented the validity of the set evolutionary framework created by earlier urban historiography. The “Pfaffenkriege” followed using the example of the Hanseatic towns and religious brotherhoods of the lay with a share of the urban elites, in today’s perspective becomes part of the broad stream of the transformation of urban piety, like the asurance of John of Leiden in rebellious Münster. In a nutshell, the urban municipality led by a preacher represented a distinct expression of urban piety, yet it remained an integral part of it².

Within the Lands of the Bohemian Crown, one of the prototypical cases of these conflicts took place in the middle of the 1520s in Görlitz. The town council there pushed through the filling of the pulpit of the parish church with its native son Franz Rotbart, who after his studies in Leipzig and a short time working in

² For more, see Jürgen Sydow, *Bürgerschaft und Kirche im Mittelalter. Problem und Aufgaben der Forschung*, [in:] *Bürgerschaft und Kirche*, ed. Jürgen Sydow, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 9–25; Halina Manikowska, *Religijność miejska*, [in:] *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym*, eds. Halina Manikowska, Hanna Zaremska, Warszawa 2002 (Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 3), pp. 11–34; Marek Słoń, *Religijność komunalna w europie środkowej późnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Zbożnost středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl, Praha 2007 (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia, vol. 6), pp. 9–21 and Vera Isaíasz, Matthias Pohl, *Soziale Ordnung und ihre Repräsentation. Perspektiven der Forschung „Stadt und Religion“*, [in:] *Stadt und Religion in der Frühen Neuzeit. Soziale Ordnungen und ihre Repräsentationen*, eds. Vera Isaíasz, Ute Lotz-Heumann, Monika Mommertz, Matthias Pohl, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 9–32.

Szprotawa returned to the town soon afflicted by the plague epidemic. In a number of sermons, Rotbart began to ever more distinctly tend towards Lutheranism and ignored the calls of the town council, which in the end forced his repeated departure. It thus tried to meet the demands of the bishop and also the monarch, who called on the council to prevent the introduction of all kinds of heresy, sectarianism and dogmatic innovations. The council invited the next preacher from Wrocław, but he was even more radical in his attacks and through his aserances contributed to the further weakening of its authority. According to the text of one of the municipal chroniclers, the results of the activity of the new preacher came soon. The councillors asarently did not feel safe even at their table and faced constant verbal attacks on the part of the common people and women. The church but also the beerhall and tavern became the place of arrangements against the councillors. The monks and clergy, who respected the will of the bishop, were laughed at in the streets and children persecuted them with mocking calls that they were wolves. The image presented in this way evoked a disruption of the “natural” order and at the same time described some strategies used by the competing parties³.

In the centre of the narration of the Görlitz council annals, the events taking place in the four types of spaces labelled by Gerd Schwerhoff as “public places” of pre-Modern towns asear, i.e. the church, town hall, pub and street with the square⁴. Three of these spaces were controlled by the adherents of Lutheranism (I include also the parish church with pulpit in the list), where their instrument became predominantly escalated verbal communication both in verbal attacks of the osonent and in demonstrative positions with the character rather of spontaneous, collective manifestations of outrage. The alleged threatening of the councillors, the harassing and verbal persecuting of the monks could have only a marginal connection with the position of the councillors to Lutheranism. In the example, it shows far more the disturbance of the legitimacy of the traditional authorities, a disruption of the order in which according to the chronicler (!) the classes and groups usually distant from political life engage. Anonymous flyers criticizing the

³ For more, see Lars Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit und soziale Kontrolle. Görlitz 1450-1600*, Epfendorf am Neckar 2005 (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, 13), pp. 80–85 and Robert W. Scribner, *Antiklerikalismus und die Städte*, [in:] *idem, Religion und Kultur in Deutschland 1400-1800*, Göttingen 2002, pp. 177–200.

⁴ Susanne Rau, Gerd Schwerhoff, *Öffentliche Räume in der Frühen Neuzeit. Überlegungen zu Leitbegriffen und Themen eines Forschungsfeldes*, [in:] *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalterlicher und Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Susanne Rau, Gerd Schwerhoff, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2008 (Norm und Struktur, vol. 21), pp. 11–52.

administration of the community by the town council attached to the doors of houses can also be seen as one of the manifestation of the continuing verbal violence. The topoi on the disobediently acting women and children, as well as the often-emphasized role of pubs, in which the guests intrigue against the town councils, runs through a number of late medieval chronicles. Only secondarily do the guilds engage in the events, at least according to the chronicler, only at the direct call of the town council. The verbal violence used by the adherents of the Lutheranism that was gaining ground contrasted with the legitimate steps of the town council. The councillors started from the mechanisms of written legal culture both in their communication with the bishop or monarch and in filling the post of preacher in the main town church. The moment the battle of dogma grew to attacks against the administration of the town, the councillors turned to the guilds, which represented the “community” and from the majority of their elders also acquired a certificate of loyalty. Naturally, the rich and influential guild of the weavers acted differently. The councillors even discovered from their informers about a planned armed conspiracy. In the end, it remained only with words. Besides demands of following evangelical truths, the representatives of the weavers’ guild articulated also specific reservations about the alleged violation of the privileges of the city’s inhabitants. The council and guild masters communicated together in writing through messengers and this “defiance” already did not deviate significantly from the traditional delimitation of the powers of the council and the representatives of the guild community. The construction of memory of past events is proved both by the legitimate self-presentation of the town council and its linkage to written culture. Although the council yielded to the pressure of the weavers and Franz Rotbart returned to the community and the post of main preacher, the chronicler connected with the town council in his chronicle presented the rise of Lutheranism as disobedience, as uprising against the traditional authorities. The impending collision was averted by the prudence of the men from the council benches. One of the lines of conflict hidden in the background of the conflict over Lutheranism was undoubtedly the general tendency of town councils to strengthen the role of the growing bureaucratic apparatus in the administration of the community. The disciplinarian pressure of the town council aimed against the individual segments of the urban community in the end found its generally acceptable outcome in the limitation of the privileges of the clergy not wishing the ideas of the Reformation that were gaining ground. At the same time, the victory of the

adherents of Franz Robart cannot be asroached as a defeat of the council. The uprising within the community provided the councillors an internal alibi for their own disobedience of the bishop's call to maintain the special position of the ecclesiastical institutions in Görlitz. As proved by Lars Behrisch, the council very willingly accepted a number of fundamentals of the declared Lutheranism and also determined that the altar boys of the parish church had to fully serve the entire community from that time. The councillors also definitely took from themselves the administration of the church charities⁵.

The Görlitz council annals prove the existence of a “public”, toward which the preachers, council and later chroniciers turned, just like the instruments used to address them. At the same time, the public is an active element entering the power game as its direct participant and the positions of the public become also components of the later, official version of events. However, one moment is especially important for us, namely the role of the preacher, who is able to stir up riots, which turn against the council. At the time of the rise of the Reformation, we encounter a similar image in more places, but in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown themselves we can prove an earlier version of this story connected with Hussitism, both on the side of the adherents to the chalice and on the side of their osonents. Under the term public, I mean the communication shaped public of the pre-Modern Period (so-called segmentary society, “Teilöffentlichkeiten”) as it has been defined by a number of participants of the discussion in the last two decades⁶. The segmentary society is not connected only with the urban milieu. Components of the communication shaped public became also the participants of the land courts and diets or for instance the circle of the addressees of the forwarded correspondence. At the same time, the communication shaped public did not have to have a long duration and usually disintegrated right after the relevant communication act had

⁵ Behrisch, *Städtische Obrigkeit*, p. 85.

⁶ For more on the transformations of the concept of the public with a consideration of the pre-modern period, see Arié Malz, *Der Begriff „Öffentlichkeit“ als historisches Analyseinstrument: Eine Annäherung aus kommunikations- und systemtheoretischer Sicht*, [in:] *Kommunikation im Spätmittelalter. Spielarten – Wahrnehmungen – Deutungen*, eds. Romy Günthart, Michael Jucker, Zürich 2005, pp. 13–26; Christoph Dartmann, *Politische Interaktion in der italienischen Stadtkommune (11.–14. Jahrhundert)*, Ostfildern 2012, pp. 24–25 and Gerhard Fouquet, *Trinkstuben und Bruderschaften – soziale Orte in den Städten des Spätmittelalters*, [in:] *Geschlechtergesellschaften, Zunft-Trinkstuben und Bruderschaften in spätmittelalterlichen und früneuzeitlichen Städten*, eds. Gerhard Fouquet, Matthias Steinbrink, Gabriel Zeilinger, Ostfildern 2003 (Stadt in der Geschichte, vol. 30), pp. 9–30.

passed. Among the often-mentioned examples, the gathering of the onlookers of the ceremonially hanging of the bell, the society of women at the municipal well or the believers listening to the asearance of the preacher asear often. Unlike the aristocratic or even rural milieu, urban space was marked by the existence of many parallel, permanently emerging and disasearing publics, in which the inhabitants of the towns participated or were confronted with⁷.

In the course of the 15th century, we could repeatedly encounter in the lands of the Bohemian Crown an outgrowth of the communication shaped public into the form of instruments of power – a violently acting crowd, whose asearance against the “traditional power authorities was legitimized by religious arguments. Unlike Görlitz, where the violence of the communication shaped public remained limited to the verbal level or to “only” the threat of violence, in the cases from the Hussite era we encounter its direct manifestations. In the sources, it is possible to find bilaterally constructed interpretive schemas, in which the violence on the one hand could be considered as proof of God’s favour, election or victory, and, on the other, a test of devotion and willingness to undergo suffering⁸.

The pioneer of this research field was the historian František Graus. This leading Czech (and later active in Germany) researcher did not work with the term of communication public. The mentioned term began to be used in historical works later. At the beginning of the 1970s, however, this historian published a monograph, in which he came very close to research of communication shaped publics. For his research, František Graus selected three riots in the Prague towns in 1389, 1419 and 1422. In the first case, it was a pogrom committed on the populations of the Old Town ghetto. The second example was related to an attack on the New Town Hall and to the beginning of Hussitism. Graus considered as the third event of a similar type the violence that broke out after the execution of the preacher Jan Želivský. All of the mentioned “rebellions” led to a direct or indirect questioning of the authority of the town councils, but primarily in them put into motion masses of the urban populaces overcoming at the given moment their usual division into classes, groups and professionally or spatially formed communities. In all of

⁷ Carl A. Hoffmann, „Öffentlichkeit“ und „Kommunikation“ in den Forschungen zur Vormoderne. Eine Skizze, [in:] *Kommunikation und Region*, eds. Carl A. Hoffmann, Rolf Kießling, Konstanz 2001, pp. 69–110 and Andreas Hes, *Kommunikationsnetzwerke und kulturelle Verdichtungen: Theoretische und methodologische Überlegungen*, [in:] *Kultur und mediale Kommunikation in sozialen Netzwerken*, eds. Jan Fuchse, Christian Stegbauer, Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 13–30.

⁸ František Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy. Struktury – procesy – ideje*, Praha 2001, pp. 282–292.

the mentioned examples, the religious leaders were able to arouse violence legitimized by an emphasis on conduct according to Divine will. In all these cases, there was a collective violation of the provisions of town law⁹.

The urban analogy of the individual doing God's will represented the "elected town". The concept of the "elected divine community" well surpassed the model interpretation firmly imprinted onto the thought of the medieval burghers, who considered their society as a unified administrative, political and also sacred community. With the towns of the Hussite era (if we stay in the crown lands), more explosive forms of presentation appear. Already in the early phase of the Hussite revolution, six towns, behind the walls of which the righteous believers were to be protected from the evil in the arrival of the Antichrist, were profiled in the conceptions of the Hussites¹⁰. We encounter a similar argumentation also with some oponents of the Hussites. The intellectuals of Silesian Wrocław stylized their native community into the role of the shield of the Christian faith, that faced the onslaught of heretics (Hussites) and non-believers (Turks). In the tense phase of the battles with George of Poděbrady, the main town preacher Nicolaus Tempelfeld declared that a town deserted by its allies relies on the help of angels¹¹. We thus encounter again the moment that František Graus already referred to. In the pre-Modern period, the index of generally comprehensible symbols capable of overcoming the segmentary character of the town social space is mainly connected with Christian teachings. It is also necessarily accompanied by the process of communication, because precisely through communication together the individual actors establish social ties and from a number of individual opinions form a collective position¹².

By means of communication, a segmentary public is shaped that is capable of acquiring at a certain moment forms of the destroying and plundering crowd. If we speak of the segmentary public, we have to take into account at the same time also the space in which it is shaped, because each of the already mentioned public spaces was connected with a certain form of mediality. Uwe Dörk attempted to capture the depth of the transformation of the mediality of public spaces of the Reformation period using the example of early modern Bern, when he used

⁹ František Graus, *Struktur und Geschichte. Die Volksaufstände im mittelalterlichen Prag*, Sigmaringen 1971.

¹⁰ František Šmahel, *Hussitische Revolution, B. II*. Hannover 2002, p. 1047.

¹¹ „Nicht würde die menschliche vornuff regieren do die sache gotis were.“. Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, ed. Gunhild Roth, Münster 2003, p. 513.

¹² Graus, *Struktur*, p. 90.

the expressive term “feral space”. With this expression, he characterized the deep and fundamental transformation, which places with a liturgical function underwent in the process of the Reformation. In 1528, the town council created the conditions for a radical “cleansing” of the town churches, from which the altars, statues of the saints and their images were taken in many cases. The previously prestigious components of the church interior were destroyed not only physically but by being labelled as idols. Desacralization was achieved also on the symbolic level. According to Uwe Dörk, the protestant community thus found itself before an unexpected vacuum. The earlier models of town representation included symbolic communication in the church interior, in the adjacent cemetery and on the streets of the town through which the procession passed. It was now necessary to replace these elements with a new system. The pulpit took the central position of the altar and the earlier model of the symbolic communication with the believers realized through images, statues and religious scenes was replaced by the word. Through the label “feral space” Uwe Dörk prepared the way for a description of the essential structural transformations of the public spaces and at the same time showed that the promotion of their new media content was the result of many conflicts. The radical cleansing of the parish church in the competence of the town council was reacted to negatively by the members of some guilds, and one of the smiths even in a symbolic gesture drove a donkey into the church to underline his conviction that the church of God was changing into a stable. The iconoclastic acts implemented a new symbolic and media order of public space, in which the role of communication engagement based on symbolic communication and the reproduction of religious knowledge led by it was reduced. Written and verbal communication got the floor far more¹³.

The Bern example returns us once again to the role of riots in the late medieval lands of the Bohemian Crown, aroused by religious stimuli. It emerged that the competition for the control of the urban space, just like the transformation of the segmentary public into a violent crowd, was influenced by the form and content of the communication. If we attempt to use this conclusion in the analysis of the source material in Central Europe, we encounter an often-mentioned problem – the

¹³ Uwe Dörk, *Der verwilderte Raum. Zum Strukturwandel von Öffentlichkeit in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt am Beispiel Berns*, [in:] *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalterlicher und Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. P. Rau, G. Schwerhoff, (Norm und Struktur, B. 21), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2008, pp. 119–194.

local archives of the town administered (especially for the medieval period) a disproportionately less numerous index of documents and contemporary researchers are limited in their analysis by the state of the preserved sources. The starting point for overcoming this constraint is the comparison of analogous examples of religiously motivated violence. In the following lines, I focus mainly on two examples – the situations in Prague at the high era of the radical preacher Jan Želivský and in Wrocław at the time of the preaching activity of the main town preacher Nicolaus Tempelfeld. I purposely leave aside the much more famous figure of the Prague reformer Jan Hus, who in his activity did not endeavour to gain control over the town council. For a similar reason, I would also like to point out the very specific situation of Tábor, the internal administrative history of which differed from the sample of the studied cities¹⁴.

Jan Želivský and Prague

On the threshold of the 1420s, at the time of the outbreak of the Hussite revolution, Jan Želivský was among the most influential figures of the Prague political scene. The Prague conurbation at that time was comprised of five towns (Staré Město/Old Town, Nové Město/New Town, Menší Město/Lesser Town (Malá Strana), Hradčany/Castle Town and Vyšehrad/Town of Vyšehrad Hill), of which each has its own autonomy and corpus of privileges. The political and preaching activity of the figure in question was, however, connected with Old and especially with New Town. Here sometime before 1419 he had acquired a preaching prebendary in one of the most important New Town parish churches of Saint Stephen. In February 1419, King Wenceslas IV removed clerical administration of the majority of the churches from the reform stream of Hus's susorters. Hussites could perform their religious services only in the three remaining. At the church of Our Lady of the Snows, Jan Želivský became the preacher. The former Premonstratensian had to leave the parish of St. Stephen, but he retained his leading position among the Calixtine clergy. The new place also accommodated more believers. This fact was especially significant and demonstrates his uncommon rhetorical abilities. Želivský

¹⁴ A closer analogy is offered by the conflicts between the town council and the preachers in Legnica, Pilsen and Hradec Králové. I present their analysis in the publication Martin Čapský, *Město pod vládou kazatelů. Charismatici náboženští vůdci ve střetu s městskou radou v pozdně středověkých českých korunních zemích*, Praha 2015, from which I work also in this text.

was not among the university circle legitimized by former ties to Jan Hus. He came to Prague after Hus's death († 1415). His former place of work was the Premonstratensian monastery in Želiv, where he also acquired his education. He made his place among the leading Calixtine clergy through his radical opinions and mainly his ability to address a wide range of the believers. It was also Jan Želivský, who in 1419 played a crucial role in establishing the connection between the Prague adherents of Jan Hus and the rural milieu. At his initiative, a crowd also attacked the New Town Hall on 30th July 1419, tossed the councillors from the windows and with the act of violence began the hot phase of the Hussite revolution. Soon also King Wenceslas IV died and the domestic religious struggle was complicated also by the question of succession. Jan Želivský was a decisive oponent of the younger brother of the deceased sovereign, Sigismund of Luxembourg. In his sermons, he labelled him as an apocalyptic predator. He increased his attacks even more after Sigismund had a crusade announced against the Hussites in March 1420 in Wrocław¹⁵.

The alliance with rural radicals, especially with Tábor, and the firm foundation in Prague's New Town helped Želivský maintain his influence. After the successful repulsion of Sigismund's offensive, however, the members of the moderate stream began to have the user hand among the political elite of the Prague Calixtines. The New Town preacher therefor reached for a radical step. On 30th June 1421, he assembled the community by ringing the bells at the church of Our Lady of Snows and the crowd spilled over into Old Town and occupied the town hall. The "Great Community" accused the councillors of treason, deposed them of the office, and elected four captains to the head of the united conurbation, whom were given also the seal of Old Town. Only a few days later there was a new election, a united council, in which each of the towns was represented by fifteen councillors. The victory achieved, as the chronicler says, by only a weak majority of the great community, stood on unstable foundations¹⁶.

In its ordinary life, Prague did not go without functioning town bodies, but the tribune did not have enough experienced adherents to be able to change

¹⁵ Šmahel, *Hussitische Revolution*, pp. 964–1031; Petr Čornej, *Pád Jana Želivského*, [in:] *idem, Světla a stíny husitské revoluce (Události – Osobnosti – Texty – Tradice)*, Praha 2011, pp. 101–135; *idem*, 30.7. 1419 První pražská defenestrace. Krvavá neděle uprostřed léta, Praha 2010, pp. 96–100 and Božena Kopiczková, *Jan Želivský*, Praha 1990, pp. 24–43.

¹⁶ Laurentius de Brzezowa, *Historia husitica*, [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum V.*, eds. Josef Emler, Jan Gebauer, Praha 1893, p. 496; Čornej, *Pád Jana Želivského*, pp. 107–108 and Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy*, p. 87.

entirely the composition of the town councils. Moreover, by his activity he found himself in a special paradox. One of the crucial demands of the Hussites was the removal of secular rule of the priests, which was repeatedly projected into the conditions of the convening a number of gatherings. Jan Želivský thus could never take power himself but did so through the help of mediators. The real state of affairs was at the same time generally known. Not even the chronicler Vavřinec of Březová in his chronicle refrained from an insinuation of the preacher, who allegedly claimed the royal underchamberlain office and tasked the councillors at their sessions. At the same time, he used the pressure of the crowd and the threat of violence even against the council, which he had helped install¹⁷. Every personal absence of the preacher in the Prague conurbation, every disturbance of the permanent communication with excited crowds, led on the other hand to the weakening of his influence. The synod of Calixtine priests, which he did not have the power to dominate, undermined his position as well. The preacher acted according to the usual schema. He called a gathering by ringing the bells and from a raised place instigated the crowd to elect a single captain, Jan Hvězda from Vicemilice called Bzdinka, whom in the name of the whole community he entrusted with the competence of the removal and asointment of councillors, the death penalty and banishment. Nobody dared to protest on the site, but the elders of the community soon met in Bethlehem Chapel and have the councillors their protest. Jan from Vicemilice immediately changed five of them. He lured one of the loudest critics of Jan Želivský from the ranks of the Calixtine aristocrats cooperating with Prague, Jan Sádlo of Kostelec, to Prague and despite the accompanying safe passage had him executed¹⁸.

The intimidated position was incapable of bolder resistance. The internal Prague events moreover eclipsed the external threat in the form of a second crusade. The Prague units placed Jan Hvězda from Vicemilice at their head, who however failed as a military commander. The situation was saved only by the arrival of Jan Žižka, who by skilful manoeuvring turned Sigismund's campaign into flight. The return of the victorious troops to Prague heralded the tribune's fall. At the head of the expedition, its aristocratic allies returned to Prague and not even Žižka himself stood behind Želivský more distinctly. The renewal of the urban autonomies, into the bodies of which the entry of the former councillors from the last years was

¹⁷ Laurentius de Brzezowa, *Historia husitica*, p. 496.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 514.

forbidden, as well as a ban on the attendance of priests at the town hall except at the express invitation of the council purposely broke the power of the radical preacher. On 9 March Jan Želivský was invited with his closest companions to Old Town Hall. A short court trial ensued. The tribune and his closest associates were beheaded behind the walls of the town hall. The situation was not overturned even by the crowd explosion of violence, which broke out after the report of the preacher's death had spread. The crowds deprived of their leader soon exhausted their energy¹⁹.

According to the conclusions of Petr Čornej, the theocratic model of the administration of the Prague municipality promoted and fulfilled by Jan Želivský failed to cope with several fundamental pitfalls. On the one hand, they were the external political conditions on the land level. The New Town tribune never profiled as a politician capable of fulfilling long-term conceptions and temporary compromises. On the contrary, by his conduct he destroyed the fragile unity of the Hussites and separated them from the circle of their potential allies. He even intervened very insensitively in the model of Prague's autonomy. At the same time, it was not a mere personnel redistribution of the individual offices, but an attack on the very core of the self-government. The town councils, municipal elders and the entire town community relied on the deep-rooted performance of their roles. The disturbance of this system could provide temporary power gains, but at the same time the entire system was put into uncertainty. The demands for the restoration of the traditional functioning of the individual bodies thus mixed with the demands for the restoration of order and strengthening of the legitimistic side of the Prague communities. Even here it is possible to find one of the important causes of the tribune's fall²⁰.

In his chronicle Vavřince of Březová repeatedly emphasized Želivský's ability to manipulate the crowd. The chronicler criticized the preacher that at his instigation lovers of disorder gathered, who threatened the councillors with impunity and those then lived in fear for their lives²¹. Želivský managed to incite his supporters also against other clergymen. At his initiative, there was an attack on the parish church of the conservative Hussite master Křišťan from Prachatice at the

¹⁹ For more detail with a description of the mutual relations of the individual actors, see Čornej, *Pád Jana Želivského*, pp. 125–135.

²⁰ For more, see Čornej, *Pád Jana Želivského*, pp. 110–120 and Šmahel, *Hussitische Revolution*, pp. 1188–1233.

²¹ Laurentius de Brzezowa, *Historia husitica*, p. 496.

church of St. Michael, which pupils of the municipal schools undertook. The fact that it was not possible to capture and plunder the buildings suggests that it was an attack led rather on the verbal level. The aim was the intimidation of the recognized university master and the elimination of his influence on the Old Town residents. For the same reason, also a radically attuned preacher was soon placed at the parish church²². According to Vavřinec of Březová also other members of the University of Prague were exposed to similar attacks. After the September reversal, they became the target of verbal threats, which did not stop even at night. Noisy people demanded their drowning, murder or at least expulsion of the masters from the town with the stigma of traitors. The symbolic violence easily deteriorated into the real iconoclastic plunder of churches and cloisters²³.

An important instrument of Želivský's dictatorship became groups of the preacher's most loyal adherents. The susorters and osonents noticed with what almost fanatical loyalty he encountered with women and children. The groups of women repeatedly entered public events and with their shouting helped disrupt a gathering or on the contrary to push stated agreement according to the tribune's will. It was not accidental that at the times of conservatively attuned town councils there asered bans on the participation of the clergy and women at gatherings of the town municipalities. Agile groups of people, closely connected with the tribune, were an important instrument of power, with which Jan Želivský worked. Thanks to them, he managed to manipulate better the assembled crowds; thanks to them it was possible to sweep the indecisive and intimidate osonents²⁴.

Želivský's position depended on the extraction of the communication advantage, which frequent contact with the believers from the pulpit assured him. If we perceive of the pulpit as *the only mass medium of Reformation propaganda*²⁵, a battle over preaching posts necessarily flared up between the moderate and radical Hussites. Although we have evidence that Jan Želivský managed to communicate effectively with numerous crowds of the believers, in the attempt for a more permanent assertion of power in the Prague conurbation he could not remain limited to his own parish or the *ad hoc* convened gatherings of people. The presentation of another direction in the battle for God's truth had to be much more

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 520–521.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 525–526.

²⁴ A synoptic consideration was presented by Božena Kapičková, *Žena a rodina v husitství (Současný stav bádání)*, „Husitský Tábor”, 12, 1999, pp. 37–48.

²⁵ Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy*, p. 79.

intensive. All the more so that Želivský's osonents could exploit the advantage of the university milieu and former personal contacts with Jan Hus – the central figure of the group of Hussite martyrs. When looking at the tribune's steps, it shows that he was very well aware of this fact and very pragmatically endeavoured to acquire a share of the control of the Hussite clergy. After the June reversal in 1421, he had himself elected as one of the four administrators of the diocese and also pushed the conservative Hussite wing from the body. Thanks to his position, he could far more effectively intervene in the filling of the individual prebendaries. Master Křišťan from Prachatice thus in the church of Saint Michael was added the preacher connected with his sympathies with the Táborite teachings. Other attempts to place radical clergy took place at the church of Saint Peter na Poříčí (At the Riverside, New Town) and in other places. Unlike the "party of preachers", which was formed a few decades later in Wrocław, Želivský never managed to acquire determinant influence in the interpretation of ecclesiastical-liturgical and political affairs. On the contrary, some of the consecrated addressed by him soon came to be suspected of Picardism and even ended imprisoned. The preachers therefore tried to weaken the decisive influence of the University of Prague by a sophisticated pretence. At the assembly of the Prague municipality, his adherents turned to the university masters and requested that they present for evaluation the founding deed of the university, its statutes and privileges. The documents were to be evaluated with regard to their accord with the Hussite interpretation of Divine law. However, the well-known saying about the revolution eating its own children was not fulfilled in this case. Sigismund's defeat at Kutná Hora and the arrival of the victorious Calixtine armies in Prague removed the tribune of a great part of his influence²⁶.

The pressure developed by Jan Želivský for the filling of the posts of the preachers and clergy with his party liners shows that he was aware of the strengths and weaknesses of his power position. Besides an emphasis on the permanent mobilization of the political publics through preaching activity, he tried to stabilize the circle of his adherents by creating parallel elites of the less wealthy urban classes. In their interest, the town council controlled by Želivský issued on 29 August 1421 a decree, by which it abolished the "eternal payments" tied to homes. The condition was only the repayment of the loans in the amount of the originally

²⁶ Čornej, *Pád Jana Želivského*, pp. 119–121.

borrowed sums. Outside the sphere of the direct attention of the preserved sources, also another redistribution took place of the properties fallen to the municipality after the departures of the enemies of the chalice. Still during his final invitation to Old Town Hall, he called on the councillors then to preserve the property rights to homes, vineyards and other items of those populations, which the large community recognized to them. Some of the burghers thus susorted preserved their loyalty to Želivský and ended along with him in the hands of the executioner. Those, who managed to avoid execution, sat in the newly established council named after the explosion of crowd violence. In the end, however, they also entered the Hussite councillor class²⁷.

Mikuláš Tempelfeld and Wrocław

Unlike Jan Želivský, the Wrocław preacher Nicolaus Tempelfeld had a successful university career behind him. The native from Lower Silesian Brzeg studied and taught at the university in Kraków. He was already famous in this place as a preacher, when he regularly asered at the ambon in the main town church. After forty years, he decided to leave Kraków and move to Wrocław. In 1453, he must have been around sixty years old and in the medieval perception of the course of human life was considered to be an old man. Resources were provided to him by a prebendary at the Wrocław episcopal chapter. Already in Krakow he had drawn attention with his preaching, in which he pointed to the deadly sins controlling urban society, including pride and vanity. The reputation that accompanied him soon brought him to the pulpit at the Wrocław main parish church of St. Elisabeth. It seems that in Wrocław his attention turned more to the question of Husitism. Three tractates by Tempelfeld created asarently in reaction to the election of George of Poděbrady as king of Bohemia in 1458 have been preserved to this day. In his texts, the preacher relies mainly on legal argumentation. He unsurprisingly denies the legitimacy of the reign of the selected monarch. These tractaes correspond to a line, which Nicolaus Tempelfeld held even in his influencing of the policy of the Wrocław town council. The preacher rejected every concession

²⁷ *O smrti kněze Jana z Želiva*, [in:] *Výbor z české literatury husitské doby I*, eds. Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák, Jiří Daňhelka, Praha 1963, pp. 87–88.

to the Calixtines and contributed to the repeating conflicts between Wrocław and the Bohemian sovereigns seated in Prague²⁸.

The actual share of Nicolaus Tempelfeld and his followers on the communication taking place in the public space was assured by a dense network of churches with preaching prebendaries. The Wrocław chronicler Peter Eschenloer literally wrote about the “party of the preachers”, which promoted its political ideas. They assured access to the discussions of the council and the town court for the clergy. The policy of the council, contacts with Prague as well as Rome were negotiated with the preachers. Nicolaus Tempelfeld supposedly intervened also in the preparation of letters leaving in political affairs by the town chancellor²⁹. We can generally say that Nicolaus Tempelfeld and the party of preachers led by him managed to control in terms of communication not only the churches but to force their interpretation of events and conversations conducted in pubs and in the streets. In assearing at the town hall, he was only one of the parties, but his influence was also maintained here both through his personal attendance and acquiring adherents from the ranks of the guilds, societies and the councillor class. At that time, the preacher of St. Elisabeth’s did not have to rely merely on manipulation of the crowd, but managed to maintain his followers across the social spectrum of late medieval Wrocław. The charismatic preacher was followed by a loyal group of adherents, among whom also well-situated burgher women were found. In cooperation with the guilds, Tempelfeld even initiated the convocation of the great community, where it led to the change of the town council. The current councillors preferred to yield to the threat of an attack on the town hall³⁰.

When Poděbrady’s attempt to militarily capture the town did not help, the royal party had no other choice than to bet again on negotiation. The municipality refused to listen to Wrocław bishop Jošt, who urged peace with the king, or to the

²⁸ Andreas Rüther, *Predigtstuhl, Zunfstube, Ratsbank: Orte politischer Kommunikation im spätmittelalterlichen Breslau*, [in:] *Städtische Gesellschaft und Kirche im Spätmittelalter. Kolloquium Dhaun 2004*, eds. Sigrid Schmitt, Sabine Klas, Stuttgart 2008 (Geschichtliche Landeskunde, vol. 62), pp. 141–166; Václav Filip, Karl Borchardt, *Schlesien, Georg von Podiebrad und römische Kurie*, Würzburg 2005; Jan Drabina, *Role argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu*, Kraków 1984, pp. 36–45.

²⁹ Mateusz Goliński, *Wrocław od połowy XIII do początków XVI wieku*, [in:] Cezary Buško, Mateusz Goliński, Michał Kaczmarek, Leszek Ziátkowski, *Historia Wrocławia. Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburských*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2001, p. 193.

³⁰ Goliński, *Wrocław*, pp. 193–194 and Rudolf Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský II.*, Praha 1918, pp. 550–552.

Silesian princes or papal envoys. Already at that given moment, the preachers had achieved such influence that they successfully doubted the authenticity of the imperial and papal letters, recognizing the legitimacy of the rule of George of Poděbrady. The papal legates had to travel to the town in person³¹. They encountered and unexpected situation here. The preachers stosed respecting the obedience to superior institutions and persons of the church hierarchy. When the bishop summoned Nicolaus Tempelfeld to Legnica, the preacher refused to come. It still led other church prelates, who wanted to push the preachers to calm the situation on the streets of Wrocław. The mentioned clergy did not asear even at their call³². In the end, the papal envoys were able to reach a compromise, but Eschenloer adds that the party of the preachers refused to affix their seal on the relevant papers. The legates thus (susosedly) did not forgive another reproach at their address and called on the town community to be aware that the town council was to act on political plans at its sessions and it was unacceptable for the preachers to decide on them in the public space from the height of their church ambons³³.

After another twist of papal politics, George of Poděbrady was labelled as a heretic. The influence of Nicolaus Tempelfeld grew even more. He even offered his assistance in evoking riots in other twons, which would be led by preachers against the heretics. The aim of Nicolaus Tempelfed was nothing less than a complete eradication of Hussitism in the Czech lands³⁴. The priest turned the attention of the crowd against his domestic osonents. In his hands, the threat of violence became a means, by which he managed to force some burghers to leave and to prompt others to stand declaratorily behind his plans. The atmosphere of the municipality threatened by heretics played to this strategy. Among those accused was also Peter Eschenloer. The town scribe was accused of favour for the heretics and besides the accusation, which was made at the session of the municipality at the town hall, his name was repeatedly announced even in the pulpits. The scribe, according to his own words, had to save his life by voluntarily joining a campaign against the Calixtines and accepting the cross. he also had to equip one mercenary for battle³⁵. At the same time, the town council undertook a number of steps, by which it declaratorily avowed a harsh anti-Hussite course. With increasing pressure,

³¹ Eschenloer, *Geschichte*, p. 257.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 264.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 329.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 520–524.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 568.

Nicolaus Tempelfeld silenced all of the moderate voices. At the time of the open rupture between the papal seat and the Bohemian king, the preacher persuaded the town to send a military expedition against Poděbrady's Silesian properties. Only the catastrophic defeat of the Wrocław army of the Bohemian king weakened Tempelfeld's position. The preacher preferred to resign his preaching prebendary in the parish church of Saint Elisabeth and withdrew under the protection of the chapter to the episcopal enclave on the island, Ostrów Tumski³⁶.

Final considerations

The conflict between the preacher and the town council for control of the town community was in fact an attempt to penetrate in various fields, in which public opinion was mutually shaped, with the use of different means of communication. Both parties endeavoured to promote their discourse also outside the church, or town hall, in other so-called public spaces³⁷. At the time of the weakening of central power, there was a disruption of the hierarchy of the dominion, a component of which was also the administration of the town headed by the councillors. In such a case, the town council had no choice but to strengthen its argumentation on acting for the general need or for the "general good", which legitimized the performance of power in that particular town. The term "municipality" and its functioning and addressing thus becomes a crucial point of the research of urban uprisings of the late medieval period. The status of the charismatic dominion for some time kept in the town was in all cases conditioned by a "religious struggle", which created the conditions for defining an effective denominator (salvation threatened by the injustice of the adversaries of the "true faith"), with which precisely the clergy could operate. The revolting preachers aspired in the pulpits at the will of the town councils and could for a certain time mine their dually bestowed authority. They became the interpreters of the Scripture and the will of the town councils. The moment the preacher was emancipated in his ascesis from the town council, an important instrument for addressing the community was taken from the hands of the councillors. We should not forget that according to a number of documents the dates of the convocation of the community, the new regulations of the

³⁶ Goliński, *Wrocław*, pp. 195–196.

³⁷ Pavel Soukup, „*Ne verbum Dei in nobis suffocetur*“. *Kommunikationstechniken von Predigern des frühen Hussitismus*, „Bohemia“, 48, 2008, pp. 54–82.

council and important reports from behind the city walls were announced from the pulpits. The preacher appearing in the pulpit addressed a communicationally shaped public, among whose members there were numerous ties. Although the charismatic rhetorician gave his *sermones* in the main town church, he spoke to a much more socially structured society than with which the town council came into common contact in the administration of the town. The position of the parish church brought to the church pews the members of the councillor elites living in the homes in the streets adjacent to the square and at the same time the church (and often also its foregate) was filled with crowds of the urban population expanding the social base of the participants of the urban revolts.

The state of the charismatic dominion was in stark contrast with the shared order of the urban society³⁸. The communicationally shaped public exposed to contact between the preacher and his audience encountered problems with the everyday functioning of urban society, the nonfulfillment of the expectations connected with a charged interpretation of Divine law, was subjected to external power pressure and also an escalating rejection on the part of the urban elites. It has already been said that an important instrument in the hands of the councillor class became the emphasis of the restoration of order. This joint motif also played a central role in the formation of the official town memory constructed by the town chroniclers. The withdrawal of the legitimacy of the preacher's activity was usually associated with accusations of violating town rights, abusing the crowd, and arbitrarily handling the community. It was reflected in the works of chroniclers were reflected in a number of remarkable details. We can remember only the calling for a gathering of the people by ringing the bells from another place than the town hall, the meetings with the council position outside of the council house or denying the sovereignty of the council over urban space. It shows that a study of the urban communities controlled by the preachers and the written memory of their activity presents a unique opportunity for a study of the instruments of medieval propaganda in the milieu of a mainly verbal culture. Through the connection of the theory of the social conflicts in the late medieval towns and communication studies it is thus possible to examine new aspects of religiously motivated violence in pre-Modern society, which were analogically described in the early part of the Reformation.

³⁸ Gerhard Krieger, *Vom charisma zur ratio. Zur Legitimation politischer Herrschaft im Spätmittelalter*, [in:] *Das Charisma. Funktionen und symbolische Repräsentationen*, eds. Pavlína Rychterová, Stefan Seit, Raphaela Veit, Berlin 2008, pp. 405–421.

WSTĘP DO REFORMACJI? KAZNODZIEJE MIEJSCY W CZASACH HUSYTÓW STRESZCZENIE

Autor zajął się przede wszystkim zbadaniem przypadków Pragi i Wrocławia, gdzie rady miejskie znajdowały się niekiedy pod presją tłumu kierowanego przez kaznodziejów. W badaniu takich zdarzeń (które często były gwałtowne) kilka obszarów analizy jest ze sobą powiązanych. Silną tradycję reprezentuje łączenie analizy konfliktów społecznych w środowisku miejskim wraz z analizą aktywności reformatorów kościelnych. Do tego autor dodał nowe impulsy w postaci badania zjawiska komunikacji. Analiza porównawcza koncentrowała się na sposobach zdobywania władzy i jej sprawowania, a także na strategiach postępowania elit miejskich, które czuły się zagrożone ze strony charyzmatycznych przywódców religijnych i dążyły do wyeliminowania ich dominacji.

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THE REFORMATION IN SILESIA

ABSTRACT: The author sees the dynamically running Reformation processes in Silesia as part of a pan-European phenomenon and points to the important role of the Reformation in shaping Silesian humanism. Following German historiography, he notes that literary works created in Silesia under the influence of the efforts to reform the Church had a great impact on the formation of the language and German national consciousness. The weakening of the progress of the Reformation in Silesia was influenced by the policy of the Habsburgs and the decisions of The Council of Trent, which initiated the Counter-Reformation activities. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that Czech historiography devoted not enough attention to research on Silesian issues, while the Czech context in the religious history of Silesia is very important. It is also not taken into account by Polish historiography, influenced by the achievements of German historians.

KEYWORDS: History of Religion, Central Europe, History of Silesia

Prologue: Disputes over faith, and the twilight of the Middle Ages

The Reformation is of extraordinary significance to not only European, but also Silesian history, since it fundamentally influenced the spheres of politics, thinking, culture and overall feeling of the Christian population during the given era. Medieval universalism in Silesia at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries was already fading, and religious practice was in discord with the ideas of Christianity¹. The

¹ It at the same time forms an inseparable part of the author's long-term research; the text is therefore also based on several of his earlier studies and monographs, which include references to archive material as well as to earlier regional literature: Radek Fukala, *Slezská reformace*, „Slezský sborník”, 98, 2000, pp. 241–263; *idem*, *Stavovská politika na Opavsku v letech 1490–1631*, Opava 2004; *idem*, *Náboženská politika markraběte Jiřího Braniborsko-Ansbašského v krnovském knížectví*, [in:] *Aristokratické rezidence a dvory v raném novověku*, eds. Václav Bůžek, Pavel Král, České Budějovice 1999

anxiety stirred by the apparent crisis and the nuisances of the late-medieval Church were a fertile ground for humanist intellectuals and reformers. They received a good deal of stimuli from Erasmus of Rotterdam who, at the dawn of the European modern times, attempted to develop a new concept of religious ethics. The prominent Dutch historian and cultural philosopher, Johan Huizinga, employed many explorations and cogent comparisons to show both how the Erasmus generation had clearly formulated their fears linked with anticipating the approaching Armageddon, and what the atmosphere of the “new golden age” was about². Similarly gloomy ideas can be found in the statements of Martin Luther and his students. But, although this theological and intellectual literature often breathes of desperation, we know today that far too many authors inhabiting the garden of the medieval autumn always kept somehow exaggerating in order to alert the sinners by threatening them with the imminent expiration of their term on the mundane world. Their words nevertheless also shyly resonate with optimism, for the righteous ones would definitely wait to see the end of their worries and fears³.

(Opera historica 7), pp. 535–557; *idem*, *Náboženství a protestantské školství za krnovského knížete Jiřího Friedricha*, [in:] *Sborník bruntálského muzea*, Bruntál 2000, pp. 25–39; *idem*, *Několik poznámek k počátkům reformace na Opavsku v letech 1524–1569*, [in:] *Opava. Sborník k dějinám města*, 2, Opava 2000, pp. 2–30; *idem*, *Politické a náboženské rozpory ve Slezsku 1520–1548. (Poznámky k problému “Reformace a země Koruny české”)*, Hradec Králové 2008 (Acta Universitatis Reginaehradecensis, Facultas Paedagogica. Humanistica I. – Miscellany), pp. 183–193; *idem*, *Die Rolle der Jägerndorfer Fürsten von Hohenzollern in der frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte Schlesiens*, [in:] *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations. Institute of World History – History of International Relations*, Praha 2001, pp. 5–26; *idem*, *Reformace ve Slezsku a na Opavsku*, Opava 2010 (Acta historica Universitatis Silesianae Opaviensis – Supplementa Tomus VI. Slezská univerzita v Opavě); *idem*, *Knížecí reformace ve Slezsku a její ohlas na Těšínsku (Książęca reformacja na Śląsku i jej odbiór w księstwie cieszyńskim/ Die herzogliche Reformation in Schlesien und ihre Annahme im Herzogtum Teschen)*, [in:] *Trzysta lat tolerancji na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. W trzystulecie założenia kościoła Jezusowego w Cieszyńie*, eds. Renata Czyż, Waclaw Gójniczek, Daniel Spratek, Cieszyn 2010, pp. 22–35.

² Comp. the classical and widely popular work on Burgundian and French late Middle Ages, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen – Herbst des Mittelalters*, Johan Huizinga, *Podzim středověku*, Jinočany 1999, esp. pp. 47–55; Polish edition *idem*, *Jesień średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 54–80.

³ Some social and mental transformations were explained by Jean Delumeau, *Hřích a strach. Pocit viny na evropském Západě ve 13. až 18. století*, Praha 1998; *idem*, *Strach na Západě ve 14–18. století*, *Obležená obec*, I–II, Praha 1997–1999; *idem*, *La Civilisation de la Renaissance*, Paris 1967. Several works by French historians are also worth mentioning in this context: Pierre Chaunu, *Dobrodružství reformace. Světa Jana Kalvína*, Brno 2001; Georges Live, *Náboženské války*, Praha 1995. On this, comp. the Czech view in Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, Praha 2001; as to the view of the German environment, see, e.g., Richard van Dülmen, *Religion und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zu einer Religionsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main 1989; *idem*, *Kultura a každodenní život v raném novověku (16.–18. století)*, Part 3: *Náboženství, magie, osvícenství*, Praha 2006; on the same subject discussed from the Polish viewpoint see, e.g., Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja, kontrreformacja, tolerancja*, Wrocław 1996.

It is rather unambiguous that, via an inspiring new approach to faith and proclaiming a pluralist understanding of faith and religious individualism, the Reformation played a crucial role in developing a new religiosity. It was, however, definitely not a uniform religious movement, since many of its proposers and supporters would wend their own, individual ways at least before the new Church codes were issued and well-organized and homogeneous religious communities were formed. This enormously exciting and thrilling period, aptly called the confessional era of European history by modern historians, undoubtedly began with Martin Luther's opposition against the papal authority⁴. His so-called Ninety-Five Wittenberg Theses were rather passionately discussed during the winter of 1517/18 not only throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Silesia (and especially its capital, Wrocław [Breslau] was not above these discussions, either⁵.

How did Silesia actually respond to the Reformation? And how did the process influence, and how significant was it for, the local religious life, political events and, last but not least, culture? The Reformation must first of all be viewed as being closely connected with humanism and Renaissance⁶; an argument that should underline the religious and sociological subject – because Silesia was definitely not a marginal and insignificant region within the lands of the Bohemian Crown. The dynamic development of Protestantism in the country forms an inseparable part of the pan-European religious process, called “the second Reformation” by some historians. It is a historical stage characteristic of inhabitants fluctuating between various confessional tendencies⁷.

⁴ After all, Martin Luther with his strong mystical faith still belonged to the Middle Ages, as is well illustrated by his ruminations on sin. In Luther's interpretation, man is burdened by ancestral sin and left at the mercy of God Almighty. Here, we refer to the comprehensive and fundamental edition: Martin Luther, *Weimarer Ausgabe: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 1–4, Weimar 1883–1886, reprint Graz 1964–1972, Part I: *Schriften, Predigten, Vorlesungen, Disputationen*, 65 Vols, Part II: *Tischreden*, 6 Vols, Part III: *Die Deutsche Bibel*, 12 parts, 4 Vols, Part IV: *Briefwechsel*, 18 Vols.

⁵ Kazimiera Maleczyńska, *Pisma Lutra we Wrocławiu w XVI i XVII w.*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 39, 1984, pp. 485–492. For more details on the other events, see Johannes Soffner, *Geschichte der Reformation in Schlesien*, Breslau 1887; Gerhard Eberlein, *Die Verhandlungen besonders der Breslauer in den Jahren 1526 und 1527*, „Zeitschrift des Vereines für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens” (further quoted: ZVGAS), 36, 1901, pp. 29–58; Kurt Engelbert, *Die Anfänge der lutherischen Bewegung in Breslau und Schlesien*, „Archiv für schlesischen Kirchengeschichte”, 18–22, 1960–1964, esp. 18, pp. 121–207, 19, pp. 165–232, 20, pp. 291–372.

⁶ As to religious and cultural aspects, comp. Jan Harasimowicz, *Śląski luteranizm wieku Reformacji – Próba charakterystyki*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 39, 1984, esp. pp. 505–516.

⁷ Comp. the stimuli provided by some Czech Protestant historians: Noemi Rejchrtová, *Přehled literatury k upřesnění pojmů “reformace – protireformace – tolerance”*. *Prolegomena*, „Český časopis historický”, 89, 1991, pp. 787–796; Amedeo Molnár, *Na rozhraní věků. Cesty reformace*, Praha 1985.

The echoes of Luther's appearance in Silesia

As one of the largest and the most prosperous Central-European cities, Wrocław, among others, naturally attracted the Protestant intellectual world. The social anxiety and the waves of turbulence in the Silesian capital were the results of the phenomenon that affected numerous lands of the Holy Roman Empire, with one of their significant components being Bohemia and the interlinked Silesia. The discontent over the ethic decadence of the prelates and priesthood and monkhood was omnipresent. The roots of the evil and the debauched lifestyle of the Catholic representatives made even the latest Opole (Oppeln) Piast Duke, John (Johann) II, called "the Good", file a complaint to the pope in 1524⁸. The representatives of the Wrocław chapter responded to the call for reforming the contemporary Church by a critical replica to Bishop John V Thurzó of Bethlenfalva, stating that if he wanted to restore the moral of the Church machinery, he himself would have to abandon his unbridled pursuit of Mammon and quit gambling⁹. The pernicious behavior of the Church leaders and the common people's critical response to it was no secret to the Podiebrad Duke, Charles I of Münsterberg-Oels; he was well aware of that and even uttered a sigh in a letter to his sister Margaret on 26 March 1524, stating that unless the developments in the country change, the clergy could most probably face massive bloodshed¹⁰.

⁸ On the personality of the Opole duke, see Zygmunt Boras, *Książęta piastowscy Śląska*, Katowice 1982, pp. 319–345; on the situation in the Opole region, comp., most recently, ed. Bogusław Czechowicz, *Księstwa opolskie i raciborskie. Terytoria – struktury elity – dziedzictwo*, Opole 2015; the edition still relevant for the Opole region is *Registrum st. Wenceslai*, Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, VI., eds. Wilhelm Wattenbach, Colmar Grünhagen, VI, Breslau 1865.

⁹ Comp. the 1511 appeal of the Wrocław chapter addressed to Thurzó; see Ewa Maleczyńska, *Fryderyk II legnicki wobec lewego nurtu reformacji na Śląsku*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechosłowackich*, 1, Wrocław 1960, p. 228.

¹⁰ As to the letter, comp. Carl Adolph Schimmelpfennig, *Herzog Karl I. von Münsterberg-Oels und seine Schwester Margaretha von Anhalt. Nach ungedruckten Briefen aus den Jahren 1503–1530*, ZVGAS, 18, 1884, p. 130. On Duke Charles I of Münsterberg, comp. Radek Fukala, *Karel I. Minsterberský – politik příležitosti a činu*, [in:] ed. Vladimír Wolf, *Od Žižky k Poděbradům*, Hradec Králové 2006 (Acta Universitatis Reginaehradecensis, Facultatis Studiorum Humanorum, Historica I), Hradec Králové 2006, pp. 189–200; *idem*, *Minsterberští bratrance ve víru jagellonské politiky*, [in:] eds. Ondřej Felcman, Radek Fukala, *Poděbradové. Rod českomoravských pánů, kladských hrabat a slezských knížecí*, Praha 2008, pp. 139–161; *idem*, *Karel I. Minsterberský a epitař Kristus na Olivetské hoře*, [in:] ed. Bogusław Czechowicz, *Ziębice – miasto św. Jerzego. Dzieje i kultura dawnej stolicy książęcej (Minsterberk – město sv. Jiří. Dějiny a kultura bývalého knížecího sídla)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 63–75. On the duke's religion, faith and politics see also Joachim Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit: die Länder der böhmischen Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)*, München 1994, pp. 56–168.

The diminishing respect for Catholicism in the country went hand in hand with the apparently fading glory of the Wrocław episcopal court, although the city in 1500 still symbolized a stronghold of the anti-Hussite forces and was one of the largest cities in the lands of the Bohemian Crown; German historians even claimed that it could rightly compare itself with Cologne and Strasbourg. It presented its wealth and religious efforts not only via its beautiful and magnificent cathedral, but also by the two churches situated right in its center – the St Mary Magdalene, parading 58 lavishly decorated altarpieces, and St Elisabeth, with its 47 altarpieces. Everything simply seemed to be on a fair way as far as the future development of Catholicism was concerned. The Wrocław bishops occupied a fore position in the country due to their religious and political power – but, against the background of the late-Gothic architecture and the first blows of the triumphing Renaissance and humanism, the forthcoming years bore cardinal religious confrontation¹¹. Such a mighty and alluring tendency in the spiritual sphere could not be forestalled by any single significant figure from within the diocese. It could only be somewhat hindered, and moreover at the cost of extraordinary heroism. It would be an act of much courage and a great deal of diplomatic foresight and tact.

Religious life in Silesia arrived at a fundamental turning point under the reign of the Jagiellonian Louis II of Hungary. Luther's appearance encountered an immensely positive response, and his teachings soon spread from the city to the villages. It was predominantly Luther's leading followers, i.e. humanists, learned theologians and students, who disseminated the new religious ideas. The period between 1517 and 1520 thus witnessed a dramatic process bursting behind the Wrocław bulwarks, viewed as the Lutheran era by historians and Protestant theoreticians. Relevant religious treatises and transcriptions of spoken lectures were published in print, and worshippers would eagerly listen to the new preaching and indulge in the new religious leaflets. At the same time, Luther's appeals and his criticism of the Catholic Church naturally found their reflections in the sphere of fine arts¹².

¹¹ Comp. Radek Fukala, *Silesia in the Early Modern History of the Bohemian Lands (1526–1740)*, [in:] Lenka Bobková, Radek Fukala, *Silesia as Part of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, vol. II *Silesia. A Pearl in the Bohemian Crown. History. Culture. Art*, Prague 2007, pp. 54–79.

¹² Jan Harasimowicz, *Mors janua vitae. Śląskie epitafia i nagrobki wieku reformacji*, Wrocław 1992; *idem*, *Rola sztuki w religijnych i społecznych konfliktów wieku Reformacji na Śląsku*, „Rocznik Historii Sztuki”, 18, 1990, pp. 31–94; *idem*, *Treści i funkcje ideowe sztuki śląskiej Reformacji 1520–1650*, Wrocław 1986 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No. 819). The duchy patronage and the cultural aspects were most recently and very precisely discussed in Bogusław Czechowicz, *Dwie drogi? Fryderyk II legnicko-brzeski i Karol I ziębicko-oleśnicki oraz ich siedziby w Legnicy*

The early modern-time Silesian Estates' society experienced a progressive struggle for the future direction of the Reformation process. The vast majority of the Silesian duchy families adopted Luther's teachings with zeal, responding most warmly to his conservative social policy. Nonetheless, they disapproved of the revolutionary aspects present and the radical opposition of the Christians against the Church authorities, for their fear of rebellion and violence clearly outweighed their sympathy for the persecuted heretics in this respect and resulted in a sound disagreement with such radical theologians as, for instance, Thomas Müntzer. And yet, most dukes were found abandoning their previous confession readily, because they indeed cherished the idea of secularizing Church property and imposing more control over the religious community. Exactly this viewpoint will serve here to apply the German historical concept of "the duchy Reformation" on the Silesian religious milieu, no matter that it is somehow misleading and gives nowhere near a true picture of the entire Reformation process as it evolved throughout the region¹³.

Different ways of perceiving the Reformation in the country

The Reformation in Silesia with its social requirements did not introduce any similar new spirit into the local society as it did in Germany, where an extensive peasant rebellion erupted between 1524 and 1525. The decisive motivation forces of the new religious tendency in Silesia became, on the contrary, the dukes, headed by the members of the Hohenzollern court in Krnov (Jägerndorf) and their Piast relatives in Legnica (Liegnitz) and Brzeg (Brieg). Referring to the freedom of Christians, they solely followed religious, political and economic interests; any radical and social challenges were totally alien to the elite and the leading prerequisite for the faith to them was the Bible. The given process can thus also be labeled "Reformation from above". An exception to this perhaps was Duke Frederick (Friedrich) II of Legnica who for some time supported even those being somewhat "left" of Luther's program¹⁴. The Silesian power elites in general consistently impeded the "people's Reformation" and, having the increasing violence of the

i Ząbkowicach Śląskich, „Szkice Legnickie”, 28, 2007, pp. 23–54; esp. in his cardinal monograph, *idem*, *Książęcy mecenat artystyczny na Śląsku u schyłku średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2005.

¹³ On this, comp. the fundamental German work by Norbert Conrads, *Schlesiens frühe Neuzeit (1469–1740)*, [in:] *Schlesien. Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, Berlin 1994 (2nd edition Berlin 2002), Polish edition *idem*, *Książęta i stany. Historia Śląska (1469–1740)*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 45–84.

¹⁴ Maleczyńska, *Fryderyk II legnicki wobec lewego nurtu reformacji*, pp. 228–231.

peasants in the German territory in close view, rigidly ignored all the radical elements of the Protestant movement¹⁵.

An utterly different understanding of the Reformation reigned throughout the countryside, where an absolute majority of the population – including even those on the estates of the Catholic authorities – was swiftly adopting the new creed. Peasants were moreover often widely supported by townspeople who claimed the kingdom of God on Earth where all would be equal. A rather peculiar group was the followers of Caspar Schwenckfeld, active in the Legnica and Brzeg regions¹⁶. These were gradually joined by the malcontents from Kłodzko (Glatz), where the influence of Utraquism and Anabaptism were apparent¹⁷. Neither the enforcement of the radical tendency nor the authors of most various social programs in the northern parts of the pre-White-Mountain Bohemia, however, could have hitherto been precisely described due to the continuing lack of more exact analytic studies. And yet, the “folk” tendency of the Reformation did exist there, as is clearly proved by the Silesian variant of Rudolf’s Letter of Majesty which vindicated religious freedom not only to the ducal and noble strata and burghers, but also to the peasantry. The document is an indubitable testimony of the radical preacher’s activities spreading among the countryside population, as well as of the increasing tendencies towards open resistance, and was aimed at fundamental social change both in the lands of Bohemia and the subsidiary lands of the Bohemian Crown¹⁸.

¹⁵ Leokadia Matusik, *Śląskie kontakty późnoruskie i brackie do r. 1548*, [in:] Ewa Maleczyńska *et al.*, *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechosłowackich*, Wrocław 1960, pp. 183–223.

¹⁶ Maleczyńska, *Fryderyk II legnicki wobec lewego nurtu reformacji*, p. 232; Horst Weigelt, *Spiritualistische Tradition im Protestantismus. Das Schwenckfeldertum in Schlesien*, Berlin–New York 1973; *idem*, *The Schwenckfelders in Silesia*, Pennsburg, Pa. 1985; Georg H. Williams, *Caspar Schwenckfeld and the Royal Way*, [in:] *Schwenckfeld and Early Schwenckfeldianism*, ed. Peter C. Erb, Pennsburg, Pa. 1986, pp. 11–26; Gabriela Wąs, *Kaspar von Schwenckfeld. Myśl i działalność do 1534 roku*, Wrocław 2005.

¹⁷ For more details on the neophytes, see František Hrub, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren*. „Archiv für Reformationgeschichte”, 30–32, 1933–1935, pp. 1–36, 170–211; 61–102; 1–49; most recently, e.g., Jaroslav Pánek, *Moravští novokřtění. Společenské a politické postavení předbělohorských heretiků, sociálních reformátorů a pacifistů*, „Český časopis historický”, 92, 1994, pp. 242–256. On the religious situation in Kłodzko see, most recently, Arno Herzig, *Reformatorsche Bewegungen und Konfessionalisierung. Die habsburgische Rekatholisierungspolitik in der Grafschaft Glatz*, Hamburg 1996, pp. 20–45; also see Arno Herzig, Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje ziemi kłodzkiej*, Hamburg–Wrocław 2008, pp. 97–120.

¹⁸ Colmar Grünhagen, *Schlesien unter Rudolf II. und der Maiestätbrief (1574–1609)*, ZVGAS, 20, 1886, pp. 54–96; Jaroslav Goll, *O slezském majestátě Rudolfa II.*, „Časopis Českého muzea”, 48, 1874, s. 3–22; Joachim Bahlcke, *Könfederation und Widerstand. Die politischen Beziehungen der böhmischen und mährischen Ständegemeinde vom Bruderzwist bis zum Aufstand gegen Habsburg (1608–1619)*, „Folia historica Bohemica”, 13, 1990, pp. 244–249. The variant of the radical program

The Church crisis was leaving its traces on all sides. Under the episcopacy of the humanist bishops John Thurzó and Jacob Salza, the consequences deduced from it by the leading Catholic representatives also influenced secular power – in an effort to halt the Reformation process in Wrocław, the Jagiellonian King Louis of Hungary issued a letter forbidding the reproduction of Luther's writings in 1521. The royal decree, nevertheless, touched a raw nerve and steered the reformed theologians towards even more feverish activity. The leaders of the Wrocław Protestants were two significant preachers – the popular provost Ambrosius Moibanus (1494–1554) from the St Elisabeth church, and the “apostle of the Silesian Reformation” and a member of the Podiebrad court, Dr Johann Hess (1490–1547)¹⁹. They both were advocates of humanism and promoters of the new ideas aimed at reforming the Church. That, however, does not mean that they would be ready to establish a new Church; they solely wanted to rectify the existing one, preaching that a man can do the good and please the Lord simply by leading a devout life. In the Silesian capital, they basically embodied a compromise between the “duchy Reformation” (*Fürstenreformation*) and the “people's Reformation” (*landeständische Reformation*), and simultaneously were representatives of the “reformation of the city council” (*Ratsreformation*)²⁰.

The foundation stone of the far-reaching Reformation in Silesia had undoubtedly been laid not only by Johann Hess and Ambrosius Moibanus in Wrocław, but also the silver-tongued Lower-Silesian preacher, Caspar Schwenckfeld. The activity of the three had a decisive impact on the religious situation across the country,

of the Reformation in Wrocław is rather apparent from the existence of a pulpit or, respectively, its 19th-century copy; as to this, comp. Piotr Oszczanowski, *Pierwsza protestancka ambona kościoła św. Barbary we Wrocławiu*, „Dzieła i Interpretacje”, 3, 1995, pp. 81–85. On the publication of the document and the religious events see, in general, Jiří Just, *9.7.1609. Rudolfův Majestát. Světla a stíny náboženské svobody*, Praha 2009.

¹⁹ Radek Fukala, *Jan Hess a počátky slezské reformace (Johann Hess i początki śląskiej reformacji/Johann Heß und die Anfänge der Reformation in Schlesien)*, [in:] *Śródmiejska katedra kościół św. Marii Magdaleny w dziejach i kulturze Wrocławia*, Ed. Bogusław Czechowicz, Wrocław 2010, pp. 345–354.

²⁰ Julius Köstlin, *Johann Hess, der breslauer Reformator*, ZVGAS, 6, 1864, pp. 97–131, 181–265; *idem*, *Die Thesen der Disputation des Johann Hess vom 20. April 1524 in deutschen Texte*, ZVGAS, 10, 1871, pp. 369–372; also see Carl Adolph J. Kolde, *Dr. J. Hess, d. schles. Reformator*, Breslau 1846; as to Moiban's activity, comp. Alfred Sabisch, *Der Messcanon des Breslauer Pfarrers Dr. Ambrosius Moibanus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des protestantischen Gottesdienst in Schlesien in den ersten Jahrzehnten der Glaubensspaltung*, „Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, III, 1938, pp. 98–126; and also Paul Konrad, *Dr. Ambrosius Moibanus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirche und Schule Schlesiens im Reformationszeitalter*, Halle 1891 (Schr. d. Ver. f. Reformationsgesch., 34); *idem*, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Breslau und Schlesien*, Breslau 1917.

and they had a fundamental share in developing the first stage of the Reformation there. Johann Hess arrived in Wrocław from Nuremberg and ranked among the leading humanists at the episcopal court of John Thurzó²¹. This distinguished expert in Classical literature as well as in Luther's writings became zealously enthused by the ideas of Philipp Melanchthon, the future representative of crypto-Calvinism. At the beginning of the century, he served as a private teacher to the Münsterberg Podiebrad dukes and formed the religious standpoints of Charles I, Duke of Münsterberg-Oels. And although Hess was a high dignitary of the Wrocław diocese, he resigned from all his positions and publicly turned to the Reformation. Interestingly, his evangelical teaching influenced many members of the episcopal court in Olomouc²². He launched his career within the ranks of the Silesian Protestants by a public dispute held in the Wrocław Augustinian monastery in August 1525, and his sermons were soon attended by considerable numbers of those who craved pure teaching²³. It was due to him that the Reformation seized not only Wrocław but also the entire Lower Silesia to an unprecedented extent²⁴.

Provost Moibanus enjoyed equal success with his preaching and, mainly, his activities in the fields of organization and law. The Protestant school rules, which he co-wrote with the Wrocław burgher Hans Metzlar in 1528, became a model for countless Silesian cities and towns. In addition, Moibanus initiated the new Church code (*Ordnung der kirchen zu Breslawe*), eventually issued by the Wrocław city council in 1550. Caspar Schwenckfeld, holding his services in the Legnica church of St John, then, became a kind of a prophet for the Silesian Reformation²⁵. His sermons deeply impressed Duke Frederick II of Legnica, who wished to establish a Protestant academy in his city. Although Schwenckfeld later broke with his benefactor, he affected his religious and political views to such an extent that the duke became a protector of the Reformation and advocated the supporters of

²¹ Gustav Bauch, *Johann Thurzo und Johann Hess*, ZVGAS 36, 1901, p. 217.

²² As to the intellectual contacts between the Wrocław and Olomouc episcopal courts, comp. Ivo Hlobil, Eduard Petrů, *Humanismus a raná renesance na Moravě*, Praha 1992, pp. 129–150.

²³ Franz Machilek, *Reformation und Gegenreformation in Schlesien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Oberschlesiens. Eine Einführung*, [in:] *Reformation und Gegenreformation in Oberschlesien*, Berlin 1994, p. 17.

²⁴ Also comp. his disputations in the Wrocław church, held with the representatives of the Unity of the Brethren: Antonín Rezek, *Eine Unterredung der böhmischen Brüder mit Dr. Joh. Hess im Jahre 1540*, ZVGAS, 18, 1884, pp. 287–295.

²⁵ Gabriela Wąs, *Początki reformacji legnickiej w świetle relacji Sebastiana Schubarta*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo reformacji w księstwie legnicko-brzeskim (Das Erbe der Reformation in den Fürstentümern Liegnitz und Brieg)*, eds. Jan Harasimowicz, Aleksandra Lipińska, Legnica 2007, pp. 91–120.

Luther's teaching at assemblies. Many of his contemporaries looked up to him as the figure who truly rounded off the Reformation process in the country, since the religious changes did not stop even after the arrival of Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, to the Bohemian throne²⁶.

Silesian society in the times of turbulence

Following the 1526 Mohács disaster when Ferdinand I was elected the king, one of the candidates to the Bohemian throne – the Silesian Duke Frederick II of Legnica – was the consistent supporter of the Reformation movement. At that time, Lutheranism had already begun to be professed by worshippers in many other cities: Jawor (Jauer), Bolesławiec (Bunzlau), Milicz (Militsch), Namysłów (Namslau), Środa Śląska (Neumarkt), Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg), Brzeg, Krnov, Głubczyce (Leobschütz) and Opava (Troppau). The territories in the property of the Podiebrad dukes – the Ziębice (Münsterberg), Ząbkowice Śląskie (Frankenstein) and Oleśnica (Oels) regions – underwent a busy religious development, too, and the Wołów (Wohlau) region turned Protestant after validating the new Church code in 1535 as well²⁷. The echo of the Reformation was apparently spreading like an avalanche in Silesia. It somehow cooled down temporarily afterwards, but came back to life again in the 1530s even in Wrocław where the city council officially adopted the Augsburg confession²⁸.

Soon after, the Reformation broke out in the Żagań (Sagan) Duchy, when the feoff's proprietor, the Wettin Duke Henry of Saxony, definitely became inclined to the Protestant authorities. Luther's influence moreover increased throughout the free Lower-Silesian estates, i.e. Bytom Odrzański – Siedlisko (Beuthen an der Oder – Carolath) and Żmigród (Trachenberg), and it became influential in the Upper-Silesian territory as well. The Reformation in Upper Silesia was outwardly supported

²⁶ Antonín Rezek, *Nové příspěvky k volbě české r. 1526*, Praha 1882, p. 9; many facts can be found in the synthesis by Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit*, pp. 138–148.

²⁷ On these events see, most recently, Bogusław Czechowicz, *Monety – Zamek – Nagrobek. Księżę Karol I z Podiebradów (1476–1536) między dziedzictwem przodków a dokonaniem potomków*, Wrocław–Červený Kostelec 2015, pp. 54–63. As to the religious policy of the scions of King George of Podiebrad in Silesia, comp. Radek Fukala, *Minstrbersko-olešnická knížata v období reformace a renesance. Potomci slezského knížete Karla I. Minstrbersko-Olešnického*, [in:] *Slezsko – země Koruny české. Historie a kultura 1300–1740. Národní galerie v Praze*, eds. Helena Dáňová, Jan Klípa, Lenka Stolarová, Praha 2008, pp. 191–205.

²⁸ Gustav Bauch, *Zur Breslauer Reformationsgeschichte*, ZVGAS, 41, 1907, pp. 336–352.

by Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, who began to strictly repress the earlier Church institutions in the Krnov, Bohumín (Oderberg) and Bytom (Beuthen O. S.) regions, and issued a new Church code for the Opole and Racibórz (Ratibor) regions in 1532. In addition, not only were the margrave's officials avid promoters of Lutheranism; so also were the newcomers from Franconia and the Ore Mountains active in the mining areas, especially the Tarnowskie Góry (Tarnowitz)²⁹.

The population in the Cieszyn (Teschen) region was rather responsive to Luther's program, too; it did not fall behind the neighboring Opava and Krnov regions, and its duchy council permitted the Augsburg confession in 1540. When Duke Wenceslaus III Adam attained his majority and took over the reign, the religious situation in the entire region after 1545 definitely changed. The Franciscan monastery in Cieszyn almost perished and the Dominicans were expelled from the city. The Benedictines in Orlová (Orlau) faced a similar fate³⁰, and the nearby Pszyczna (Pless) did not withstand the Reformation blast either. The estate which did not succumb to the new trends, on the contrary, was Wódzisław Śląski (Loslau) where religious life remained under the influence of Kraków. As a result of the lukewarm resistance of the Wrocław bishop, Protestants could also be found in Nysa (Neisse) and in the Grodków (Grottkau) region. In Wrocław alone, the old Catholic Church only retained its power at the Tum and the Sand islands, while the first cathedral chapter reported in 1549 that it merely controlled about 50 churches across the diocese. Thus, Silesia during the pre-White-Mountain era became a typical Protestant country which, due to adopting both the Luther's ideas and the ideas of his predecessor, John Huss, became very closely affiliated to the Czech lands. This solidarity lasted as long as to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War³¹.

²⁹ Othmar Karzel, *Die Reformation in Oberschlesien*, Würzburg 1979. On the activities of the Krnov duke see, e.g., Iselin Gundermann, *Markgraf Georg von Brandenburg-Ansbach und die Einführung der Reformation in Oberschlesien*, [in:] *Reformation und Gegenreformation in Oberschlesien. Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien*, Berlin 1994, pp. 31–45; Radek Fukala, *Hohenzollernové v evropské politice 16. století. Mezi Ansbachem, Krnovem a Královcem (1523–1603)*, Praha 2005, pp. 60–85.

³⁰ Gottlieb Biermann, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Oesterreichisch-Schlesiens mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die der Gnadenkirche von Teschen*, Teschen 1859; *idem*, *Historia wiary ewangelickiej w Śląsku Austriackim, z osobliwym względem na dzieje ewangelickiego kościoła z łaski danego przed Cieszynem*, Cieszyn 1859; most recently, see Oskar Wagner, *Mutterkirche vieler Länder. Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche im Herzogtum Teschen 1545–1918/1920*, Wien–Köln–Graz 1978; *idem*, *Kościół Macierzysty wielu krajów. Historia Kościoła Ewangelickiego w Księstwie Cieszyńskim w latach 1545–1918/20*, Cieszyn 2009; *Trzysta lat tolerancji na Śląsku Cieszyńskim, passim*.

³¹ Alfred Sabisch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Breslauer Bischofs Balthasar von Promnitz, 1539–1562*, I, Breslau 1936; *idem*, *Die Bischöfe von Breslau und die Reformation in Schlesien. Jakob*

Silesia predominantly adopted the Reformation in its “duchy” form, and the radical tendencies were gradually pushed to the back seat. In the Legnica and Brzeg regions, this situation reflected itself in the words and acts of Caspar Schwenckfeld, who took his own path when Duke Frederick II publicly converted to Lutheranism. According to the embittered Silesian mystic and preacher, Luther *brought us out of Egypt, taking us across the Red Sea to the desert, but then he left us there; we wander haphazardly, trying to convince ourselves that we have already reached the Promised Land*³². The Piast Duke Frederick II of Legnica, although initially in favor of the court preacher, followed the instruction of the Krnov duke known as George the Pious, and distanced himself from the Schwenckfeldians. Lutheranism thus became an official doctrine in the duchy, being most strongly represented in Lower Silesia by the Piast dukes up to the late 16th century.

In the meantime in the Lower-Silesian Brzeg, George the Pious managed to establish close contacts with the local Piast duchy family, related by kinship with the Jagiellonian dynasty and the scions of the Bohemian King George of Podiebrad. The Habsburg hegemonic requirements towards the Krnov duke as to the Opole-Racibórz inheritance resulted in continuously hostile relations between the Hohenzollerns and Vienna and, in reverse, in a much tighter alliance between George the Pious and Frederick II of Legnica and Brzeg, while the latter often acted as a mediator in the political relations between Buda, Kraków (Krakau), Vienna and Prague. The religious conflict thus unwittingly drew the Hohenzollern and Piast interests in the northern part of the Bohemian state closer together, with the support of the related Podiebrads and in part also the duchy court in Cieszyn. It is known that a historical role of an individual has its limits and cannot exceed the framework of certain shifts within the society. The same holds true for the ambitious dukes who achieved many successes in the religious sphere. It was thanks to their adroit moves and bright decisions that the Reformation in Silesia did not end up as transitory³³.

The most serious drawback of the Reformation process in Silesia was the absence of any united Protestant Church, since the Wrocław bishop retained the position of the main patron of the individual parishes, and it was solely upon his

von Salza († 1539) und Balthasar von Promnitz († 1562) in ihrer glaubensmässigen und kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzung mit den Anhängern der Reformation, Münster (Westf.) 1975, esp. p. 93.

³² Translated into English after the author's quote from the Czech translation of Delumeau, *Strach na Západě*, II, p. 255.

³³ Radek Fukala, *Silesia: the Society of Elites. Silesian Dukes and Estates (1437–1740)*, Ústí nad Orlicí 2008.

consideration whether he would let the preachers work in their churches or not. But the Wrocław bishops and their successors unfortunately could not capitalize on this opportunity for long, either. Up to the arrival of Rudolf's Letter of Majesty, the co-existence of the Catholic and Augsburg creeds was basically illegal in the Silesian territory. Protestants began seeking an optimum solution only as late as in 1609 when the evangelical consistories in the Silesian duchies began developing their own program after the Saxon example and when their strongest unit became the Legnica-Brzeg structure of organization and administration. Up to the late 16th century, the preachers could be consecrated by bishops, and then the synod selected the superintendants and seniors of the Protestant Church. The ordinations were carried out either in Wittenberg or in the Legnica and Brzeg Duchy and later, also in the Brandenburg Frankfurt an der Oder³⁴.

During the entire pre-White-Mountain period, a very significant role was played by the efforts of the Silesian power elites, aimed at founding a university and thus ensuring their own education of students and young clerical blood³⁵. Until then, most Silesians would acquire their high education abroad, with the most prestigious institutions being in Kraków, Leipzig, Wittenberg and Italy, while the university in Frankfurt an der Oder had achieved a certain credit as well. Many leading figures of Silesian political and cultural life therefore found the idea of having a Silesian university immensely attractive, and it could be heard, with several interruptions, from as early as the arrival of the Jagiellonian Vladislaus II of Hungary in Bohemia. The first substantial step in this respect was taken by the Legnica-Brzeg Piast Duke Frederick II, who deputed the task of establishing a Protestant university to the humanist pedagogue Valentin Trotzendorf³⁶. The duke's ideas, however, were to be brought to life not only by Trotzendorf, but also the learned member of the Wrocław chapter, Valentin Krautwald (1490–1545). The concept of the Legnica school was a major subject of disputes among humanist scholars. Trotzendorf and his followers and students later switched to Złotoryja

³⁴ Gerhard Eberlein, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnung Schlesiens im 16. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Silesica. Festschrift Colmar Grünhagen*, Breslau 1898, pp. 215–234, esp. p. 232.

³⁵ As to the previous contacts with the Kraków university, comp. Gustav Bauch, *Schlesien und die Universität Krakau im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ZVGAS, 41, 1907, pp. 99–180; also, e.g., Carsten Rabe, *Alma Mater Leopoldina. Kolleg und Universität der Jesuiten in Breslau 1638–1811*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1999.

³⁶ Gustav Bauch, *Valentin Trotzendorf und die Goldberger Schule*, Berlin 1921; *idem*, *Geschichte d. Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation*, Breslau 1911 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae 26).

(Goldberg), where his academic grammar school eventually gained Central-European reputation and, as a consequence, came to be a halfway house between city schools and universities. In addition, the Złotoryja institute embodied a remarkable progress in the development of not only Silesian, but also Bohemian and Moravian education, attracting countless outstanding figures of the Bohemian and Moravian Estates' society – including the legendary imperial commander, Albrecht of Wallenstein – up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Equally, there was much call for the Silesian preceptors from the Bohemian and Moravian nobility. Yet another attempt at raising the quality of Protestant education in Silesia came from George Schönaich whose school of pedagogy in Bytom Odrzański enjoyed rather decent reception thanks to Caspar Dornavius.

The distinguished Silesian humanists who embraced the Reformation or at least viewed it as a source of inspiration were, among others, Laurentius Corvinus, Bartholomäus Stenus, Dominicus Schleupner and Franz Faber, along with the above-mentioned Valentin Trotzendorf, Valentin Krautwald and Ambrosius Moiban. It would not be correct to assume that the Silesian dukes with their energetic interventions and patronage were the only instigators of the cultural and religious rise of the early-modern time Silesia, for mainly the intellectual strata and their school structures had their extraordinary share in the process. This condition conspicuously reflected itself in the overall Silesian school system, formed by a total of 103 city and Latin institutions, including 37 lower schools, 51 grammar schools and 15 lyceums. The most famed were the Latin schools near the churches of St Mary Magdalene and St Elisabeth in Wrocław, which both soon became exemplary for the Brzeg Piast grammar school.

The reformed Silesian education represented a very strong and accelerating impulse for the heyday of Protestant literature and music. The local language began to be strongly fostered alongside the universal Latin writing. A noticeable expansion of German in the field of religious literature also steered the printing plants in the Silesian cities towards more intense production. And although this issue is not the main subject of interest in this paper, it must be noted that books had undoubted contemporary relevance and were especially important for the Reformation. The Lutheran education acts resulted from the reformers' efforts in the sphere of educating theologians and the rising generations. The respectable 1566 Wittenberg edition of Trotzendorf's *Catechis scholae Goldpergensis* even underlines the religious and social significance of the pre-White-Mountain Silesian literature. The work

vividly illustrates school practice in the lands of the Bohemian Crown already prior to the arrival of John Amos Comenius, and it introduced the Silesian Protestant intellectuals to the positive aspects of education and teaching religious subjects. Naturally, the treatise by Trotzendorf was not an isolated event within Silesian book production; the hymnal by George Tranoscius (Třanovský), for example, enjoyed similar success in Central Europe, perfectly serving many generations of Protestant worshippers across the Slavonic language sphere³⁷. It is therefore apparent that Silesia was an open country that fused not only various local influences, but also impulses provided by the European reformers and humanists. After all, even many German historians have described the Silesian Protestant milieu as a bridge connecting the imperial territory and the Carpathian and Baltic regions³⁸.

One's affinity to a particular style of confession played a distinct role in the tight web of pre-White-Mountain social relations in Silesia, and it was not so only in the political, but also the economic and cultural sectors. German historians have long been pointing out that the Reformation literature supported German national awareness in Silesia. The enormous upswing of German literature at that time, however, should be neither overstated nor idealized, for the cultivators and representatives of culture were arriving in Silesia not just from the Empire, but also other neighboring countries. The cultural and religious development of the Silesian region was most vigorously prompted by the local scholars, painters, sculptors, authors and, last but not least, university masters. It was due to all of them that the northern part of the Bohemian pre-White-Mountain state ranked among the advanced lands of the Central-European Habsburg monarchy, and it certainly would not be right to assume *ex parte* that solely the German-speaking element was initiative and enterprising. The decisive aspect here was, rather, the economic and social roots of the land which was willing to accept the impulses of Luther's, Calvin's, Melancthon's, Hubmaier's, and also Huss' teaching. The wide scale of religious opinions, the co-existence of various confessions, the rich palette of works

³⁷ The monograph available in Czech is Andělín Grobelný, *Jiří Třanovský. Materiály k životopisu*, Opava 1956.

³⁸ The thesis on Silesia as a transitional religious and cultural bridge was outlined by Ludwig Petry, *Dem Osten zugewandt. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur schlesischen und ostdeutschen Geschichte*, Sigmaringen 1983 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesische Geschichte, 22), p. 288. It was repeated by Machilek, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, pp. 15–16: „In der deutschen Forschung hat vor allem Ludwig Petry auf dieses Phänomen hingewiesen und im Zusammenhang damit zugleich die bedeutende Brückenfunktion des Landes für das deutsch-protestantische Geistesleben im Karpatenbogen bis hin nach Siebenbürgen betont.”

of art, as well as the language skills of the co-habiting Germans, Poles and Czechs are an unfading testimony about the cultural character of early-modern Silesian Estates' society, which was open towards the world around and which very substantially and successfully contributed to the treasury of European civilization³⁹.

Epilogue: The arrival of the anti-Reformation

In the latter half of the 16th century, the Habsburg ruler embarked on asserting his power and took retaliatory measures in the northern part of the Bohemian state. Under the veil of appeasement, the Habsburg court began plotting the anti-Reformation plans, first in the Lusatian League (Bautzen, Kamenz, Görlitz, Lauban, Zittau, and Löbau), while the repressive measures affected those Silesian cities which were under the direct rule of the Bohemian king⁴⁰. In general, the country began experiencing absolutism, centralism and the re-Catholicization course. The ruler's severe steps taken in Silesia had the heaviest impact on the dukes.

At their 1536 family assembly in Frankfurt an der Oder, the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns and Legnica-Brzeg Piasts agreed on mutual strengthening of their alliance via more prospective marriages. Nine years later, Margravine Barbara of Brandenburg (†1595) married Frederick's son George II (†1586), later called the Black, or the Pious. From the other side, the alliance was vindicated by the marriage between the Piast's daughter Sophia (†1546) and the Brandenburg Elector John George I, called the Frugal (†1598)⁴¹. The family alliance bore a document on the mutual inheritance of the Hohenzollern and Piast domains in Silesia. This means that the two allies settled on a concordant resistance against all interventions from the Habsburg court. The friendly bonds of the involved dukes were moreover strengthened, along family lines, with not only the Cieszyn Piasts but also the Münsterberg Podiebrads. The discontent over the Habsburg's imperial policy spread through

³⁹ On the Bohemian and Silesian cultural relations, see Radek Fukala, *Silesia in the Context of Central-European Development, 1526–1648*, [in:] Zdeněk Jirásek at al., *Evropská dimenze slezských dějin*, Opava 2009, pp. 59–73.

⁴⁰ Colmar Grünhagen, *Schlesien unter der Herrschaft König Ferdinands 1527–1546*, ZVGAS, 19, 1885, pp. 63–139, esp. p. 82.

⁴¹ On the religious and political plans of the Hohenzollerns, see Radek Fukala, *Hohenzollernové*, esp. p. 40–85, where also see more German bibliography on the dynasty and the history of the Brandenburg-Prussian state; also see *idem*, *Jan Jiří Krnovský. Stavovské povstání a zápas s Habsburky*, České Budějovice 2005, pp. 24–70.

almost the entire Silesian territory, and the intensity it reached was on the verge of an organized, hidden resistance, including that in the form of religious ideology⁴².

The Hohenzollern-Piast alliance naturally offended King Ferdinand I as the supreme head of the Silesian duchies. The sticking point was that the agreement on the mutual inheritance was not only signed without his awareness and blessing, but also against the law and without the approval of the Bohemian Estates. The ignorance of the self-confident and patriotic Bohemian nobility drew it inadvertently close to the Habsburg ruler. This fact served well the Habsburg absolutist plans in Silesia in the subsequent conflict of interests in the sphere of internal policy. On the eve of the Schmalkaldic War, the Wrocław assembly was personally attended by the Bohemian king who, on 18 May 1546, proclaimed the Hohenzollern-Piast agreement invalid and illegal. This intensified the hostility between Ferdinand I and the crystallizing Silesian anti-Habsburg opposition, while the latter soon harnessed the opportunity and took part in the Protestant imperial war. It was really hard on the Piast family, however, that their share of the politics of the Bohemian state was discredited and severely weakened as compared to the era under the reign of the Jagiellonian kings⁴³. The Saxon dukes in the Żagań region ended up in a similar way, very soon losing their estates. The Krnov Hohenzollerns, too, suffered losses in the issue of the Opole-Racibórz forfeit feoff.

The anti-Reformation Habsburg policy was closely linked with the outcomes of the Council of Trent, declared at the diocesan synod in 1580. King Ferdinand I managed to cope with the tasks given by the complexity of the religious and political relations and processes of the first half of the 16th century in Silesia, and developed them for his successors already by allowing the members of the Society of Jesus to enter the Silesian milieu in 1556. The given religious and power constellation moreover helped the Wrocław bishop restore the prestige of his diocese.

⁴² Colmar Grünhagen, *Die Erbverbrüderung zwischen Hohenzollern und Piasten vom Jahre 1537*, „Zeitschrift für Preußische Geschichte und Landeskunde”, 5, 1868, pp. 337–366; Georg Jaekel, *Die Liegnitzer Erbverbrüderung von 1537 in der brandenburgisch-preußischen Politik bis zum Frieden zu Hubertusburg 1763*, Lorch/Württ 1988. Also comp. the following archive documents: Národní archiv Praha, Coll.: Česká dvorská kancelář (1293) 1523–1749, Inv. No. 645, sign. II B 7, box 317 (contracts to 1546, 1549).

⁴³ Comp. Karel Tieftrunk, *Rozepře mezi stavy českými a knížaty lehnickými r. 1545 a 1546*, „Časopis Musea království Českého”, 42, 1868, pp. 115–124; on the overall situation, see Radek Fukala, *Zápas o opolsko-ratibořské dědictví a mocenské aspirace slezských knížat na prahu raného novověku*, „Slezský sborník”, 100, 2002, pp. 81–102. On the events in Silesia, see the very interesting treatise by Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit*, esp. p. 116–127, or Conrads, *Książęta i stany*, pp. 45–84.

The initiative was seized by Bishop Caspar of Logau as early as in 1565 by establishing a seminary in Wrocław. It was transferred from the city to the episcopal Nysa and remained there to as late as 1656.

The Trent council principles were uncompromisingly professed by Bishop Martin of Gerstman (1574–1585), who in the diocese managed to effectively mobilize all the economic and spiritual powers which, in coordination with the anti-Reformation arrival of the Olomouc clergy, also successfully influenced the Moravian-Silesian territory⁴⁴. The consolidation of the diocese (including the re-introduction of regular visitations to parishes) then climaxed with the bishops Andreas of Jerin and John Sitsch. The Catholic restoration in the Silesian territory moreover highly benefited from the entry of the papal nuncios on the Central-European scene and the alternately successful imperial Habsburg diplomacy. Despite the offensive in the Opole and Racibórz regions (from 1557), including the episcopal territories (the Nysa region), however, the Catholic side did not succeed in reversing the state of things in a way which the members of the clergy would apparently wish⁴⁵. The first desired achievements of the re-Catholization came only in the decade prior to the Thirty Years' War, as Duke Adam Wenceslaus of Cieszyn converted in 1610 and launched the anti-Reformation process on his domain⁴⁶.

It is perhaps pointless to explain why studying the Reformation, anti-Reformation and confessionalization of society in the lands of the Bohemian Crown is

⁴⁴ Joseph Jungnitz, *Martin von Gerstmann, Bischof von Breslau. Ein Zeit- und Lebensbild aus der schlesischen Kirchengeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Breslau 1898.

⁴⁵ Kurt Engelbert, *Kasper von Logau, Bischof von Breslau, 1562–1574. Ein Beitrag zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte*, 1. Breslau 1926; Anton Nägele, *Der Breslauer Fürstbischof Andreas Jerin von Riedlingen (1540–1596). Bilder aus dem Leben und Wirken eines Schwaben in Schlesien*, Mainz 1911. For an overall view, see Alfred Sabisch, *Die Bischöfe von Breslau und die Reformation in Schlesien* Münster 1975 (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 35). On this, see also Rudolf Zuber, *Účast kardinála Dietrichštejna na likvidaci sporu Bonaventury Hahna s vratislavskou kapitulou*, „Slezský sborník”, 47, 1949, pp. 294–317; also comp. Joachim Köhler, *Das Ringen um die tridentische Erneuerung im Bistum Breslau. Vom Abschluß des Konzils bis zum Sieg der Habsburger in der Schlacht am Weissen Berg 1564–1620*, Köln 1973 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 12).

⁴⁶ Comp. the unfortunately very superficial essay by Anna Machej, *Adama Wacława, księcia cieszyńskiego, zmiana wyznania w 1610 roku i okoliczności tego wydarzenia*, „Pamiętnik Cieszyński”, 13, 1998, pp. 5–12; a much more informative study is Radim Jež, *Dvojí konverze v rodině posledních těšínských Piastovců. K motivacím změny konfese knížete Václava III. Adama (1524–1579) a Adama Václava (1574–1617)*, „Studia Comeniana et historica”, 39, 2009, pp. 95–112; also see the edition: *Listiny těšínských knížat renesančního věku. Rekonstrukce knihy „Matrica privilegiorum AB ANNO 1558*, ed. Jež Radim, Český Těšín 2010 (Studie o Těšínsku 19), (which includes the fundamental bibliography).

useful. Silesia, which demonstrated very specific features during these processes, however, has not hitherto been researched thoroughly enough by modern Czech historiography. It is necessary to realize that the existing religious picture of Silesian history therefore keeps departing from the interpretations of German or, respectively, Prussian historians – and this is moreover even the case of many Polish treatises which in turn do not accept Czech contexts. It is at the same time clear that the turning point embodied by the Reformation opened a new chapter of not only Silesian religious and Church history but also of Bohemian and Silesian mutual relations. And it was Silesia along with the Opava region that played a very interesting and very significant role in the power and confessional fight of the Protestant opposition forces with the Habsburg government circles. The developments in the framework of Silesian Reformation and confessionalization of the local society illustrate this very eloquently⁴⁷.

Translated by Lucie Vidmar

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REFORMACJA NA ŚLĄSKU

STRESZCZENIE

Autor dynamicznie przebiegające procesy reformacyjne na Śląsku postrzega jako część ogólnoeuropejskiego zjawiska i wskazuje na ważną rolę reformacji w kształtowaniu śląskiego humanizmu. W ślad za historiografią niemiecką zauważa, że powstałe na Śląsku pod wpływem dążeń do zmian w Kościele dzieła literackie wywarły wielki wpływ na kształtowanie się języka i niemieckiej świadomości narodowej. Na osłabienie postępów reformacji na Śląsku wpłynęła polityka Habsburgów oraz postanowienia Soboru trydenckiego, które zapoczątkowały działania kontrreformacyjne. Konkludując autor podkreśla, że historiografia czeska poświęcała badaniom nad problematyką śląską nie dość uwagi, tymczasem czeski kontekst w historii religijnej Śląska jest bardzo istotny. Nie uwzględnia go też historiografia polska, pozostająca pod wpływem dokonań historyków niemieckich.

⁴⁷ Some summary of the results of researching Silesia in the following 17th century is offered by the treatise Radek Fukala, *La Silésie dans la politique européenne du XVII^e siècle*, [in:] *XVII^e siècle. "Entre Empire, Couronne et République, entre catholicisme et protestantismes: Les duchés de Silésie au XVII^e siècle"*, eds. Olivier Chaline et Nicolas Richard. Revue publiée par la Société d'Étude du XVII^e siècle, avec le concours du C. N. L., a. B. S. de l'Université de Paris–Sorbonne, N° 273, Octobre–Décembre 2016, 68^e année – N° 4, pp. 599–618.

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SILESIA AFTER THE WESTPHALIAN PEACE. COUNTER-REFORMATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE OR A PROGRAM OF RECONSTRUCTION FOLLOWING WAR DAMAGE?

ABSTRACT: The author proposes a new dimension of the research of Silesian Counter-Reformation in the second half of 17th century and in the first half of 18th century. Until now researchers emphasized the domination of the ideological (religious) factor in Counter-Reformation activities. The methodology of implementation research allows, however, to appoint other purposes of Habsburgs as the reconstruction of the province using the means of the Catholic Church. Such a policy guaranteed stability of the previous social, economic and political structures and allowed to achieve ideological (religious) purposes and to strengthen the central authorities instead of the estate factors.

KEYWORDS: Counter-Reformation, Silesia, implementation research

Historians who write about the Habsburgs' policy in Silesia (and more broadly about the countries under the Czech Crown) and their hereditary lands, commonly emphasize its "Counter-Reformation" character. This applies especially to the 17th century, and practically to the time following the defeat of the Czech uprising (i.e. after 1621). Silesia, despite its slightly different legal and political situation, was associated with this policy, especially after the intervention of General Albrecht von Wallenstein, related to the emergence of the armed forces of Ernest Mansfeld in Silesia.

The attitudes of Silesian Protestants can be judged differently, as well as the reaction to them by central authorities. One thing however which is not in doubt,

is that all parties to the conflict attempted to “enclose” their actions within appropriate phraseology and lend them the appearance of legitimacy. For our considerations, however, we would like to deal with the situation following cessation of hostilities. The starting point, then, will be the legal situation that was formed after the Westphalian Peace Treaty was signed in 1648. The conditions of this treaty effected Silesia in a particular way, it even had special paragraphs devoted to it with considerable potency and with great involvement of the Saxon and Brandenburg electors and Swedish deputies. It included different regulations from those for the other countries under the Holy Wenceslaus Crown, regarding religious matters. Firstly, in some of them “religious freedom” was allowed, and the Ziębice duchy was even classified as an area with full “freedom of worship”. Relying on the property rights of the “old Church”, i.e. from before 1517, the campaign to collect revenues from the churches and temples used by the Lutherans began. In the case of Silesia, where, at the end of the Middle Ages, the number of parish and monastic churches fully met the needs of the faithful, no sacred buildings were built until the 17th century. Practically it resulted in the legal situation that almost all churches in the province were subject to restitution.

Only the duchies whose direct rulers were Protestant were excluded, i.e. belonged to the so-called curia of princes in the Silesian regional council. This exclusion included the Piast subordinate duchy of Legnica, Brzeg and Wołów and the Podebrady subordinate duchies of Oleśnica and Bierutów. It also included the city of Wrocław, also sitting within the prince’s curia. However, over time, many Catholic institutions were asking for the return of their property and such complaints were most often favorably received by the prevailing Habsburgs-lords of Silesia.

After the negotiations in Osnabrück, with the Protestant negotiators fully aware of the consequences of the law thus formulated, they were forced to consent to the construction of three special churches in the capitals of almost completely protestant principalities: Jawor, Świdnica and Głogów (later called “Churches of peace” due to the circumstances of their creation). Lutherans were also guaranteed the possibility of free use of Protestant congregations in neighboring territories under the jurisdiction of more favorable Protestant or tolerant authorities¹.

¹ Of course, it was the neighboring Silesian Principality of Protestants, but also those that were located in Lusatia, subject to Saxon princes or margraves of Brandenburg; It is worth remembering that escape or border churches also functioned in Polish territories, despite the fact that the Commonwealth was nominally a Catholic country; compare: Gerhard Eberlein, *Die schlesischen Grenzkirchen im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Halle 1901 (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte),

In practice, this meant a departure from one of the basic principles for building social structures in the feudal system, i.e. parish coercion. In 1675, after the death of the last Piast prince George William, the Duchy of Legnica, Brzeg and Wołów recognized Emperor Leopold as king of Bohemia and the prince of Silesia, as an extant fief and incorporated them into the royal domain. This made it possible to take Catholic restitution measures also in his areas, although the process was slow and subject to great resistance².

In the case of Wrocław, the emperor did not ask for Wrocław's parish churches, but forced the return of just four churches in the suburban villages. However, he demanded compensation from the city authorities for secularized or overtaken monastery churches. In addition, the city had to agree to the creation of new monasteries inside the city walls - including the Franciscan monastery and church as well as the monastery and church of the Elizabethans³.

In restitution policy it proved important not only to restore property in the form of buildings, but also restitution of income of Catholic institutions. In practice, this meant that the Catholic Church received substantial financial means for its disposal and was essentially not depleted, since the number of faithful and possible people benefiting from the support of the authorities of this Church was relatively small. Lutherans, from their own income, maintained a separate parish system in parallel. Therefore, the open question is what Catholics intended to spend these funds on and whether these expenditures were justified? Of course, the ruler in this area remained the secular ruler, who was also the executor of the "ius reformandi"⁴.

pp. 31–64; Reiner Sörries, *Von Kaisers Gnaden – Protestantische Kirchenbauten im Habsburger Reich*, Köln 2008, pp. 29–30, 108–110; Lars-Arne. Dannenberg, Matthias Donath, Eike Thomsen, "Herr, Gott, du bist unsere Zuflucht für und für". *Grenz- und Zufluchtskirchen Schlesiens*. "W Tobie, Panie, moja ucieczka". *Śląskie kościoły graniczne i ucieczkowe*, Olbersdorf 2012.

² Arno Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben. Rekatholisierung von 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2000, especially p. 72 *passim*.

³ An interesting example can be the Franciscan monastery, whose temple and monastery buildings were given to premonstratensians from Olbin when the city council decided to demolish the medieval buildings created by the Włostowic foundation. The Franciscans who played a significant role in the beginning of the Reformation movement left their monastery abandoned; in legal terms, however, it still remained Catholic, hence the claim of the still existing congregation for its property and granting it a plot in the current Franciscan Square. Comp. also Sörries, *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, p. 139 *passim*.

⁴ For the term „ius reformandi” see Bernd Christian Schneider, *Ius Reformandi: die Entwicklung eines Staatskirchenrechts von seinen Anfängen bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, Tübingen 2001.

In the belief of previous researchers, the favourable financial situation of the Church and the above mentioned “financial surplus” enabled the commencement of an ideological offensive, consistent with some of the postulates of the Council of Trent, including making a visual impact on Protestants, regarding them as possible future converts. We observe then, forgotten since the Middle Ages, activities in the construction of sacred art. As a result, on a massive scale, the “baroqueization of the cultural landscape” of Silesia has taken place, mainly through newly-constructed buildings, either by remodelling and furnishing the interiors of existing buildings or by changing the exterior of their facades in the form of new architectural details and their surroundings in the form of monuments or outdoor assumptions⁵.

However, one should formulate a question about the purposefulness of these undertakings and whether another rational answer explaining the mass character of this construction offensive is possible rather than just its ideological subtext. It should also be asked why the Lutheran camp played such a significant part in this peculiar, image-oriented game. Although few, but nevertheless important Protestant realizations were made, these used a very similar language of communication⁶.

Because of the scope and significant involvement of the Catholic Church in baroqueization, these activities could not take place without the consent of the secular authorities, which felt strengthened by the effects of the Thirty Years' War. Perhaps, therefore, it would be worth examining the process that arose at the time, from the point of view of the deliberate actions of the secular state administration. In this case, we will use the methodology of the so-called implementation studies. They were developed initially in the United States and later also in Germany since the 1970s,⁷ gaining some popularity, above all in relation to political science research.

⁵ Compare: Dariusz Galewski, *Jezuici wobec tradycji średniowiecznej. Barokizacja kościołów w Kłodzku, Jeleniej Górze i Żaganiu*, Kraków 2012; *idem*, *Barokizacja kościoła św. Doroty, św. Stanisława i św. Wacława we Wrocławiu w latach 1682-1753. Wybrane zagadnienia*, „Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej”, 2015, 24.

⁶ Compare: Sörries: *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, pp. 26-28, 99-103.

⁷ Eng. “implementation studies”, Germ. “Implementationforschungen” – compare: Hellmut Wollmann, *Implementationsforschung - eine Chance für kritische Verwaltungsforschung*, [in:] *Politik im Dickicht der Bürokratie. Beiträge zur Implementationsforschung*, ed. Helmut Wollmann, Oppland 1980, pp. 9-48, where he reviews the development of this methodological direction in research on politics and administration in the United States and West Germany, starting from publication: Jeffrey L. Pressman, Aaron Bernard Wildavsky, *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland; or, Why it's Amazing that Federal Programs Work at All*, Berkeley 1973.

However, quite quickly these theories penetrated into historiography, placing the axis “what was supposed to be-what is a comparison” (German “Soll-Ist-Vergleich”) at the centre of this type of research. It boiled down to presenting an analysis of the relationship between: “standards (the will of the legislator) and reality”, between its “political program and its actual operation”. Thus, the term “implementation” should be understood as carrying out or applying legislation in the process of political change. In general, we observe the following phases of activities: program construction \Leftrightarrow implementation \Leftrightarrow operation, while the first two phases are most often examined together as interdependent processes.

The analysis includes three main elements:

- design, or conceptualization of the goals by which the program is created.
- the conducting and implementing factor, most often being an institutionalized entity, constituting implementation structures,
- definition of social target groups (normative recipient), i.e. being an “implementation field”.

Of course, the social readiness to absorb these programs (laws, norms) from the target site is of obvious significance. It is also important to take into account the addressees, and especially their diversity, which affects the behavior of both the executive institutions (performers), as well as the addressees themselves. Therefore, at the beginning of the proposed analysis, we should consider the precise definition of these political goals (program), because its incorrect definition will not allow us to properly define the objectives of the implementation structures that implement these tasks, and finally the addressees. It should also be remembered that this “program” (goal) does not have to be done either by decision makers or other players (co-decision-makers) in a very specific and uniform wording (verbalized). It can be the resultant of various activities⁸.

In the current research, the main goal pointed out by the researchers in relation to the internal policy of the Habsburg rulers of Silesia was to be the aforementioned “counter-reformation”, ie restoration of religious unity by removing the effects of the so-called Reformation. One should, however, consider how to do it and what forces to use – assuming that the principles of legitimacy are respected

⁸ Renate Mayntz, *Die Implementation politischer Programme, Theoretische Überlegungen zu einem neuen Forschungsgebiet*, „Die Verwaltung. Zeitschrift für Verwaltungsrecht und Verwaltungswissenschaften”, 1977, 10, pp. 51–66. Compare also Renate Mayntz, *Zur Einleitung. Probleme der Theoriebildung in der Implementationsforschung*, [in:] *Implementetion politischer Programme II. Ansätze zur Theoriebildung*, ed. Renate Mayntz, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 7–24.

(that is, one should consider what were the implementation structures). Finally, it should be considered who the addressee of these activities was: Silesian Catholics or Protestants? Not without significance were the experiences of the Catholic side from the beginning of the Reformation, which observed the then success of this religious movement resulting from the acquisition of social elites, and later their impacts were used as pressures on the lower social orders. These relationships were already noticed by the Jesuits⁹, formulating around the middle of the 16th century the assumptions of its activities for rebuilding the position of Catholicism. They put emphasis on influencing the elite, through their direct acquisition or training of their future elites (creating their own education). In the recommendations for their own, i.e. members of the Society of Jesus (also confessors), they emphasized the need for non-tolerance in order to have unambiguous attitudes. And the recruited person, still favorable to the Reformation, did not receive direct authority over the subjects. This could lead to pressure and being threatened by the influence of the “bad example”¹⁰.

Looking at what is referred to as the “Counter-Reformation” in Silesia, we will see attempts to implement these demands, especially after 1648. An example of this is the imposition by the emperor Leopold I of consent to the city of Wrocław to establish Jesuit schools (including the academy / university). The administrative power in Silesia was dependent directly on the Habsburgs and was dominated by the so-called religious key, i.e. it was available almost exclusively for Catholics. The same situation applied at the local level. If the city was not private, then the Habsburg starosts appointed members of the city council from among the Catholic townsmen (even if they were from the margins of the citizenry and were not counted among the most prosperous)¹¹. They knew, however, that the scope of their

⁹ Por. Jean Delumeau, *Reformy chrześcijaństwa w XVI i XVII w.*, vol. 1: *Narodziny i rozwój Reformy protestanckiej*, Warszawa 1986, especially chapter: *Odzyskanie mas*.

¹⁰ Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben*, especially chapter: *Die Jesuiten, ihre Programmatik und Strategien in der Rekatholisierung*, p. 95 *passim*.

¹¹ An example of this state of affairs were situations in Strzegom: “The authorities of Strzegom played both administrative role for the city and judicial role for the whole area (weichbild). The burghers’ influence on the choice of the council was unfortunately small. Every year, departing members of the council chose their successors, what practically meant narrowing the circle of elites holding offices. [...] The principle of excluding evangelicals from performing public functions was fairly followed. [...] The fact that the council members were chosen among Catholics led to re-election among a few literally families” – *Strzegom. Zarys monografii miasta i regionu*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1998, p.111.

“top-down religious pressure” on lower social orders was limited, because the economic elites were still Protestant.

In the current vision of historians the so-called “Habsburg Counter Reformation” after the Westphalian Peace was an *a priori* assumption that the principles of internal policy were formulated by the central authorities, accepting the program and purpose of the Catholic Church. Perhaps, however, one should adjust the optics and look for goals that were more related to the needs and tasks of the “legislator”, that is, the authorities of the lay Habsburgs. It would be necessary to give consideration to what needs they had. It seems that the Habsburgs, as superior rulers, should not be denied their efforts for the religious well-being of their subjects and also for their material well-being. The Thirty Years War caused enormous material losses not only in areas that were affected by direct military operations, but also in those lands where the army was stationed and with it a contribution system leading to the disruption of traditional forms of economic activity. Similarly, this situation existed in Silesia in 1618-1648 and in other lands subordinate to the Habsburgs. The financial needs of the rulers, related to the servicing of loan repayments and the necessity to maintain large military forces, practically excluded the introduction of tax breaks that could possibly have helped to rebuild. Basically, the only significant means was the Catholic Church.

After the Thirty Years’ War, it was much more subservient to the secular rulers, and the Pope was almost incapable of opposing the nomination prerogatives of secular power. In addition, the then renewal of the clergy led to the adoption of the postulates of “post-Trent renewal” with the visually rich and glorifying church, but mainly with regard to the exercise of its ecclesiastical functions, to a lesser degree of being. This made it possible to combine the goals of secular and ecclesiastical power. The resulting investment program therefore included mainly the institutions of the Catholic Church, primarily churches and monasteries—their reconstruction or new equipment and also the expansion of Catholic custodial institutions, such as orphanages, hospitals, shelters and schools.

Another question is: who was this program addressed to? It can be said that mainly for the contractors of these investments: highly specialized craftsmen and also manufacturers of building materials and luxury goods. Although in Silesia, that is in the province dominated by Protestants, it was difficult not to reach for “Protestant” staff, but for obvious reasons, they were always “second in order”. As a result, the number of craftsmen and Catholic buyers increased, and with them

the slow progress of the reclamation began. Of course, the influence of the propaganda of the visual factor, that is public buildings and the examples of the magnificent baroque architecture of the city and the sacred known to this day were not without significance.

These considerations include a postulate and a striving to persuade historians to start a second discussion on the important causes and problems of the confessionalization of Silesia, especially in the late period of the policy's functioning, i.e. in the second half of the 17th and 18th centuries. A look at the huge "baroque investments" in Silesia—not only from the perspective of their ideological impact—but also as an element of economic stimulation and the development of craft and artistic production. It seems that one can formulate the view that a specific offensive of the Counter-Reformation allowed for a relatively quick reconstruction of the province and led in the eighteenth century to its re-flowering. It was also significant that substantial material and cultural changes were taking place in the relatively unchanged administrative structures and economic norms, hence using the guild system and the traditional state system.

ŚLĄSK PO POKOJU WESTFALSKIM – KONTRREFORMACYJNA OFENSYWA IDEOLOGICZNA CZY PROGRAM ODBUDOWY ZE ZNISZCZEŃ WOJENNYCH?

STRESZCZENIE

W historiografii panuje przekonanie, że Habsburgowie stosowali wobec Śląska po wojnie trzydziestoletniej politykę określaną jako „kontrreformacja”, co podkreślało jedynie jej ideologiczny wymiar. Tezą podstawową tego tekstu jest wskazywanie na aspekt ekonomiczny poczynań władz świeckich (Habsburgów), tzn. odbudowę prowincji po zniszczeniach wywołanych długoletnim konfliktem. Aby osiągnąć ten cel sięgnięto po środki będące w dyspozycji „restytuowanych” po wojnie majątków Kościoła katolickiego, co umożliwiło przeprowadzenie szeregu inwestycji budowlanych. To spowodowało daleko idącą barokizację przestrzeni publicznej w prowincji. Jednocześnie zamówienia kościelne stanowiły koło zamachowe zarówno napędzające gospodarkę, jak i społeczną (zleceniobiorcami byli w pierwszym rzędzie katolicy) i ideologiczną (wizualną) akcję kontrreformacyjną. Podobne procesy miały miejsce na obszarach nie tylko Śląska, ale też innych ziem podległych Wiedniowi: Czech, Moraw, Austrii itd., a zatem miały wymiar środkowoeuropejski.

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RELIGIOUS RELATIONS IN LOWER SILESIA IN THE FIRST YEARS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

ABSTRACT: The article concerns religious context of population changes in Lower Silesia after 1945 when the process of recatholization and repolonization took place in the mainly protestant and German area. The analysis is based on the works of Polish and German historians. The administrative, pastoral, political and social aspects of the process were discussed: relations between German and Polish hierarchy of the Catholic Church and between the Catholic Church and other religions. The problem of the attitude of the Polish authorities to the Catholic Church was also presented, because they recognized it as useful instrument of polonization, though gradually more and more oppressed by the communist security apparatus.

KEYWORDS: Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Orthodox, state-church relations

Before World War II, the Prussian province of Lower Silesia was inhabited by more than 2.2 million followers of the strongest religion in the area – the Evangelical Church. The second largest religious group in terms of numbers was Catholics, with 923,000 followers¹. At that time, Wrocław became an important centre

¹ There are different numbers of the faithful of particular religions in the literature. They are based on the census from the interwar period, but transfers of the population during the War caused the necessity of new reckoning. According to the guide-book issued in 1942 by the archbishopric of Wrocław 850 thousand Catholics and 2.1 million Protestants live here. 818 Catholic priests worked in 525 parishes. In September 1945 the number of Catholics was reckoned to be about 800 thousand (200 thousand Poles with 45 Polish priests and 600 thousand Germans with 700 priests) and Józef Pater, *Administracja kościelna i budownictwo sakralne na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1995*, [in:] *Kościół katolicki na Dolnym Śląsku w powojennym 50-leciu*, eds. Ignacy Dec, Krystyn Matwijowski, Wrocław 1996 (*Prace Historyczne*, 18), p. 54; Evelyne A. Adenauer, *Das christliche Schlesien 1945/46. Wie die Erzdiözese Breslau and die Kirchenprovinz Schlesien der Evangelischen Kirche*

of the Catholic ecclesiastical administration, to which the bishopric in Berlin and the bishopric of Warmia were subordinated. The Kłodzko (Glatz) county, however, was still part of the archdiocese of Prague². The third, relatively small group were Jews. Hitler's policy – arrests, deportation to concentration camps, imposing high contributions, finally the so-called crystal night, when the synagogues and Jewish shops were destroyed, and the next stage of legal discrimination that followed, caused the mass emigration of Jews. In 1925, Lower Silesia counted nearly 30 thousand Jews. In May 1939, there were only 12.3 thousand remaining, mostly concentrated in Wrocław³. During the war, Jews from Lower Silesia were deported to mass extermination camps.

The decisions of the victorious powers, confirmed by the arrangements of the Potsdam conference in the summer of 1945, brought the Polish-German border to the Odra (Oder) and Nysa Łużycka (Neisse) lines. This meant mass displacement of the Polish and Jewish population to the area of Lower Silesia and the displacement of the German population from this area. In 1947, thousands of Ukrainians went to Lower Silesia as part of the "Wisła" campaign. These national changes clearly had repercussions of a religious nature. At the outset, it should be noted that from 1945 the process of recatholization and repolonization of the mostly Protestant and German area took place. The purpose of this article is to present the religious context of the events of the first years after World War II in Lower Silesia, their administrative, pastoral, but also political and social aspects.

Together with the first Polish officials involved in the control of the Western Lands (it was the "front guard" (die Vorhut) of the Polish administration, as the German expert on the history of post-war Wrocław Gregor Thum put it⁴), in May 1945, the clergy came to the administrative capital of Lower Silesia to lay the foundations of Polish church organizations: priest Kazimierz Lagosz from the Archdiocese of Lvov and a representative of the Polish Evangelical-Augsburg

der altpreußischen Union endeten Und in Schlesien polnische katholische Apostolische Administrationen eingerichtet wurden, Beiträge zu Theologie, Kirche Und Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert, eds. Rainer Bendel, Lydia Bendel-Maindl, Joachim Köhler, vol. 22, Berlin 2014, pp. 29–37.

² Joanna Nowosielska-Sobel, Grzegorz Sobel, *Dolny Śląsk w latach 1918–1945*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, pp. 568–571.

³ Marek Czapliński, *Dzieje Śląska od 1806 do 1945 roku*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. idem, Wrocław 2002, s. 393.

⁴ Gregor Thum, *Die fremde Stadt Breslau 1945*, Berlin 2003, p. 66.

Church, Professor of the Faculty of Theology of the Evangelical University of Warsaw Wiktor Niemczyk (he served as the proxy until April 1947). The structures of the German Churches, which tried to continue their pastoral activity under changed conditions, still operated in the largely destroyed city.

Ernst Hornig was the head of the German Evangelical Church in Silesia. He continued his mission by communicating with Niemczyk. Both churches coexisted, responsible for pastoral work among their own national groups. Due to the fact that Polish evangelicals did not form a large group, they did not have large housing needs, so there were no major problems in this matter. The activities of the German parishes were gradually dying out, because until the autumn of 1946, the German population was displaced. By a government decree of 13 September 1946, the church property was nationalized, most of the evangelical churches were handed over to the Catholic Church⁵. On the 19th of September, the President of the Republic of Poland by virtue of a decree dissolved German evangelical parishes in the Western Lands. Thus, the Polish Evangelical Church of Augsburg was faced with the task of building a new diocesan structure and including the faithful of the Protestant German churches who remained here. In October 1947, the plenipotentiary of the Consistory in Lower Silesia, Fr. Waldemar Preiss argued in the memorial to the Ministry of Regained Territories that: “the slogan of the Polish Government for the fastest settling and developing of the Regained Territories has echoed deeply through the souls of all Poles and has found a full understanding (...) The Poles of the Protestant denomination also joined this historical appeal (...) The number is weaker than others, but for its intensity of work, accuracy and conscientiousness – emphasized Preiss – they want to fill quantitative gaps”⁶. Ensuring loyalty was an argument in property matters, since the property of the Protestant German churches was often illegally transferred by the local administration to other denominations or to non-religious purposes as a post-German property (“deserted and abandoned”). This property was also often destroyed or stolen. In general, the attitude of the administration as well as the Polish settlers to the

⁵ Richard Breyer, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse Niederschlesiens seit 1945*, [in:] *Niederschlesien unter polnischer Verwaltung*, eds. Ernst Bahr, Kurt König, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin 1967, pp. 388–389.

⁶ Quoted after: Renata Madziara, *Historia diecezji wrocławskiej Kościoła ewangelicko-augsburskiego w latach 1945/1947–1991. Ujęcie z perspektywy lokalnej* (PhD thesis under the supervision of Professor Gabriela Wąs, defended in the Institute of History, University of Wrocław in 2012), pp. 45–46.

Germans was negative, which resulted from the several years of trauma of the German occupation. Paradoxically, the defeated Germans were not only hated, but they were still feared⁷. The Polish press warned against contacts with the Germans, allegedly still seeking to “annihilate Polishness”⁸. The Polish administration covering new areas considered them as hostile. This is how a historian Marcin Zaremba summed up, explaining the goals of government propaganda: “The authorities pointed to the possibility of revival of the German monster, presenting an alliance with the Soviet Union as the only guarantee for borders on the Odra and the Nysa. In the long run, this propaganda strengthened the nationalist legitimacy of the ruling communist party at least in relation to the western borders”⁹. Hostility to Germany has become an indispensable element of the policy of the Polish state¹⁰.

Stereotypically, Protestant denominations were identified with German nationality. Polish Protestants were accused of collaborating with Germany during the Second World War, although many of them were subject to occupational repression. Not even the indigenous Germans were distinguished from the Evangelical population of Polish descent¹¹. For these reasons, many Polish Lutherans did not admit to their religion and entered the Catholic Church in Lower Silesia. Only from 1948 was the German population formally allowed to use the priestly ministry in German in certain parishes¹². The structures of the Polish Evangelical-Augsburg Church were consolidated until mid-1947, which does not mean that easier years have arrived¹³. First of all, the number of the faithful gradually decreased. In 1945, the number of Protestants throughout Poland was 220–250 thousand. In

⁷ Grzegorz Strauchold, *Polska ludność rodzima ziem zachodnich i północnych. Opinie nie tylko publiczne lat 1944–1948*, Olsztyn 1995, p. 69.

⁸ Quoted after: Robert Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce wobec ziem zachodnich i północnych 1945–1948*, Szczecin-Warszawa-Wrocław 2015, p. 49.

⁹ Marcin Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga. Polska 1944–1947*, Kraków 2012, p. 396.

¹⁰ Grzegorz Strauchold, *Autochtoni polscy niemieccy czy... Od nacjonalizmu do komunizmu (1945–1949)*, Toruń 2001, p. 25.

¹¹ Renata Madziara, *Organizacja Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w pierwszych latach po II wojnie światowej. Zarys problemu*, [in:] *Polski protestantyzm w czasach nazizmu i komunizmu, zbiór studiów*, ed. Jarosław Kłaczek, Toruń 2009, p. 253.

¹² Elżbieta Alabrudzińska, *Państwo a Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Polsce w latach 1945–1965*, [in:] *Kościół zakładnikami czasów. Kościoły protestanckie Niemiec i Polski w XX wieku. Z prac Komisji Historii Kościoła PRE i EKD 1989–1999*, eds. Bernd Krebs, Andrzej Wójciewicz, Warszawa 2003, pp. 190, 203.

¹³ See the division of the diocese of Lower Silesia from November 1947: Madziara, *Historia diecezji wrocławskiej*, p. 74 see also: Ryszard Bogusz, bp, *Kościół ewangelicki na Dolnym Śląsku po II wojnie światowej*, „Dolny Śląsk”, 1997, 4, pp. 25–34.

1959, there were only 106,000, and in 1969 – 80,000 faithful. In the diocese of Wrocław, including Lower Silesia and Western Pomerania (with Szczecin), there were 43 parishes, 25 branches and 2 preaching points. According to Evelyne A. Adenauer, in October 1947 there were only 10,000 followers of the Polish Evangelical Church of Augsburg in all of Silesia¹⁴. The outlets were scattered, and property matters, especially in the first years after the war, unregulated. In 1952, there were still 21 thousand German evangelicals in Lower Silesia, but also here, as a result of emigration, the number of followers gradually decreased. At the end of the 1950s, the diocese of Wrocław had a total of only 4.6 thousand people¹⁵.

Escape, then gradual displacement of the German population resulted in the Catholic Church dominating the religious landscape of Lower Silesia. There were also changes within the structures of the Catholic Church, in 1945 the Polish Church organisation entered an area that was still functioning within the archbishopric of Wrocław with Cardinal Adolf Bertram at the forefront. Both Polish and German researchers agree that the transition period was “confrontational and complicated”¹⁶.

The area of territorial competence of Fr. Kazimierz Lagosz coincided essentially with the area of the future Wrocław voivodship. Within a few years, this jurisdiction was also extended to areas previously excluded from it (the already mentioned Kłodzko Land, part of the Głubczyce powiat, and the vicinity of Bogatynia). Shortly after the capitulation of Wrocław, the bishop of Katowice Stanisław Adamski appeared in Wrocław to explain to the clergy that East German lands would be incorporated into Poland, and the people displaced to the west, behind the Nysa Łużycka line¹⁷. Meanwhile, German clerics interpreted the advice of Bishop Adamski as interfering in the affairs of their diocese. Cardinal Adolf Bertram (from January 1945 residing in Javornik) was outraged by the action of Polish clergy. When Bertram died on July 6, 1945, the leaders of the Polish Church expected that the Wrocław cathedral chapter would choose a successor of the cardinal from the Polish spiritual clergy. However, the German clergy entrusted the

¹⁴ Adenauer, *Das christliche Schlesien 1945/46*, p. 115.

¹⁵ Jarosław Kłaczek, *Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Polsce w latach 1945–1975*, Toruń 2010, pp. 105–109; Madziara, *Historia diecezji wrocławskiej*, p. 67.

¹⁶ Thum, *Die fremde Stadt Breslau*, p. 96.

¹⁷ Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Archidiecezja wrocławska, czasy najnowsze*, vol. IV, cz. 1 (1945–1956), Warszawa 2013, pp. 67–71; Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, pp. 90–92.

general vicariate to the current dean of the cathedral chapter Fr. Ferdinand Piontek by unanimous vote. It was believed that the current structure (despite serious human and material losses)¹⁸ should be maintained in its current form in its cooperation with Polish clergy and faithful. The argument in favour of the Upper Silesian Ferdinand Piontek was his good command of the Polish language. Fr. Lagosz was invited to the vicariate general, but it was strongly emphasized that the vicariate general had legal titles to continue his activity. Robert Żurek's research shows that the Wrocław chapter counted on the possibility of continuing the tradition of bilingual pastoral activity known from before the outbreak of the war¹⁹. Piontek called on priests to return to their churches and ordered that they should use both Polish and German languages in their pastoral work²⁰. It also seems that initially Polish control of Lower Silesia was considered temporary²¹. Polish priests were treated as helpers of previous parish priests, not their successors, whereas Fr. Lagosz in his first sermon on May 13, 1945 at the church of Saint Anthony in Wrocław pointed out: "We embrace our city with our hearts into Polish rule and possession (...) From the ruins and ashes a new life, a Polish life will emerge"²². It is worth mentioning that as late as in the middle of 1946, there were about 300 German priests in Lower Silesia who still had a numerical advantage over Polish priests²³. However, even the researcher Bernard Linek, critical of Adamski's action in post-war Silesia, admitted that in reality in 1945 only Polish priests could undertake pastoral activities here. There was no alternative²⁴. It was not only about the politics of the authorities, because, as noted by a historian Fr. Józef Mandziuk: "Poles

¹⁸ Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, pp. 72–73 states that 125 Lower Silesian clergy died in the last months of the war. In fact, all (except one) temples in Wrocław have been damaged or destroyed, 273 churches have been destroyed throughout Lower Silesia (*ibidem*, p. 74).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

²⁰ Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 73.

²¹ Fr Milik, in 1947, informed Cardinal Hlond that the German religious congregations assessed the situation as a temporary. See Edyta Kołtan, *Kościół jako czynnik integracyjny ludności Dolnego Śląska widziany przez pryzmat działalności Zgromadzenia Sióstr Maryi Niepokalanej (1945–1963)*, [in:] *Dolnoślązacy? Kształtowanie tożsamości mieszkańców Dolnego Śląska po II wojnie światowej*, eds. Joanna Nowosielska-Sobel, Grzegorz Strauchold, Wrocław 2007, p. 136. It is worth emphasizing that a strong sense of temporariness for a long time accompanied Polish settlers, who counted on the possibility of losing newly covered farms. See Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga*, pp. 451–455.

²² Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 78.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 424.

²⁴ Bernard Linek, *Polityka antyniemiecka na Górnym Śląsku 1945–1950*, Opole 2000, pp. 117–123.

settling in Lower Silesia were calling for a Polish priest”²⁵. An associate of Fr. Lagosz, a Salvatorian priest Pius Czesław Piętko recalled years later: “We also ventured into the outskirts, especially on Sundays, to celebrate Mass there, and preach. We always went where we were called and we were often called by German priests, because they could not cope with new parishioners”²⁶. In this context, proposals from the Polish church hierarchy aimed at protecting the Church from harassment by the new authorities hostile towards religions, and providing pastoral care to Poles arriving in Silesia for settlement purposes²⁷. Although in the first years after the end of the war the policy of the Polish state towards the Church was relatively liberal, it was assumed in church circles that sooner or later there would be a confrontation with the state authority promoting atheism²⁸. For the time being, the communist authorities had to consolidate and look for legitimacy within Polish society. The takeover of western territories was one of the elements of this tactic.

In connection with the conclusions of the war, the Holy See decided to temporarily change the functioning of the church administration. On 8 July, Pope Pius XII granted Primate August Hlond the right to order church matters on lands incorporated into Poland by appointing apostolic administrators there in vacant positions. The priests were to take care of organizing pastoral work for the incoming Polish population. Ultimately, Hlond appointed five administrators without consulting the German hierarchs. The archdiocese of Wrocław was taken over by Fr. Karol Milik. Hlond arrived in Wrocław in August to explain the motives of his conduct and the necessity of resigning German hierarchs from their jurisdiction. In the end, Piontek, in the presence of all the canons of the metropolitan chapter headed by the auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Wrocław, Fr. bishop suffragan Josef Ferche, handed power over to Fr. Milik in Wrocław²⁹. German clerics questioned the conformity of the aspirations of the Polish Church with the wishes of the Holy See. The unclear legal situation, the lack of communication in conditions

²⁵ Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 76. It was not only about the religious dimension of the presence of priests. As it was put by Adenauer, *Das christliche Schlesien*, pp. 447–448: “The authority of priests in society was greater than the authority of voivods and starostas”.

²⁶ Quoted after: *ibidem*, pp. 79–80.

²⁷ Żurek, p. 137.

²⁸ Antoni Dudek, Ryszard Gryz, *Komuniści i Kościół w Polsce (1945–1989)*, Kraków 2003; Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga*, p. 501.

²⁹ Kazimierz Bobowski, *Pierwszy rzędcą diecezji wrocławskiej*, [in:] *Kościół katolicki na Dolnym Śląsku w powojennym 50-leciu*, eds. Ignacy Dec, Krystyn Matwijowski, Prace Historyczne XVIII, Wrocław 1996, pp. 68–69.

shortly after the end of hostilities, and the ambiguity of the arrangements of the Potsdam Agreement in terms of the durability of the Polish-German border provoked accusations against the Polish side of making *faits accomplis*. In the first pastoral letter, Milik called on the faithful to rebuild the war-destroyed lands assigned to Poland. He appealed to their patriotic feelings, referring to the most important events in the history of the Polish nation. The members of the German chapter asked that the letter should not be read to the German faithful. According to Józef Mandziuk, the author of the history of the Catholic Church in Silesia, it was a manifestation of “nationalist hypersensitivity”³⁰.

Nevertheless, the German clerics succumbed to Hlond’s argument, already known in part from conversations with Adamski. According to the Polish Primate, changes in the church organization were necessary because they were forced by the political situation and the intentions of the Polish government. He believed that the German Ordinaries would soon be removed by the Polish state authorities. Hlond wanted to avoid accusations that the Polish Church was against the new Poland’s western border³¹. He also weakened the anti-papal propaganda of the Polish government. Property matters were also involved, because church property in the German territories granted by the Potsdam Agreement could be nationalized. Besides, the church property was already being robbed, and the German priests were powerless³². Especially in the case of orders and congregations, it quickly turned out that polonization was the only chance to preserve their property³³. The defense of endangered church property was an important element of the apostolic administrators’ activity in the first dozen or so months of their office. It seems that the Polish Primate’s diagnosis was correct, that the Germans “were deprived of influence and the possibility of effective exercise of power” and therefore “the power over the church had to be given over immediately to the hands of Polish prelates capable of controlling the situation”³⁴. The German Church did not have a chance to survive in the western territories and this was the result of general political decisions of the great powers and the Polish government. The activities of the Primate Hlond did not affect this.

³⁰ Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 121.

³¹ Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, pp. 220–221.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 260.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 323.

³⁴ Peter Raina, *Kościół w PRL. Kościół w PRL. Kościół katolicki a państwo w świetle dokumentów 1945–1989*, vol. 1, Poznań 1994, p. 51.

To this day, the strategy of Cardinal Hlond is the subject of historiographical polemics, with German researchers accusing Hlond of transgressing the powers granted him by the Pope and acting in the name of nationalism³⁵. Polish historians defend the Primate, explaining the context (not only legal) of the whole matter broadly and expose the pragmatism of the head of the Polish Church³⁶. In general, the German side treated the issue of the border as still open, while Hlond's actions harmonized with the policy of the Polish government treating the border on the Odra and Nysa Łużycka as the final one. The position of the Holy See was not unequivocal, because on the one hand it accepted the nominations made by Hlond, but on the other hand it did not recognize them formally. The borders of the diocese were not changed, administrators of episcopal dignities were not granted. The Wrocław Archbishopric was still formally German, Piontek resided in Wrocław until July 1946, then he moved to Görlitz (where he died in 1963). This provision lasted until June 28, 1972, when the Holy See confirmed the changes to the borders of the bishoprics, which de facto had been made already in 1945.

The first task of parish priests arriving in a parish was to rebuild churches that were often destroyed (their number reached 273) or damaged (217) during military operations. Fr. Milik called for their reconstruction. By 1949, 125 churches were rebuilt³⁷.

The activities of Polish priests in Lower Silesia were characterized, as Primate Hlond put it thus: "improvisation in the best sense of the word"³⁸. What was characteristic of the first months after the war was the existence of two communities in the parish – Polish and German, with their priests celebrating masses in their languages at designated hours in the same temple. The relations between the two nationalities varied. There were parishes where mutual relations were reluctant, where indifference prevailed, and where there were visible manifestations of

³⁵ e.g. Josef Johann Baron, *Kirche zwischen Nationalismus und Kommunismus. Das Ringen des Apostolischen Administrators von Oppeln um eine zeitgerechte Seelsorge in Oberschlesien 1945–1972*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 76; Emil Brzoska, *Die deutsche Bistümer östlich der Oder und Neisse und die polnischen Diözesen jenseits der Curzon-Linie. Ein historischer Und rechtlicher Vergleich*, „Oberschelsches Jahrbuch“, 1986, 2, pp. 124–125; Franz Scholz, *Kollektivschuld Und Vertreibung. Kritische Bemerkungen lines Zeitzeugen*, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 232–248; *idem*, *Das Hlondheft. Empfiehlt sich Kardinal Augustyn Hlond, Primas von Polen (gest. 22 X 1948), als Kandidat einer Seligsprechung?*, Lüdenscheid 1996.

³⁶ Extensive analysis: Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, pp. 155–348.

³⁷ Pater, *Administracja kościelna i budownictwo*, p. 58.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

cooperation. Often, at the beginning, a German priest celebrated masses for Germans and Poles. After the arrival of the Polish priest in the parish, there were two parish priests. Finally, after the departure of the German parish priest, the Polish priest took care of the Polish migrants and the Germans remaining in the parish. It should be noted, however, that there are many negative opinions about Polish priests in German relations³⁹. It was also part of the landscape of post-war areas taken over by the Polish state in the west. According to Robert Żurek, Poles and Germans mostly lived “side by side without conflicts, but not cooperating”. First of all, it was expected that the German population would be displaced, which took place in 1946 and 1947. Some scholars point out that Polish displaced persons and Germans waiting for deportation noted the similarity of their fates and treated each other as companions of misery rather than enemies⁴⁰. An unequivocally negative assessment is issued to Polish religious orders that evidently violated church law to take over the seats of their German counterparts⁴¹. Such a harsh assessment raises doubts, however, if one considers that the authorities displaced the whole assembly if their supervisor was not a Pole or at least did not demonstrate good knowledge of the Polish language⁴².

Fr. Milik sought to cooperate with the Germans, establishing a separate pastoral office for the German population and a separate charity organization for the Germans. He stressed in public that he was the head of all Catholics in Lower Silesia, regardless of nationality. After the deportation action, he established 16 ministries for the Germans who remained in their small homelands.

The number of Polish Catholic priests grew gradually. In September 1945 there were 45 of them, at the end of the 40s – already over 600. Most came from the Eastern Borderlands along with crowds of Poles displaced from those areas. Abandoned evangelical temples were taken over. Clergymen often became the animators

³⁹ Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, pp. 146–147 he pointed out that this could have been, at least in part, the result of the inflow of false priests to Western lands, whose ethical attitude was not in line with the clerical function. It is explained differently by Sebastian Siebel-Achenbach, *Niederschlesien 1942 bis 1949. Alliierte Diplomatie und Nachkriegswirklichkeit*, Würzburg 2006, pp. 151–152 writing about the difficult experiences of the occupation of Polish priests.

⁴⁰ Thum, *Die fremde Stadt Breslau*, p. 124; Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, *Die Deutschen und die polnischen Übersiedler aus den Ostgebieten nach 1945. „Auch sie haben geweint”*, [in:] *Verlorene Heimat. Die Vertreibungsdebatte in Polen*, eds. Klaus Bachmann, Jerzy Kranz, Bonn 1998, pp. 290–296.

⁴¹ Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, p. 567.

⁴² Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 150.

of life of Polish communities created (or reconstruced) in the new area: "The priests cooperated in establishing clubs, arranging colonies and camps, fire brigades, Polish Red Cross, helping in organizing education, giving lessons in secular subjects in the absence of teachers"⁴³.

The Polish authorities assessed the activities of the Catholic Church ambivalently. On the one hand, the Holy See was attacked for not recognizing the Provisional Government of National Unity. On September 12, the government in Warsaw unilaterally denounced the concordat. At the same time, it was announced that the appointments of the apostolic administrators made on May 15 were not accepted. On the other hand, the administration was instructed at the local level that it is in the state's interest to quickly organize the structures of the Polish Catholic Church in the Western Lands. From the point of view of the communist authorities, the Catholic Church was a solid institution stabilizing social life in the area of mass post-war settlement. Considering the general post-war demoralization, the Church served a useful role. Thievery, robberies and rape were still the order of the day, but focusing around the clergy had their moral dimension, potentially reducing pathologies in local communities. The Catholic Church was the only nationwide institution enjoying social charisma⁴⁴.

At the same time, the Church was a carrier of polonization, although it was not declared publicly and the faithful were not called on to blur the traces of the Germanness of Lower Silesia. Inevitably, however, the Poles adapted the temples, removing German names, placing subtitles in Polish, religious images and other equipment brought with them. Altar pulpits were removed, new paintings were placed⁴⁵. In fact, the authorities identified Polonization of the Church with the influx of Polish priests, although they focused on the religious purposes of their activity⁴⁶. Thus, the Polish *raison d'être* co-operated with the interests of the Polish Church at this time. When Fr. Milik asked the Polish authorities for political and financial support for organizing church structures in the diocese of Wrocław, he met with understanding⁴⁷. Therefore, the priests were facilitated in taking over the

⁴³ Waław Szetelnicki, *Odbudowa kościołów w Archidiecezji Wrocławskiej 1945–1972*, Rzym 1975.

⁴⁴ Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga*, p. 102.

⁴⁵ Marek J. Battek, Joanna Szczepankiewicz-Battek, *Losy ewangelickiego mienia kościelnego po II wojnie światowej na Dolnym Śląsku na przykładzie Legnicy*, [in:] *Polski protestantyzm w czasach nazizmu i komunizmu*, p. 638.

⁴⁶ Żurek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki w Polsce*, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Thum, *Die Fredem Stadt Breslau*, pp. 102–103.

parishes, as their activities were perceived an important element of integration of the Poles with the newly joined areas. Churches have also become a place of integration of Polish migrants from various places – from Lvov, from beyond the river Bug, from Western Europe, from Podhale⁴⁸. Thanks to the presence of Polish priests, they felt better and more confident in an unknown area⁴⁹.

In short, the Catholic Church fulfilled a useful role in the western territories in the first months after the end of the war, useful from the point of view of the communist government. However, gradually signs of a hostile attitude of the authorities toward the Church appeared. From autumn 1947, surveillance of priests was ordered as “carriers of foreign ideology” and “the only and organized opposition centre”⁵⁰.

The Jews who survived the Holocaust began to settle in Lower Silesia, immediately after the end of the war. Some survived from German concentration camps, most came from the Soviet Union, where they survived the war. Lower Silesia became the largest concentration where they wanted to start a new life⁵¹. This concentration, inter alia, happened as a result of the policy of state authorities, wanting to solve the problem of Jewish repatriates and contribute to the development of western territories. This is how the chairman of the Provincial Jewish Committee in Lower Silesia Jakub Egit explained it in the middle of 1946: “To build a new Jewish life in Lower Silesia

⁴⁸ Jan Krucina, *Rola integracyjna Kościoła na ziemiach zachodnich*, [in:] *Kościół katolicki na Dolnym Śląsku w powojennym 50-leciu*, eds. Ignacy Dec, Krystyn Matwijowski, Prace Historyczne XVIII, Wrocław 1996, pp. 16–17; Philipp Ther, *Deutsche und polnische Vertriebene. Gesellschaft und Vertriebenenpolitik in der SBZ/DDR und in Polen 1945–1956*, Göttingen 1998, pp. 310–312.

⁴⁹ Czesław Osękowski, *Ziemie Odzyskane w latach 1945–2005. Społeczeństwo, władza, gospodarka*, Zielona Góra 2006, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła*, pp. 378–418; see also: *Metody pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych 1945–1989*, ed. Adam Dziurok, Warszawa 2004; *Represje wobec Kościoła katolickiego na Dolnym Śląsku i Opolszczyźnie 1945–1989*, eds. Stanisław A. Bogaczewicz, Sylwia Krzyżanowska, Wrocław 2004; Marek Ordyłowski, *Z dziejów zwalczania Kościoła w latach 1945–1955 na Dolnym Śląsku*, „Dolny Śląsk”, 1997, 4, pp. 74–83.

⁵¹ Szyja Bronsztejn, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku po II wojnie światowej*, Wrocław 1993; Arnold Goldsztajn, *Produktywizacja ludności żydowskiej w latach 1945–1948*, Wrocław 1991; Kazimierz M. Pudło, *Wybrane problemy z organizacji życia zbiorowego ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku (1950–1967)*, Wrocław 1991; Ewa Waszkiewicz, *Kongregacja Wyznania Mojżeszowego na Dolnym Śląsku na tle polityki wyznaniowej Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej 1945–1948*, Wrocław 1999; Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, *Das neue jüdische Leben in Polen – Juden in Niederschlesien nach 1945*, [in:] *Jüdisches Leben zwischen Ost Und West. Neue Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte in Schlesien*, eds. Andreas Brämer, Arno Herzig, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Göttingen 2014, pp. 473–502.

(...) Why in Lower Silesia? First of all, because in Lower Silesia there were concentration camps for Jews who stubbornly demonstrated their Polishness, and after the liberation they immediately began to preserve this Polishness (...) Secondly because thanks to (...) the liberation of this land by the Red Army. In spite of animal slaughter by Nazi hordes, 7,000 Polish Jews were saved here, and expressed the will to build their new life on this territory. This way, they wanted to satisfy their lust for revenge and at the same time receive at least partial compensation for the losses suffered. Thirdly, because in the southern districts of Lower Silesia (...) there were no serious havoc as a result of hostilities”⁵². First, Dzierżoniów, Bielawa, Pieszyce, Ludwikowice Kłodzkie, Wałbrzych, Głuszyca and Nowa Ruda were settled. The number of Jews grew gradually. In January 1946 there were 16,300 of them, in July 1946 it was already 90,000⁵³. There was a small number of German Jews in this number. Jewish Religious Associations were the representatives of religious Jews, and from June 1946 Jewish Religious Congregations⁵⁴. Actually, they operated in all cities where Jewish centres were located. Synagogues, houses of prayer, Jewish schools were opened. Paweł Wieczorek, who studied the activities of Jews in Wałbrzych and nearby, quoted even a local official who in mid-January 1947 recognized that “Jewish religious congregations exert a significant influence on the Jewish population”⁵⁵. Activities were financed from membership fees, assistance from abroad and grants from the Organizing Committee of the Jewish Religious Congregations in Warsaw. In June 1946, a conference of associations was organized in Wrocław, attended by 30 representatives from 23 centers. After this meeting, Rabbi Szulim Treistman became the chairman of the District Board of Jewish Religious Congregations in Lower Silesia, he also held country-wide functions⁵⁶.

The settlement trend changed after the Kielce pogrom in July 1946. The administration had already recorded anti-Jewish sentiments, although Lower Silesia was considered a safer area for Jews than other regions of Poland. In March 1946, the Ministry of Information and Propaganda recorded such an opinion from the Wrocław voivodship: “Jews are generally hated, and called ‘loafers and

⁵² Quoted after: Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–1950*, Wrocław 2000, p. 19.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁵⁵ Paweł Wieczorek, *Żydzi w Wałbrzychu i powiecie wałbrzyskim 1945–1968*, Warszawa-Wrocław 2017, p. 149.

⁵⁶ Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku*, pp. 65–66.

speculators'. A large part of the shops is in Jewish hands, and because they prosper well, they are the subject of interest and hostile attitude"⁵⁷. Finally, Lower Silesia became only a stage in emigration abroad. The number of Jews decreased to 60,000 in the autumn of 1946, to around 50,000 in February 1948 and to around 30,000 in the second half of 1949⁵⁸. Along with the shrinking of numbers the Jews were usually perceived as non-denominational by the officials of the local administration. Departures weakened the organizational structures of the congregation and reduced the population of the faithful. According to Bożena Szaynok, "departure from religion was one of the most important attitudes present among the Jewish population"⁵⁹. It should be added, however, that at the end of the 1940s, there was already a strong pressure from the authorities, which hampered the development of religious life through various types of restrictions⁶⁰.

In 1947, as a result of deportation as part of the "Vistula" action the Ukrainian population appeared in Lower Silesia from the areas of south-eastern Poland⁶¹. The Polish authorities strived for the greatest possible dispersion⁶² and thus solving the problem of national minorities. Conditions for the settlement of Ukrainians in the western territories were very difficult, because they were perceived as enemies, so, like the Germans, they were treated as an undesirable element. Although there were already people representing the Orthodox religion in Lower Silesia: citizens of Greece or Bulgaria as a result of deportation of forced labor to Germany, and stationing Soviet troops, it was the "Vistula" action that determined the significant presence of the Orthodox religion in this area⁶³. In total, about 150,000 Ukrainians were found in the western and northern territories. It is difficult to accurately estimate what denominations were represented, nevertheless, there is a thesis that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population was Greek Catholic, and $\frac{1}{3}$ – Orthodox⁶⁴ in the elaborations.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 102–106, 193–194.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ Wieczorek, *Żydzi w Wałbrzychu*, p. 153.

⁶¹ Jarosław Syrnok, *Ludność ukraińska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–1989*, Wrocław 2007, pp. 49–59.

⁶² Their number was not to exceed 10% of the population in a given area. See: *Akcja „Wisła”*. *Dokumenty*, opr. Eugeniusz Misiło, Warszawa 1993, p. 381.

⁶³ Piotr Gerent, *Prawosławie na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1989*, Toruń 2007, pp. 86–89.

⁶⁴ Igor Hałagida, *Ukraińcy na zachodnich i północnych ziemiach Polski 1947–1957*, Warszawa 2002, p. 53; Janusz Mieczkowski, *Życie religijne mniejszości narodowych na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945–1956*, „Przegląd Zachodniopomorski”, 1995, 1.

Over 20,000 people have been settled in Lower Silesia, deploying them in 14 districts (powiat) (cross-border districts and Wrocław have been omitted), with the largest clusters in the districts of Góra, Wołów, Lubin, Legnica and Oleśnica⁶⁵. They were placed mainly on devastated and looted farms, because those in better condition were already occupied⁶⁶. In subsequent years, there were shifts of resettled families and their number in Lower Silesia slightly decreased, in 1948 there were 19,000 Ukrainians here⁶⁷. In principle, however, the authorities were concerned that displaced persons would not change their place of residence and would gradually assimilate⁶⁸.

Even before the “Vistula” action, in May 1946, the Warsaw Orthodox Church Consistory appointed the Orthodox Administration of the Regained Territories. The first administrator of the Lower Silesian Orthodox parish was Fr. Prot. Aleksander Kalinowicz. Then, on July 15, 1946, the diocese of the Regained Territories was created here with the metropolitan Dionysius at the head⁶⁹. In the following years, the autocephalous church was undergoing reorganization, as a result Lower Silesia in 1948 became part of the diocese of Łódź and Wrocław, then from 1951 – Wrocław and Szczecin⁷⁰. As Piotr Gerent ascertained, in the first years after the war pastoral ministry was carried out by priests resettled from Podkarpacie, and also Greek priests who stayed there. Gradually, there were also clergymen from Białystok region. In general, the numbers of clergy were inadequate and single priests were forced to serve several institutions, often far apart from each other⁷¹. Their activities were closely watched. Correspondence inspection was the order of the day, and so were the perquisitions. The use of the Ukrainian language or the Lemko dialect was enough to accuse them of hostile activities and conspiring against the state⁷². In this context, it is not surprising that the local state administration multiplied difficulties for attempts to create Orthodox parishes. According to Gerent, precisely because of this policy, the destruction of war and the unfavorable attitude of the Catholic Church and its faithful, the issue of obtaining sacred objects and apartments for

⁶⁵ P. Gerent, *Prawosławie na Dolnym Śląsku*, pp. 106, 114; Hałagida, *Ukraińcy*, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Hałagida, *Ukraińcy*, pp. 42–43.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁶⁹ He served as the temporary administrator of the diocese until April 1948.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 140–141.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 162–165.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 168.

Orthodox priests, “was disastrous”⁷³. Sometimes there were open conflicts on this background⁷⁴. The manifestations of intolerance towards the Orthodox had a nationalistic background. As in the case of the evangelical population, the Orthodox did not fit into the stereotype of a Polish Catholic⁷⁵. Sometimes Polish-Ukrainian conflicts from the Eastern Borderlands from the time of war were rekindled on the ground of Lower Silesia. Some Polish settlers asked the Lemkos arriving at the church for mass to leave the church, and demolished Orthodox temples. There are examples of Catholic priests joining this campaign of intolerance⁷⁶.

Church authorities applied to the district (powiat) authorities for the allocation of post-evangelical buildings, but the applications were processed relatively slowly and not necessarily positive. The objects taken over usually required a major refurbishment. The first Orthodox parish in Lower Silesia was established in Wrocław in October 1946. Its several hundred faithful used the former chapel of German Baptists. Then, parishes were created in Zimna Woda, Michałów and Stodołowice. Population migrations make it difficult to determine the exact number of parishes that were created in subsequent years. Church sources say that until 1951 8–10 orthodox churches and 11 branches were founded in Lower Silesia⁷⁷. The number of the faithful is also given – from 4,000 to 6,000 believers at that time in the Wrocław deanery (including Lower Silesia and the Zielona Góra voivodship)⁷⁸.

As mentioned above, as part of the „Vistula” campaign, the faithful of the Greek Catholic Church were also deported to Lower Silesia. However, as a result of repression and deportation to the Soviet Union, the Greek Catholic Church was essentially liquidated. Until 1956, there were no conditions to undertake efforts to create their own parish. The clergy were repressed. Those who found themselves in Lower Silesia resigned from pastoral work in general or, in accordance with ecclesiastical law, served in Roman Catholic parishes. The Polish state did not recognize the Greek Catholic Church and, striving for its complete abolition,

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 191, 398. About the situation of the Orthodox Church in Lower Silesia in this period see J. Syrnys, *Ludność ukraińska na Dolnym Śląsku*, pp. 226–235.

⁷⁴ There are examples of such conflicts in Chobienia and Stary Wołów. See Kazimierz Urban, *Kościół Prawosławny w Polsce 1945–1970 (rys historyczny)*, Kraków 1996, p. 338.

⁷⁵ Gerent, *Prawosławie na Dolnym Śląsku*, p. 401.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 402–406.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 199–200.

⁷⁸ Gerent considers these figures unreliable. See *ibidem*, p. 200.

wanted its members to function within the framework of the Catholic Church⁷⁹. Nevertheless, some of them chose the Orthodox Church⁸⁰.

Small communities, such as the Evangelical Reformed Church (parishes in Pstrązna near Kudowa and in Strzelin), the Polish Catholic Church, or Baptists and Methodists (whose activity is, so far, unexplored) can be added to the most numerous faiths. However, the religious landscape of Lower Silesia was dominated by Catholics, who from a relatively large 30-percent minority in the period up to 1945, have now transformed into a 90-percent Polish majority. They were inevitably taking over the Evangelical temples, changing their decor to adapt to the principles of Roman Catholic worship. Other churches colored the picture, but they constituted a small minority, most often identified with national and ethnic separateness.

It is true that in the first months of Polish settlement in the western territories, the authorities recognized the Catholic Church as a useful tool of Polonization, but gradually fighting it became one of the most important tasks of the communist security apparatus. In general, it should also be stated that 1947 saw the start of the period of the greatest state terror against the whole of society for several years. Negation of religious needs was one of the elements of this terror, after all, atheism was included in the program of the Communist Party. The needs of non-Catholic denominations were especially negated because they were identified with the non-Polish population.

STOSUNKI RELIGIJNE NA DOLNYM ŚLĄSKU W PIERWSZYCH LATACH PO II WOJNIE ŚWIATOWEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Autor w oparciu o opracowania historyków polskich i niemieckich zaprezentował kontekst religijny przemian ludnościowych na Dolnym Śląsku po 1945 r., gdy doszło do procesu rekatolizacji i repolonizacji obszaru wcześniej w większości protestanckiego i niemieckiego. W artykule omówiono aspekty administracyjne, duszpasterskie, polityczne i społeczne tego procesu: stosunki między niemiecką i polską hierarchią Kościoła katolickiego oraz między Kościołem katolickim i innymi wyznaniami. Krajobraz religijny Dolnego Śląska zdominowali katolicy, którzy ze stosunkowo licznej 30-procentowej mniejszości w okresie do 1945 r., teraz przekształcili się w 90-procentową polską

⁷⁹ Hałagida, *Ukraińcy*, pp. 53–55.

⁸⁰ Gerent, *Prawosławie na Dolnym Śląsku*, pp. 408–409; see also: Syrynek, *Ludność ukraińska na Dolnym Śląsku*, pp. 243–245.

większość. Siłą rzeczy przejmowali świątynie ewangelickie, zmieniając ich wystrój, by dostosować do zasad kultu rzymskokatolickiego. Pozostałe Kościoły ubarwiały ten obraz, ale stanowiły niewielką mniejszość, najczęściej utożsamianą z odrębnością narodową i etniczną. Ponadto zaprezentowano problem stosunku polskich władz do polskiego Kościoła katolickiego. W pierwszych miesiącach polskiego osadnictwa na ziemiach zachodnich władze uznawały Kościół katolicki za użyteczne narzędzie polonizacji, ale stopniowo jego zwalczanie stało się jednym z najważniejszych zadań komunistycznego aparatu bezpieczeństwa. Ogólnie należy też stwierdzić, że rok 1947 otwierał kilkuletni okres największego terroru państwa wobec całego społeczeństwa. Negowanie potrzeb religijnych było jednym z elementów tego terroru, wszakże ateizacja była wpisana w program partii komunistycznej. Potrzeby wyznań niekatolickich negowano tym bardziej, że utożsamiano je z ludnością niepolską.

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CULTURAL CONTENT OF OUTSTANDING WORKS OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE IN SILESIA IN THE YEARS 1945–2015

ABSTRACT: The aim of the article is to present the relationship between the elements of the artistic form of church buildings and their political sources. The most important churches built in 1945–2015 were associated with ideological changes in the communist state and then with social life after communism.

KEYWORDS: sacred architecture, church history in the 20th century, communism in Poland

The issue of architecture as a carrier of cultural content aroused serious controversy at the end of the 1960s, when critical analysis of iconology appeared in the history of art, an interpretative method developed in the works of Erwin Panofsky. The doctrine of the German-American erudite assumed that works of art could convey ideological content appropriate to the environment in which the artists were active.

In this spirit, inter alia, Panofsky interpreted the subsequent stages of the development of Gothic sacred architecture as being fully adequate to the divisions occurring in the history of scholasticism. The approach characteristic of this scholar's research was not new in the history of art and was preceded by the work of Max Dvořák, who quite directly adapted the philosophy of Hegel and assumed that all works of art of a given period pervade the same "spirit of time". Premises of the position assuming that architecture has the possibility of symbolic or metaphorical reference to the outside world and the content contained in religious,

philosophical or literary texts may also be indicated in many earlier times. In the theories of the so-called Revolutionary architects, Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Étienne-Louis Boullée and Jean-Jacques Lequeu, the concept of “architecture parlante” was developed which assumed the necessity of using a specific set of forms and decorations corresponding to the functional purpose of the building. The rich decoration of facades of architectural objects with full figural sculptures and bas-reliefs, creating rich and complex message content, occurred earlier in the Baroque, Gothic architecture and also in the manifestations of the architecture of the Ancient Near East. This long-lasting tradition was questioned only in the architecture of radical modernism, which tended to use primarily geometrical forms, generally devoid of any applied decorations. The exception was the reference to elements of transoceanic ships and machines. The renewal of the custom of referring to the shapes of the outside world returned in the 1970s in postmodern architecture, which was also referred to as a narrative.

The review of the phenomenon of using architectural objects as carriers of information indicates that we are dealing with a tradition that goes on and on in a historically very distant era, a history in which limitations noticed by the critics should be taken into account. Certainly, it can no longer be assumed that building objects are ideologically connected with the intellectual trends prevailing at a given time.

However, the argument that assuming the penetration of works of art by spiritual phenomena have been questioned in a convincing way, it can't be denied that artistic objects can be used consciously for propagating specific meanings, or that a correct understanding of their aesthetic values also requires knowledge surrounding the circumstances of their production. It is especially difficult to deny that perception of the work is influenced by historical information linking its creation with the facts of political or religious life. The user of a sacred object, even a passing tourist, feels a culturally-educated need to acquire knowledge about the nature and history of the object visited. Also, the faithful using the church for religious purposes build their personal attitude towards it based on the basic facts of its history. The interested person is introduced to the descriptions of situations in which specific buildings were created, through the use of information plaques decorating historic objects, guides, websites, and often special occasional publications informing of the past history of the work. Therefore, it can't be denied that knowledge of this kind is a component of the perception of an artistic object. Relations between history and artistic form can't be understood as deeply internal

and structural, however, it is justified to present them as elements complementing the general reception of construction work.

The history of sacral buildings in the first years after 1945 was marked by the stigma of war destruction on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the change of the political system and the construction of the communist dictatorship. Particularly characteristic for this period are the fate of the cathedrals in Wrocław and Katowice. After the announcement in August 1944 of the fortress of Wrocław (Festung Breslau) for several months, the city's residents could not yet feel the horror of war. On 17 and 18 January 1945, the Soviet air forces bombed the Wrocław railway stations. In the first days of February, for the first time the city was shelled by artillery, on the night of 15 to 16 February it was surrounded, while at the same time there was ongoing fighting in the outskirts, and subsequently the outer districts were occupied by the Russians. On 22 February a massive attack from the south began.

The assault from the western side began on 1 April, while on 2 April 1945, part of the 750 Soviet aircraft taking part in the air raids bombed Cathedral Island (Ostrów Tumski) and destroyed the cathedral. As he wrote in his memoirs, Fr. Paul Peikert, then parish priest of Saint Maurice, an earlier raid of 27 March touched the building: "The cathedral received a heavy blow from the bomb, which fell on the southern side nave and pierced it. The presbytery of The Holy Cross was also hit by the bomb. The elevated building of the church of The Holy Cross looks like a widow in mourning. You can't recognize Wrocław anymore"¹.

On Easter Monday, 2 April, the burning vaults of the front facade towers fell on the roof of the nave and led to its destruction. Peikert also saw it from the nearby Kaiserbrücke and noted: "Flames burst from the towers of the cathedral church; the roof of the Cathedral was one sea of flames"². Destruction also affected the side aisles and the presbytery section³.

A few months later, after the end of warfare, in September 1945, the cathedral was visited by a new apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Wrocław, Fr. Dr. Karol Milik and found there the heap of brick debris. In his memoirs of 1 September he wrote: "In the afternoon I visit the mother of the Silesian

¹ Paul Peikert, *Kronika dni oblężenia. Wrocław 22 I – 6 V 1945*, Wrocław 1964, p. 129.

² *Ibidem*, p. 158

³ Marcin Bukowski, *Katedra wrocławska. Architektura – rozwój – zniszczenie – odbudowa*, Wrocław 1962, p. 122; Aleksandra Marcinów, *Wokół problemów odbudowy katedry wrocławskiej*, [in:] *Katedra wrocławska na przestrzeni tysiąclecia. Studia z historii architektury i sztuki*, eds. Romuald Kaczmarek, Dariusz Galewski, Wrocław 2016, p. 317.

churches – the cathedral. I go inside her, I look up – the blue firmament is her roof and the vault. Scarred walls protrude around them”⁴. In the spring of the following year, as a result of water saturation, the vaults of the nave eventually collapsed. It happened as if against the determination of Fr. Milik, who noted his pledge in his diary: “I kneel on the ruins of the cathedral and vow to rebuild it and return to its former beauty”⁵. When, after the end of warfare, the thought of demolishing the ruined building was considered, the concept of its reconstruction won. In the second quarter of 1946, an institution was established to deal with the reconstruction of selected buildings in Wrocław, and at that time the facility at Ostrów Tumski was included among them. The architect Marcin Bukowski was appointed head of reconstruction, he also oversaw over the next few years the rise of Wrocław Town Hall from the ruins. The reconstruction plan was to be implemented in several stages, the first of which began on 15 November 1946⁶. The walls, roof and part of the vaults were rebuilt by February 1949.

The beginning of 1951 was marked by the serious interference by state authorities with the organization of the Church in the diocese of Wrocław. On 21 January, Fr. Milik was removed from the position of apostolic administrator of the archdiocese, who after being arrested, was interned in the Capuchin monastery in Rywałd, the place of later isolation of primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. Under pressure from the political authorities, the Wrocław chapter represented by just one person, canon Fr. Franciszek Niedźbała, on 26 January 1951 elected Fr. Kazimierz Lagosz, sympathizing with the communist authorities as vicar general, and to whom Primate Wyszyński was forced to give his canonical consent. Dedication of the rebuilt temple on 29 July 1951, with the participation of the Primate of Poland, should therefore be treated as a document of the Stalinist era. Currently, when visiting the Gothic cathedral, a casual tourist or a faithful of the Wrocław diaspora born in the post-war period can see to a small extent that they are dealing not only with an object erected from the ruins and equipped with altars, organs and decorations being primarily a reminder of the times of reconstruction

⁴ Karol Milik, *Archidiecezja Wrocławska 1945-1951*, „Tygodnik Powszechny”, 1970, 17, p.1; *idem*, *Archidiecezja wrocławska 1945-1951 (Wspomnienia pierwszego ordynariusza)*, [in:] *Kościół na Ziemiach Zachodnich. Ćwierćwiecze polskiej organizacji kościelnej*, ed. Jan Krucina, Wrocław 1971, p. 49.

⁵ Quoted after: Józef Pater, *Ksiądz infułat dr Karol Milik jako rządcą archidiecezji wrocławskiej w latach 1945-1951*, Wrocław 2012, p. 115; see also Marcinów, *Wokół problemów odbudowy katedry*, p. 322.

⁶ Marcinów, *Wokół problemów odbudowy katedry*, p. 323.

of a seriously damaged city of Wrocław, but also a work marked by the increasing communist terror. Walking around today's Wrocław, there are almost no traces of remembrance that after the period of fanatical defense of the city by fascists (lasting until 6 May 1945) 10 churches were completely destroyed and never rebuilt, while another dozen were damaged to a degree which prevented their use for many years. In the visual sphere, few elements of the cathedral's architecture and décor symbolize the times of its re-erection, but this layer of content is an important element for more insightful audiences.

The visual document of the political situation in Poland, which followed the formation of the consolidated communist party (Polish United Workers' Party – Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza – PZPR) in December 1948, also remains the cathedral in Katowice. During the reunion of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – PPS) and Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza – PPR) Aleksander Zawadzki, former Silesian governor and soon deputy prime minister of the government, gave a speech announcing the pursuit of state authorities toward the secularization of social life in Poland. One of the first manifestations of this political program was the suspension of the construction of three new churches in the diocese of Katowice. Several years later, on 26 November 1952, just as in Wrocław, under pressure from the Provincial National Council in Katowice, Fr. Filip Bednorz, favorable to the communist authorities, was elected vicar capitular of the diocese of Katowice⁷. Also in this case, Primate Wyszyński felt compelled to approve the illegally made election on 13 December 1952. After the death of Fr. Bednorz in a car accident, on 21 January 1954 the General Chapter in Katowice elected the next vicar in the person of Fr. Jan Piskorz in the previously applied way, however, under even more pressure from the Security Office and Jerzy Ziętek (deputy chairman of the Voivodship National Council – Wojewódzka Rada Narodowa – WRN – in Katowice). It is currently difficult to identify any positive aspects in the proceedings of the new administrator of the diocese and the completion of Katowice cathedral which was begun before the outbreak of the Second World War is no exception to it. During the reign of Bishop Stanisław Adamski in April 1951, the Provincial Office in Katowice presented a proposal to lower the dome of the cathedral being built. The parish priest of the cathedral

⁷ Jerzy Myszor, *Okoliczności „wyboru” ks. Filipa Bednorza na wikariusza kapitulnego w diecezji katowickiej w listopadzie 1952 roku. Edycja źródeł*, „Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne” 2009, 1 (42), pp. 209–212.

Dr. Rudolf Adamczyk, arrested six months later for alleged embezzlement in the construction of the church and equally unlikely spying for the US, refused the proposal put forward by the office, along with the designer of the cathedral, Zygmunt Gawlik. Nevertheless, after Fr. Jan Piskorz took the office of vicar, he came up with a similar project, and despite the opposition of the Chapter and the architect, he implemented his idea and reduced the height of the dome from 95 to 57 m⁸. While the initial design intended for the dome to support the impressive height of the tambour, now its bowl is absurdly low, making the cathedral look far from perfect. In all probability, relatively few people are wondering about the disproportionate shape of the temple, but it is this disharmony that denotes the political and cultural content of a time when the Church is subordinated to the decisions of hostile beliefs of political authorities.

The Cathedrals in Wrocław and Katowice in their formal values, however in a manner that is hardly recognizable to the average viewer, are related to the political circumstances of their creation. The insightful observer can see the simplifications that appeared during the reconstruction of the Gothic temple in Wrocław and the inadequate height of the dome in the classicist and partly modernist church in Katowice. Another case is the two churches in Chorzów: St. Florian and Holy Ghost. In their structural properties they do not have clear traces of non-artistic factors influencing their final shape, nevertheless, both are exceptionally clear testimonies of political changes in Poland.

After October 1956, the communist party and state authorities departed from the Stalinist political system and partially liberalized the political power structure. Throughout Poland, local provincial offices issued 248 permits for the construction and extension of churches up to May 1958. In a large number of these permits, consents were subsequently restricted or withdrawn. In mid-1957, the Communist Party returned to its vision of building a secular state and society, and a year later, in June 1958, a state directive was issued banning offices from issuing permits for the construction of churches. In July 1958, the Central Committee of Polish United Workers' Party issued a document to the local party branches explaining the reasons for stopping the construction of new religious buildings and introduced restrictions on the reconstruction of damaged, historic church buildings or even the extension

⁸ Dorota Głazek, *Historia budowy katedry w Katowicach*, [in:] *Katedra Chrystusa Króla w Katowicach*, eds. Stanisław Puchała, Anna Liskowacka, Katowice 2000, p. 111; Filip Burno, *Zygmunt Gawlik (1895-1961) – architekt katedry katowickiej*, Katowice 2003, pp. 78, 115.

of existing buildings. In response to the petition of the Polish Episcopate of 15 April 1958 protesting against the limitation of construction of new churches, the leader of the party Władysław Gomułka stated that it was an example of incitement of the most backward sections of society against a progressive, socialist state. The party's guidelines directly translated into the conduct of offices and led to the repression of people who were continuing or had tried to start construction.

An example of the implementation of political dispositions towards church builders were activities directed at parish priests of the aforementioned churches in Chorzów. On 30 December 1958, Fr. Karol Nawa, builder of the Holy Spirit church in Chorzów was arrested on suspicion of illegal purchase of building materials, which was treated as a crime in the system of state regulation of industrial products⁹. In the event of an inability to receive an assignment of cement, steel or bricks, the purchasing of this class of goods from private sellers was deemed an offense and threatened with serious fines. The local press attacked the priest, insinuating other crimes in addition, and the Provincial Court in Katowice sentenced him to three years in prison and imposed large fines on 28 January 1961. The construction of the church of St. Florian was facing similar difficulties, where on 20 September 1960, the parish priest Konrad Szweda was arrested and accused of "granting financial benefits to officials in connection with their official duties"¹⁰. In January 1961, temporary detention against him was lifted, but this did not stop the trial on 10 April 1961, resulting in sentencing the accused to eight months in prison. Perhaps the higher punishment and the necessity of serving it were stopped by the fact that the priest was a former prisoner of concentration camps in Auschwitz and Dachau for almost the entire period of the Second World War.

Chorzów churches of St. Florian and the Holy Spirit are outstanding architectural works without structural flaws resulting from the interference of political factors in the final appearance of the object. Halting their construction by administrative decisions and restriction of access to building materials contributed to the long-term construction processes, but ultimately both objects artistically remain neutral in relation to the historical circumstances of their construction. The Church

⁹ Jerzy Nyga, *Bogu i ludziom. Nowe kościoły w diecezji katowickiej*, Katowice 1996, pp. 34–35; Wiktor Skworc, *Budownictwo kościołów w diecezji katowickiej w latach 1945–1989*, Katowice 1996, pp. 88–91.

¹⁰ Nyga, *Bogu i ludziom*, pp. 36–37; Wiktor Skworc, *Budownictwo kościołów na terenie miasta Chorzowa w latach 1945–1970*, [in:] *Z dziejów parafii św. Barbary w Chorzowie*, Chorzów 1998, pp. 52–57; *idem*, *Budownictwo kościołów w diecezji katowickiej*, pp. 88–91.

of St. Florian was built from 9 May 1948 to its consecration on 28 October 1961 and in the following years equipped with bells, organs and stained glass windows. In the post-Conciliar period, the composition of the interior of the temple was changed under the direction of Adam Lisik. Above all, however, the building attracts attention by representing mature architectural modernism with slight influences from pre-war modernized classicism. Also, the interior of the building, although based on the traditional, basilica layout of the extended nave and lower side aisles, awakens admiration with its simplicity and filling with light filtered through stained glass largely based on the principles of abstract painting.

The construction of the church of the Holy Spirit began a decade later, when on 7 December 1958 the cornerstone was laid. Construction works were repeatedly withheld by the state authorities, and as a result, the church was consecrated only on 15 June 1963. The building was not plastered yet, the stained glass was completed in 1975, and two years later organs were installed there. The building represents the next phase of the modernist style, in which some structural elements were highlighted and combined with the influence of expressionistic architecture with certain symbolic values. The external appearance of the church in Chorzów is dominated by high vertical windows of the nave and the massive tower placed in the facade, which by using a long vertical slit repeats the system used in the composition of the nave. Parish administrators, whose reception of the building is reflected in the descriptions of the temple used by them, underlined its symbolic values and comparisons to the appearance of the boat. Nautical associations confirm the partial attachment of the object to the tradition of brutalist architecture, which in the area of sacral architecture was initiated by the corporeal chapel in Le Corbusier's Ronchamp associated with the boat.

It can be concluded that in the present state both analysed churches in Chorzów manifest in their reception primarily sacred values (especially through references to ancient architectural traditions of church buildings), symbolic (through the use of shapes evoking associations with the boat, which is distinctive in Christian symbolism) and artistic (through its high level of architectural designs). In their external appearance, the discussed churches have no references to the fate of religion in the next period of the political history of Poland. This may only indicate the entry of both organizations of social, religious and political-state life into a state of forced co-existence. Nevertheless, all descriptions of objects contained in press, books or Internet publications always emphasize their connections with the fate

of their builders, which makes these works as a whole a cultural document from the time of their creation. The combination of historical knowledge with their material being makes them a form of “a place of remembrance” in spite of the lack of reflections of politics in the sphere of pure visibility.

In the further history of sacred buildings in the area of Lower and Upper Silesia, the tendency to separate religious and political life has been perpetuated. In social life, autonomous values appeared, among which problems related to the ideas of modernism played a special role. It is likely that currently in the study of contemporary history there is too little distance from the times that are described in them, but in spite of such a situation, one may take the risk of proposing some theories about important social life ideas in the early second half of the twentieth century. This period appears to have been dominated by the values of rationality, weakening of the position of tradition, the cult of technology has grown in significance. The official pursuit of secularization and even the very concept of the socialist system may have been something secondary to the universal belief in the power of reason and scientific solving of human and social problems. Not only did communism present itself in publications as scientific, religious values also gained supporters in scientific religious studies promoting the cult of the so-called sacrum, also Christianity has been modernized in its Catholic branch. After the period of fighting modernism both outside the Catholic religion and inside it, the Second Vatican Council led to the modernization of the decisive components of religious rites. The new doctrinal situation was clearly reflected in the formal orders of church buildings and the new organization of internal spaces.

In the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, adopted on 4 December 1963 as the first document of the Second Vatican Council, a statement was made that “the Church did not consider any style as if it were its own, but according to the character and condition of nations and the needs of various rites allowed artistic forms of every era, creating a treasury of art over the centuries, which should be preserved with all care. Also the art of our era and of all nations and regions can freely develop in the Church, if only with due respect and veneration, serve the temples and sacred ceremonies so that it may be able to join this wonderful hymn of praise which in the previous centuries the greatest artists sang in honour of Catholic faith” [SC, 123]. The doctrinal interpretation was accepted as a full admission of architectural and artistic modernism to the needs of the architecture of new churches and changes in the décor of buildings from earlier eras.

In the churches of Upper and Lower Silesia, after the Council, forms taken from industrial architecture appeared, which was already visible in the church of The Holy Spirit in Chorzów, whose view from the side of the presbytery and side elevation can be read as taken from the factory halls. In other facilities, formal components typical of office buildings, houses of culture or residential shop pavilions were applied (Żory, the church of St. Stanislaus, Katowice Szopienice, the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help), in both cases the buildings stand out as churches only thanks to the tower attached to the building block.

Ambivalent attitude towards modernism is shown by churches based on their external appearance with the shape of a high, gable roof, typical of old gothic buildings. On one hand, one can notice references to the most enduring traditions of the church building, while on the other hand, bringing the temple to an extremely simple, geometric solution can be considered as desacralizing and proper aesthetics of avant-garde modernism. Such ambiguous arrangements can be found in the Church of Jesus Christ in Chorzów Batory¹¹ and the church of Our Lady in Rydułtowy Orłowiec¹². Sometimes references to more developed roof systems were used, where the upper edges of the roofs are separated and a skylight is created between them, as in the case of St. Jadwiga's church in Rybnik¹³. The popularity of secular bold roof formulas, typical for Felix Candela, Pier Luigi Nervi or Oscar Niemeyer, in the secular architecture, meant that they were also used in churches, but it is impossible to determine their appropriateness in objects of this type. The question "are they an expression of the triumph of engineering approaches to sacralness or, on the contrary, inclusion in the world of religion?" remains without a convincing answer. The lattice ceiling used for industrial or engineering buildings was used in the church of St. Krzysztof in Tychy¹⁴ and the Church of The Pentecost in Siemianowice Śląskie Bytków¹⁵. Maybe it is not a coincidence that in the case of the church in Siemianowice, efforts were later made to partially cover this form of covering in the nave of the church. It can be presumed that it was considered unsuitable for a temple building.

We have a similar, ambiguous situation when the church buildings refer to the shape of a boat or the prow of a ship. The very concept of the main nave of the

¹¹ Nyga, *Bogu i ludziom*, pp. 38–39.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 112–113.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 108–109.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 128–129.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 116–117.

church refers to the Latin word *navis* – a boat or a ship, which in old-Christian symbolism referred to the Church, as we find it in Tertullian or *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. At the same time, it should be remembered that modern ships, especially oceanic ones, also the shapes of their engines or turbines, were treated as models for especially secular avant-garde architecture due to their technical advancement. Also in the case of so-called ‘ships prow’ shaped churches which include the objects in Ruda Śląska Halemba (dedicated as The Birth of Christ)¹⁶ and in Ruda Śląska (named after St. Pius X)¹⁷, we do not find a definitive answer regarding the question of the ideological content of the church facade formula used. Even the increasing passage of time does not make it easier to solve the problem: if a pattern taken from a world of extremely secular values is included in the pattern of Christian art, then the pattern is Christianized, or the value of saints decreases, so is this desacralization and hidden triumph of rationality over the world of religious values?

A specific problem of the cultural content of churches in Upper and Lower Silesia is the reception of postulates of the liturgical reform movement, which were largely adopted by the Second Vatican Council. The changes introduced focused on raising the importance of the religious community as the proper Church and focusing on the altar identified with Christ himself. Adaptation of these recommendations led to the creation of church blocks and interiors with central plans and to place the altar so that it would be partially surrounded by the faithful. Therefore, plans based on the shape of a circle (or a fragment of a circle) were used, as well as square and polygonal plans. In some versions of the altarocentric space the altar was placed in the corner, the main nave was shortened or the amphitheatre arrangement of the benches was used. A spectacular example of the use of the central plan is the church of Our Lady Queen of Angels in Tychy Wilkowyje. The construction of the temple began in 1958, but the partially constructed walls were demolished on 27 July 1958 with the participation of officers of the Security Office¹⁸. Also the builder of the church, priest Józef Oleś was temporarily arrested. It was only a quarter century later, on 14 April 1981, that the parish received permission for the construction of the church, which was consecrated on 13 October 1988. The largest of the Upper Silesian central churches was built in Tychy Żwaków dedicated as The

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 106–107.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 104–105.

¹⁸ Cezary Wąs, *Budownictwo kościołów w Polsce po II Wojnie Światowej. Próba syntezy uwa-runkowań politycznych*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 60, 2005, 3, p. 380.

Holy Spirit in the years 1979–1983¹⁹. However, it should be added that buildings with such a plan have always met with the resistance of local priests and a large part of the faithful accustomed to traditional elongated layouts.

A controversial solution to the shape of the part devoted to the faithful was to base it on an amphitheatrical arrangement, appropriate for theatres, music halls and lecture halls. This formula was used in the church Of the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Siechnice near Wrocław, a small building, nevertheless of great historical importance, because the consent to its erection was the first such event in Lower Silesia in the whole period after World War II²⁰. Until 23 February 1971, that is for more than a quarter of a century, administrative authorities did not issue any permission to build a new church in this area. In order to prevent a possible withdrawal of the decision, the design of a church was selected in a competition led by a local branch of the Association of Polish Architects. A situation in which the Wrocław architects' environment was involved in the construction, created a valid reason preventing authorities from stopping the construction process. After the competition and selection of the design by Tadeusz Szukała on 3 August 1973, construction work began and was ended by the consecration of the church on 25 October 1981.

There is no doubt that the political events of December 1970 influenced the official decision in the case of the church in Siechnice. From 14 to 22 December of that year workers' protests broke out against the price increases of many food products in several Polish port cities. The result of the revolt were changes at the top level of party and state authorities, which also prompted another government ruling to make concessions regarding relations with the Church. In the period after December 1970, however, only a few permits were granted, and throughout the next decade, church construction was still not only limited, but also fought with the use of militia. In July 1971, permission was given to build a church in the Gdańsk Przymorze district, whose inhabitants were participants in the tragic events of December 1970. At that time, political events were also a direct reason for issuing permits for the construction of three churches in Wrocław (Holy Spirit, St. Lawrence and the Holy Trinity) as well as the church of the Raising of the Holy Cross in Katowice. In Poland, in 1971, only two permits were issued for the construction of

¹⁹ Andrzej Artur Mroczek, Konrad Kucza-Kuczyński, *Nowe kościoły w Polsce*, Warszawa 1991, p. 18.

²⁰ Wąs, *Budownictwo kościołów w Polsce*. p. 375.

a new sacral building, and in subsequent years until the next political breakthrough in August 1980, the number of positive decisions was equally small. However, the pressure from citizens on the authorities intensified during this period, which over time was encouraged by the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as Pope in 1978.

Buildings erected in the 1970s are in many cases characterized by a high artistic class. The number of objects with outstanding architectural qualities is disproportionately large in relation to the total number of works built in this period. The aesthetic quality of these objects should be treated as their cultural content, because it results from the complex circumstances of their implementation. In almost every case the churches of that time were erected after several decades of waiting for official permission, which led to caution when the official decision to build them was made. They were located in areas where the number of parishioners grew through the creation of new housing estates, which in turn encouraged church investors to plan large-scale facilities. Only those with serious architectural achievements could be appointed to carry out such projects, which in turn resulted in not only projects of large-scale works, but at the same time being outstanding works of architecture. The size and quality of these buildings were therefore not accidental, but they integrated the influence of many historical factors. Involvement of people with high authority in the engineers' environment was also a reason that to some extent prevented obstacles being made by officials in the processes of building the object. The complex games played between construction initiators and the decision-makers opposed to them for political reasons, have never been fully publicly open and were based on formulas that can be difficult to understand. One of such formulas was to ask the authorities for permission to expand the facility, which was easier to obtain than the permission to build a new one, and then expanding the building over the planned sizes. The builders were then brought to court for tort and severely punished with fines, the officials obtained a justification for their superiors, and the object in effect remained in the shape given to it during the alleged expansion. An example of such a situation was enlarging the chapel of the parish of St. Lawrence in Wrocław, formerly serving as a cemetery chapel. After obtaining the permit in 1976 for reconstruction increasing the size of the building by a few meters in 1977–1981, a two-level church with a lofty tower was built according to the design of the well-known Wrocław architect Zenon Nasterski²¹.

²¹ Magdalena Miś, *Wrocławska architektura sakralna z lat 1970-2000*, master thesis under the supervision of Professor Waldemar Okoń, University of Wrocław, 2003, pp. 89–90.

The most outstanding sacral building in Poland in the seventies of the 20th century is The Church of the Holy Spirit in Wrocław, a formally refined work of Tadeusz Zipser, professor of the Wrocław University of Technology, later a rector of this university²². Permission for construction of this object was issued on 16 December 1971, undoubtedly under the influence of the events of December 1970 and after the efforts begun in 1959, aimed first at rebuilding the destroyed parish church and after its demolition in 1967 to build a new one. The famous anecdote in Wrocław regarding the efforts of the parish priest, Stefan Wójcik claims that after another refusal of permission to build, he asked for a passport to travel to Moscow, where a positive decision might be made. A sincere or perhaps false naivety of the cleric hid, however, mockery of Anton Chekhov's story.

The church was founded on a polygon plan with numerous concavities and protrusions. In its external appearance, the temple can be seen as a large brick building modeled on ancient gothic churches but with a decidedly modernized character. A large conch filled with ogival windows was installed above the entrance to the church reinforcing the appeal to the Gothic. This series of connections is continued by the shape of the roof, which repeats the slightly bending line of cupolas of the church of St. Barbara in Kutná Hora, while its two-level structure has its counterpart in the St. John church under the double dedication of Holy Cross and Saint Bartholomew. A set of historical references makes the building one of the first works of postmodernism in Poland with its tendency to use quotations freely. The varied shape of the body also evokes many associations with symbolic and religious connotations. The whole was compared to a decorative casket or even a medieval reliquary. The concavity above the entrance was interpreted as the shape of hands receiving the gifts of the Holy Spirit, to whom this House of God was dedicated. The roof was spoken of as an Old Testament Meeting Tent, in which, according to the will of God, Moses placed the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 40, 1–3). The return to symbolism strengthens the large altar painting, which depicts scenes illustrating the “Role and activity of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments”,

²² Tadeusz Zipser, *Kościół św. Ducha we Wrocławiu. Historia kształtowania formy*, [in:] *Architektura Wrocławia*, v. 3, ed. Jerzy Rozpędowski, Politechnika Wrocławska, Wrocław 1997, pp. 465–488; Magdalena Czerepak-Miś, *Kościół pod wezwaniem Ducha Świętego na tle wrocławskich budowli sakralnych końca lat siedemdziesiątych*, bachelor thesis under the supervision of Rafał Eysymontt, University of Wrocław 2001; Miś, *Wrocławska architektura*, pp. 87–88; Ewa Bartosz, *Zrealizowane obiekty sakralne zaprojektowane przez Tadeusza M. Zipsera*, master thesis under the supervision of Cezary Wąs, University of Wrocław, 2012, pp. 21–33.

among them the amazing representation of a seraph touching the mouth of Isaiah with hot coals (Is 6,6). In the post-war history of Polish churches, the Wrocław facility retains the most-saturated religious content, developed and multiplied by its numerous commentators. Their summary constituted the opinion of Mirosław Drzewiecki, who described the work as a rich *bibulum pauperum* and a monument exhibited for the glory of the Third Divine Person²³.

In June 1976, a wave of protests against Poland's communist policy went through Poland. Fearing the widening of rebellious moods, the planned price increases were finally abandoned, and measures were also taken to dissuade the reasons for a further increase in social tensions after a period of violent repression. A clear example of the aspirations to avoid the escalation of social discontent was the granting of permission for the construction of a church on 27 May 1977 by the Governor of Katowice, Stanisław Kiermaszek, for Millennium housing estate in Katowice with 30,000 residents. The authorities' special resistance to this place was caused by the fact that in its ideological assumption it was to be a model socialist settlement deliberately deprived of the church building. The permission for its construction was preceded by a period of several years of efforts to issue it, but it was also the result of promoting information about the state of church construction in the diocese of Silesia during the annual pilgrimage of workers to the sanctuary of the Mother of Justice and Social Love in Piekary Śląskie. Throughout the 1970s, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims learned of the difficulties created by the authorities with regard to the construction of churches, contrary to the practice of maintaining a state monopoly on shaping public opinion.

The construction of the church at the Millennium Housing Estate began on 27 September 1979, and on 13 December 1981, martial law was declared and directed against the Solidarity revolution in Poland. The bishop of Katowice Herbert Bednorz consecrated the lower part of the two-level church and dedicated it to the Mother of God, Healer of The Sick²⁴. The consecration of the upper church took place only ten years later, on 14 September 1991, when the church was dedicated

²³ Mirosław Drzewiecki, *Sakralne bryły i wnętrza*, [in:] *Patientia et caritas: w hołdzie Księdzu Kardynałowi Henrykowi Gulbinowiczowi, Arcybiskupowi, Metropolicie Wrocławskiemu, w 25 lecie sakry biskupiej*, ed. Ignacy Dec, Wrocław 1995, p. 332.

²⁴ Nyga, *Bogu i ludziom*, pp. 76–77; Andrzej Babuchowski, *Oto drzewo krzyża...*, „Katolik”, 1982, 19, pp. 6–7.

to The Raising of the Holy Cross²⁵. The choice of dedication was intended to commemorate the objectionable destruction of roadside crosses that took place during the construction of the estate and Katowice-Chorzów road. The work of two Silesian architects with immense authority, Henryk Buszko and Aleksander Franta, it directly contrasted the grey, multi-storey residential buildings. The plan of the temple was based on a multitude of curved lines and the walls complementing the reinforced concrete structure were made of dark red brick, from which Upper Silesia was traditionally built in both factory buildings and housing estates. In contrast to the Wrocław church of The Holy Spirit the work from Katowice continues the modernist tradition, especially the so-called brick expressionism. To a lesser extent than Zipser's work it is saturated with symbolism, it nevertheless has the trait of traditionalism and corresponds to the custom of creating a worthy place for religious ceremonies. The decisive factor for the significance of this building is the fact that the elevation itself has clearly changed the character of the whole of its surroundings, not only supplementing them with a sacred element, but also humanizing them by restoring the living traditions familiar to the congregation.

The previous review of the most important Silesian churches of the period after the end of World War II clearly shows that each of them was closely related to the political upheavals that occurred at that time in Poland. An analogous relationship between granting permission for the construction of a new temple and the situation in which the authorities sought to avoid the escalation of social conflict occurred in the case of the Wrocław church of Our Lady the Queen of Peace in the Popowice estate²⁶. The extensive habitat was built in the mid-1970s for 17.5 thousand residents without considering the location of a new church within its area. However, when in August 1980 shipyard workers' strikes began in the shipyards of Gdansk and Gdynia, which were joined by more than 700 enterprises across Poland, the authorities adopted a policy of concessions and signed an agreement with strikers on 31 August accepting the demands made by workers during the negotiations. Because Wrocław became one of the main cities that joined the August protests as early as 20 August 1980, during the intensification of the conflict, the authorities agreed to build a church in Popowice. It was anticipated that by

²⁵ Even the large size of the temple did not allow full satisfaction of pastoral needs and in the eighties it was necessary to build another church in the estate.

²⁶ Michał Kaczmarek, *Parafia Matki Bożej Królowej Pokoju na Popowicach*, Wrocław 1997; Wojciech Jarząbek, *Sacrum, architektura i indywidualność*, „Magazyn Budowlany”, 1997, 2, pp. 12–16; Miś, *Wrocławska architektura*, pp. 96–98.

solving this problem, the involvement of Church representatives on the side of the protesters would decrease, and some of the awakened social enthusiasm would be directed towards non-political activities. A similar policy was applied by authorities throughout Poland, which led to an extraordinary scale of church building in over three thousand Polish cities and towns. The Wrocław church symbolically remains the first of this long sequence of buildings.

The design of the church in Popowice was the result of a competition, which was won by the thirty-year-old architect Wojciech Jarząbek and a group of his colleagues. The form of a square was chosen as the basis for the appearance of the body and all structural and decorative elements, which was transformed and distorted with unprecedented ingenuity. The square that was used to create the portal was brought to a shape resembling a gothic ogive. It is this element of the structure and at the same time the decoration of the church that facilitates understanding of the architect's intentions, which also in a large number of other forms sought to create a link between the distant, medieval traditions of Wrocław's sacred buildings, and exemplary brick expressionism from the 1930s (including the Evangelical church of Gustav Adolf at the Sępolno housing estate) and the completely contemporary current of the so-called Romantic geometry. As a result of this heterogeneous approach, a wide-ranging structure was created, which – as was often the case with representatives of brick expressionism – resembles a Gothic castle, so it can also be a Teutonic castle that used to be the basis of sacred buildings the Vistula-Baltic style. The building has a reinforced concrete skeleton, but on all sides it is covered with a red brick that adds even more to the gothic churches of Wrocław. The roof of the temple was carefully thought out and treated as an additional "fifth elevation" visible from the windows of residential high-rise buildings surrounding the church. Symbolic values were transferred in a way that is distant from figurative ones, however, in connection with the explanations provided by the designers, they may constitute an additional, readable component of the general pronunciation of the church. The split tower completed with the square placed in the corner of the upper part was compared to hands folded for prayer, while the extensive roof with many tracts was described as a soft garment of the patron of the church, under which the faithful find shelter from afflictions of mortality. The traditionalism of the building or the symbolism of its parts are not immediately obvious, but such that their use builds respect not only to the richness of historical references, but also their sophisticated application.

In the period of over a dozen months after reaching agreement between state authorities and representatives of striking workers, conflicts were continually arising from society's desire for further liberalization of the state system on the one hand and on the other hand communist attempts to escape from the freedoms obtained. The situation which left the dispute unambiguously resolved was interrupted by the introduction of the state of emergency on 13 December 1981, which according to the applicable legal system was defined as "martial law". At the beginning of this period, the main official decisions were taken by the so-called military commissioners who were characterized by pragmatism and striving to avoid conflict with church authorities in relation to church construction. The permits obtained at that time, led to the construction of churches in several thousand places throughout Poland. In the new situation, there was no longer a need for large objects, but rather objects adopted to the needs of specific parishes. The trend of establishing the forms of buildings to the most traditional solutions characteristic of sacral architecture, including the use of extended front elevations, high towers and gable roofs, was also strengthened. A characteristic object of the eighties is the church of St. Barbara in Giszowiec – Katowice district²⁷. The permission for construction of the church was obtained in 1983, even before August 1984, a parish was established in this area. The temple, which was consecrated on 23 October 1994, in its appearance resembles a modernized version of a typical neo-gothic parish church in a small town.

The parliamentary elections in June 1989 and the successive change of the political system in Poland took place in a situation where the main needs in the area of church construction were already met. All the activities of building spectacular sacred works after 1989 have lost their connection with political tensions which were caused by the undemocratic and ineffective economic system of the so-called real socialism. Only the Warsaw church of Divine Providence was established by a resolution of parliament in 1998, a memorial to several-year struggles for freedom and independence. References to great historical events in the dioceses of Lower and Upper Silesia also appeared in the case of the Wrocław church of Christ the Redeemer of the World, also referred to as the church-monument of the Millennium of the Wrocław Diocese.

²⁷ Nyga, *Bogu i ludziorom*, pp. 72–73.

Wrocław's Metropolitan Curia announced in 1990 a competition for the construction of a temple, which was supposed to commemorate the establishment in the year 1000 of a diocese subordinated to the metropolis of Gniezno. The winning design by Jadwiga Grabowska-Hawrylak assumed the erection of a building, which was supposed to refer to the gothic cathedral of the archdiocese of the city, St. John the Baptist and like the prototype was to stand out with its impressive two-storied facade. Using the pattern of the old building was the main element in creating the ideological meaning of the work and the content held therein regarding the positive assessment of the importance of continuity in the functioning of religious and national communities. However, a more thorough analysis may disturb this opinion. Michał Duda, researcher for the work of the author of the project, drew attention to the influence of Kisho Kurokawa (in relation to using the lattice motif) and Aldo Rossi (in the case of characteristic small windows in the side walls of the facade)²⁸. The lattice crowning one tower and penetrating the second tower, was a characteristic form of the architecture of late modernism and contained a reflection on the structures typical of the modernist style. Similarly self-reflective was Rossi's entire work suspended between the anguish of late modernism and postmodern historicism. Thus, reflections on artistic problems appropriate to times of weariness in modernism and, at the same time, fears of rejection of it in favour of another, barren traditionalism, were written into the object of such a historical importance.

The history of ideological content of sacred buildings in Lower and Upper Silesia in the period after the end of World War II begins with the restoration of the Gothic cathedral in Wrocław and ends with the building, which is modelled on it. The historical space between these two buildings is filled with objects that were seriously affected by political events. Some of these incidents have left traces in the forms of these buildings, while others have rather been imprinted in the texts about the circumstances of their construction. It should be noted, however, that the last of the works discussed here, changes the political theme to consider the prospects for further development of modern societies in which religious cults no longer play an important role, by supplementing historical references with research into the problems of modernist architecture.

²⁸ Michał Duda, *Patchwork. Architektura Jadwigi Grabowskiej-Hawrylak*, Wrocław 2016, p. 252.

TRZĘŚCI KULTUROWE WYBITNYCH DZIEŁ ARCHITEKTURY SAKRALNEJ NA ŚLĄSKU W LATACH 1945–2015

STRESZCZENIE

Historia budowli sakralnych na Dolnym i Górnym Śląsku w okresie po zakończeniu II wojny światowej rozpoczyna się od odbudowy gotyckiej katedry we Wrocławiu, zniszczonej podczas oblężenia Wrocławia przez Armię Czerwoną wiosną 1945 r. Renowacja katedry w latach 1946–1949 miała miejsce w warunkach walki partii komunistycznej o uzyskanie pełnej władzy politycznej i dążenia do osłabienia roli Kościoła. W 1951 r. władze państwowe ingerowały w strukturę Kościoła poprzez wybór na wikariusza generalnego osoby uległej nowemu systemowi państwowemu. Konsekracja odrestaurowanej katedry św. Jana Chrzciciela w 1951 r. odbyła się zatem w czasie intensyfikacji terroru komunistycznego i obecnie może być również uważana za część zbiorowej pamięci czasów stalinizmu. Wszystkie ważne dzieła architektury sakralnej zbudowane w późniejszych latach wiązały się w podobny sposób z wydarzeniami politycznymi w Polsce. Po październiku 1956 r., kiedy zakończyła się pierwsza faza liberalizacji systemu socjalistycznego, władze początkowo wydały pozwolenia na budowę nowych kościołów, ale wkrótce powróciły do swojej wizji budowy całkowicie świeckiego społeczeństwa. Plany zakładania nowych kościołów traktowano jako podżeganie zacofanych mas do walki przeciwko nowoczesnemu państwu. Duchowni budujący kościoły byli aresztowani pod fałszywymi zarzutami. Gdy udało im się ukończyć wzniesione obiekty, częścią ich ideologicznej treści jest pamięć o prześladowaniu ich budowniczych (Chorzów: kościół św. Floriana i kościół św. Ducha).

Kolejne fale budowania nowych kościołów miały miejsce po tragicznych wydarzeniach z grudnia 1970 r. (kościół w Siechnicach pod Wrocławiem, kościół Ducha Świętego we Wrocławiu), po fali protestów w czerwcu 1976 r. (kościół na osiedlu millennialnym w Katowicach), po rewolucji Solidarności w sierpniu 1980 r. (kościół na osiedlu Popowice we Wrocławiu). Po ogłoszeniu stanu wojennego w grudniu 1981 r. komisarze wojskowi starali się unikać napięć społecznych i masowo udzielali pozwoleń na wnoszenie tysięcy budowli sakralnych w całej Polsce. Charakterystyczną budowlą tego okresu jest kościół św. Barbary w dzielnicy Giszowiec – Katowice. Gdy w czerwcu 1989 r. zmienił się system polityczny w Polsce, większość potrzeb w sferze budownictwa sakralnego została zaspokojona. Historię kolejnych okresów budowy nowych kościołów, które zawsze były zakorzenione w tragicznych wydarzeniach historycznych, zamyka Kościół Chrystusa Odkupiciela Świata, pierwszy od pół wieku nie związany z wydarzeniami politycznymi w Polsce.

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Zipser Tadeusz, *Kościół św. Ducha we Wrocławiu. Historia kształtowania formy*, [in:] *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 3, ed. Jerzy Rozpędowski, Wrocław 1997, pp. 465–488.

M I S C E L L A N E A Ź R Ó D Ł O W E S O U R C E M I S C E L L A N E A

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VISIONES CUIUSDAM DEVOTE MULIERIS. **A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF MYSTICISM IN MEDIEVAL SILESIA**

In the light of the available scientific literature, the term *mysticism in medieval Silesia* sounds almost like an oxymoron. Of course, a lot of attention has already been devoted to modern Silesian mysticism and its most important figures, such as Jacob Böhme, Abraham von Franckenberg and Angelus Silesius (Johann Scheffler), whose work has enjoyed and still enjoys wide popularity¹. In reference to the earlier epoch, mysticism was mainly discussed in the context of the presentation of selected Silesian monastery collections. They were often the works of the most eminent mystics and medieval mystics which could serve as a source of knowledge about mystical experiences, but also as an exemplary religious reading². As you can imagine, apart from one mystic, medieval Silesia did not produce any other

¹ See for instance: Theodorus Cornelis van Stockum, *Zwischen Jakob Böhme und Johann Scheffler: Abraham von Franckenberg und Daniel Czepko*, Amsterdam 1967; Józef Kosian, *Mistyka Śląska. Mistrzowie duchowości śląskiej: Jakub Boehme, Anioł Ślązak i Daniel Czepko*, Wrocław 2001 (*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 2131); *Między transcendencją a immanencją – mistyka śląska*, eds. Bogdan Ferdek, Leon Miodoński, Wrocław 2015 (*Diafora. Interdyscyplinarne Studia z Filozofii i Teologii*, 2).

² See for instance: Alfred Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych św. Augustyna w Żaganiu*, Wrocław 1965 (*Śląskie Prace Bibliograficzne i Bibliotekoznawcze*, 8), pp. 93–95; Konstanty K. Jażdżewski, *Lubiąż. Losy i kultura umysłowa śląskiego opactwa cystersów (1163–1642)*, Wrocław 1992 (*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 1081), pp. 152–153; Michał Broda, *Biblioteka klasztoru cystersów w Henrykowie*, Kraków 2014, pp. 121–126.

native ones³. The exception is, however, very significant: a secular woman who experienced numerous apparitions at the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century, that is during the so-called *mystical invasion* of women⁴.

Connected with the monastery of regular canons of St. Augustine in Żagan, the visionary Dorothea Behir – because this is about her – has not met with much interest from researchers so far. She was included in the group of important Silesians of German descent by an excellent expert on Silesian manuscript sources and ethnologist Joseph Klapper, who developed her brief biography⁵. Przemysław Szatan paid a little more attention to Dorothea in his student paper⁶. Dorothea and her revelations were rarely taken into account in other contributions⁷ or in various

³ The interesting Silesian manuscript containing the description of the revelation (“miracle”) of Arnt Buschmann from the Cistercian monastery of Henryków does not change this situation (see: Arne Schumacher, Benjamin Kozłowski, *Ein bildungsgeschichtliches Beispiel devoter Frömmigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien. Zu Verwendungs- und Überlieferungszusammenhängen des Kodex Breslau, UB, I D 41a unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des „Mirakels“ Arnt Buschmanns*, [in:] *Śląska republika uczonych / Schlesische Gelehrtenrepublik / Slezská vědecká obec*, vol. 6, eds. Marek Hałub, Anna Mańko-Matysiak, Dresden-Wrocław 2014, pp. 87–118).

⁴ See for instance: Peter Dinzelbacher, *Die christliche Mystik und die Frauen. Zur Einführung*, [in:] *Europäische Mystik vom Hochmittelalter zum Barock: Eine Schlüssel-epoche in der europäischen Mentalitäts-, Spiritualitäts- und Individuationsentwicklung. Beiträge der Tagung 1996 und 1997 der Evangelischen Akademie Nordelbien in Bad Segeberg*, eds. Wolfgang Beutin, Thomas Bütow, Frankfurt a. M. 1998 (Bremer Beiträge zur Literatur- und Ideengeschichte, 21), p. 13. The term (*invasion mystique*) is also used by: André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D’après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Rome 1988, (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 241), pp. 472–478, where the dating is around 1370–1430; see also Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God. A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. 4: *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany (1300–1500)*, New York 2005, p. 351.

⁵ Joseph Klapper, *Deutsche Schlesier des Mittelalters. Nach schlesischen Klosterhandschriften*, Breslau 1937, pp. 30–31.

⁶ Przemysław Szatan, *Między ziemią a niebem – przypadek Doroty Beier z Żagania*, [in:] *Problem pogranicza w średniowieczu. Materiały z XI Ogólnopolskiej Sesji Mediewistycznej*, ed. Monika Jędrzejek, Kraków 2013, p. 25–31. Only selected problems have been presented in this work.

⁷ Alfred Świerk, *Schreibstube und Schreiber des Augustiner-Chorherren-Stiftes zu Sagan im Mittelalter*, „Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, 26, 1968, p. 135; Edward Potkowski, *Kobiety a książka w średniowieczu (wybrane problemy)*, [in:] *Idem, Książka i pismo w średniowieczu. Studia z dziejów kultury piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej*, Pułtusk 2006, p. 341 (pierwotnie: „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 105, 1998, 3, p. 18); Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Schlesien und die ‘Devotio moderna’*. *Die Wege der Durchdringung und Verbreitung der ‘neuen Frömmigkeit’*, [in:] *Die ‘neue Frömmigkeit’ in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Marek Derwich, Martial Staub, Göttingen 2004, (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 205), pp. 148–150; Anna Pobóg-Le-nartowicz, *Kobiety w Katalogu opatów żagańskich*, [in:] *Polska leży na Zachodzie. Studia z dziejów Polski i Europy dedykowane Pani Profesor Teresie Kulak*, eds. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Marek Masnyk, Krzysztof Kawalec, Toruń 2011, p. 613.

synthesizing studies⁸ and encyclopedic⁹. Finally, one of the manuscripts, containing a handful of information about her, as well as copies of her selected visions, was characterized by Emil Beck¹⁰. All these studies are at most partial, if not secondary, using the same limited source material, while adding nothing new to the story. Meanwhile, there is no doubt that the mystical visions of Dorothea Behir deserve special attention and require analytical elaboration. The starting point for this undertaking is to attempt to balance available information about them and the Żagań visionary.

The sources for Dorothea Behir's biography are scarce. In the previous studies, fragments of the chronicle of the monastery of regular canons of St. Augustine in Żagań (known as the *Catalog of Żagań Abbots*) were used as source material – the relevant fragment was written by sub-prior Peter Waynknecht around the turn of the 15th/16th century¹¹. A copy of the letter from Martin Rinkenbergh, abbot of the Żagań monastery (in office 1468–1489), to Michael Czacheritz, a provost of the monastery of the same order in Kłodzko from 1487 was the other source, rarely used¹². Certain biographical details are also included in the surviving descriptions of the apparitions.

⁸ Anton Leipelt, *Geschichte der Stadt und Herzogthums Sagan*, Sorau 1853, s. 226; Arno Lubos, *Geschichte der Literatur Schlesiens*, vol. 1, part 1: *Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1800*, Würzburg 1995, p. 47; Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka*, p. 95; Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, *Kanonicy regularni na Śląsku. Życie konwentów w śląskich klasztorach kanoników regularnych w średniowieczu*, Opole 1999, p. 160; Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Pióro w wątych dłoniach. O twórczości kobiet w dawnych wiekach*, vol. 3: *Różnorodność (od Agnieszki Blannbekin do Małgorzaty z Nawarry)*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 84–85.

⁹ Robert Samulski, *Beier Dorothea*, [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2, Berlin 1955, p. 19; Kurt Ruh, *Beier Dorothea*, [in:] *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, Berlin-New York 1978, col. 684–685; *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, Hamm 1990, col. 467; *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie der Theologie und der Kirchen*, eds. Bernd Moeller, Bruno Jahn, vol. 1: *A–L*, München 2005, p. 319; *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz, Berlin-Boston 2011, col. 1369–1370.

¹⁰ This is a manuscript currently in the University Library in Wrocław, call-number Akc. 1948/1048 (hereinafter: *Gla*), also known as *Miscellanea theologica*; see his description: Emil Beck, *Handschriften und Wiegendrucke der Gymnasial-Bibliothek in Glatz*, part 1, Glatz 1892 (Beilage zu dem Jahresbericht des Königlichen Katholischen Gymnasiums zu Glatz), pp. 18–20; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Kronika klasztoru kanoników regularnych w Kłodzku. Ze studiów nad średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwem klasztornym*, Wrocław 2001 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 2234. Historia, 143), pp. 192–200.

¹¹ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*, vol. 1, ed. Gustav Adolf Stenzel, Breslau 1835, pp. 325–326, 357.

¹² In the manuscript *Gla*, fol. 269^v–270 r. This unpublished letter I am quoting in its entirety: De predicta muliere anno Domini 1487 scribit abbas Saganensis, pro tempore scilicet magister Martinus de Dingenbergh, preposito in Glac: „Mulierem hanc optime novi et eius confessionem sepe

The entry to the *Liber mortuorum* of the Żagań monastery was also used: “Obiit Dorothea Beyerynne, Hedwigis filia eius”¹³. This information about the death of Dorothea Beyerynne is among the January entries, but on its basis it can not be determined which day in the month of January and in which year she died. However, there are doubts as to whether this entry is really about Dorothea Behir. The authority of J. Klapper stands behind the reference to this information about the Żagań mystic¹⁴. Not only did he find this source fragment, but he also described the entire manuscript in which it was posted. In my opinion, however, J. Klapper’s association of the names Beherynne and Beyerynne and, consequently, reference information from *Liber mortuorum* raises some doubts, the more so from the quoted letter of Martin Rinkenbergh which shows that among Dorothea’s children only her one son, named Florian survived. For this reason, this source has not been included in further considerations.

On the basis of available information, you can determine the surname of Dorothea in the form of *Behir*, that is *Behr*¹⁵. This name was mentioned twice in the catalog of Żagań Abbots: for the first time just in the form of Behir, and in the second as Beherynne¹⁶. Formant *-ynne*, added to the name Behir / Beher, means a married woman, also a widow, and just as a widow, Dorothea is depicted the first two of these sources. Dorothea’s husband was Jakob Behir, who died before 1451. She had sons and daughters with him, of whom we only know the aforementioned Franciscan-observant Florian. After the death of her husband Dorothea lived in an

audivi. Maritata fuit et procuravit filios et filias, supervivit unus eius filius, in ordine fratrum minorum de observancia professus, Florianus nomine. Orbata viro in statu viduali Deo servire et mundialium conversacionum proposse declinare diligentissime studuit. Habuit hospicium circa monasterium nostrum et fuit netrix nostra suendo vestes lineas fratrum, ideo dabatur sibi cottidie cibus et potus de monasterio nostro, illo usa ieiunando, edendo vel bibendo nullas singularitates habuit. Ieiunabat quando sciebat fratres ordinis ieiunare. Confessionem frequenter fecit et communicavit semel in septimana, aliquando, quandoque eciam diucius protraxit. Unicum tamen donum singulariter a Deo consecuta, quod misterium Dominice passionis devotissime et compassive sepiissime contemplabatur. Ibi invenit fontem omnis gracie, de quo hausit habunde, ut revelaciones sibi divinitus facte clarissime ostendunt. Alia de eius vita non habentur. Det nobis omnipotens Deus intimo corde hunc fontem semper sitiare et ei perfecta caritate in evum adherere”. – Hec abbas prefatus inter cetera scribit de ea.

¹³ In the manuscript of the University Library in Wrocław, call-number IV O 36, fol. 2r.

¹⁴ Klapper, *Deutsche Schlesier*, pp. 30–31, where Dorothea Behir’s death, as J. Klapper believes, is dated on January 1 (without precise indication of the source of this information). However, this is unlikely because the January entries in the Żagań *Liber mortuorum* are already beginning in fol. 1r, and fol. 2r lacks any tips to determine the day of death.

¹⁵ See: Beck, *Handschriften und Wiegendrucke*, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, pp. 325, 357.

apartment in a stone house, near the gate leading to the monastery buildings. She worked there as a seamstress (*netrix*) sewing the linen costumes of monks, for which she received food and drink. She lived at the monastery until 1464, when she was forced to leave following an interdict imposed by Prince John II the Mad on Żagań¹⁷, banning participation by lay people in the life of the church community. Dorothea moved to Koźuchów, where she settled in a suburban shelter. There, in poverty and sickness, she died. Dorothea's death took place between 1464 and 1468, that is, in the final years of Simon Arnoldi's term as Abbott at Żagań (in office 1450–1468). This information is known due to the fact that Dorothea has been included in his biography in *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*¹⁸.

In the light of the preserved writings, Dorothea was characterized by extraordinary devotion. She often went to confession. She received communion once a week, although sometimes more time passed between successive communions. She fasted when she knew that the monks in the monastery would also fast. She treated meals as a natural necessity and did not look for pleasure in them, and before she sat at the table, she first scourged herself in a secluded place¹⁹. According to the Żagań chronicler, "just like the evangelical Anna [cf. Lc 2, 26], her body was restrained from sensuality and her soul from the vanity of this world"²⁰. She devoted herself to contemplation, very often she experienced the "mystery of the passion of the Lord most piously and compassionately", which Martin Rinkenberk perceived as a unique gift of God. He believed that contemplation was for Dorothea "the source of all grace, from which she drew profusely", as evidenced by the revelation experienced by the Divine cause²¹. In turn, Peter Waynknecht wrote that she was distinguished by "excellent contemplation and angelic heat", in which she achieved perfection²². Dorothea received a gift of revelation as a result of some breakthrough in her life, even referred to as

¹⁷ About this interdict see also *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, pp. 252, 345–349; see also Barbara Techmańska, *Jan II żagański. Niespokojny książę, sojusznik króla husyty (16 VI 1435–22 IX 1504)*, Kraków 2014, p. 105.

¹⁸ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, pp. 322–357. See also note 12.

¹⁹ Akc. 1948/742 (hereinafter: *Leg*), fol. 54^{vb}: „antequam accederet ad mensam suam, prius in loco secreto, ut a nullo experiri possit, graciosissime virgarum acciperet disciplinam”.

²⁰ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, p. 325: “ut altera Anna ewangelista, carnem a voluptatibus et mentem a vanitatibus seculi abstrahens”.

²¹ See above note 12.

²² *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, p. 325: she was “excellētis contemplacionis et seraphici fervoris” and “ad altissimum gradum contemplacionis pervenit”.

conversion (“ex exordio sue conversionis ad vite sanctimoniam”)²³. It is not known what the reason was for this change – it could have been the death of her children or, most likely, the death of her husband, for her first revelations are dated from 1451, the year Jakob Behir died.

The revelations Dorothea experienced lasted until at least 1458, which is assumed from the dates posted in the visions written by Dorothea’s confessor, Simon Arnoldi. It was thanks to him that the world learned about Dorothea’s extraordinary gift, because she herself could not read or write, which was mentioned several times in the descriptions of her visions, eg: “On Good Friday [15 April 1457], this very pious woman effusively expressed her gratitude for being able to understand the entirety of Christ’s passion sung by the priest [in Latin], even though she never learned the language”²⁴. Dorothea was instructed to present her revelations to the confessor. She learned that it should be Abbot Simon, from a vision in which she saw Christ with a wound in his side. A lot of people were to be found in this wound, among them her future confessor²⁵. Abbot Simon learned the content of Dorothea’s vision during confession (“in situ confessionis ex ore ipsius mente concepit”)²⁶, and then he wrote them down, probably in working draft form. Later on, he edited the final version of the vision. The existence of a working version is proven by the written visions being given an appropriate order – grouping of visions from different years on the same subject together, eg descriptions of visions about the birth of Christ from 1452, 1455 and 1457²⁷ written together; in addition, in the description written by Abbot Simon, the order of the church calendar was observed, starting with the feast of St. Catherine and Nativity.

It is difficult to say to what extent the final edition was inspired by the revelations of another Dorothea of Montau (died 1394), written by the Teutonic monk John of

²³ *Leg*, fol. 54^{vb}.

²⁴ *Leg*, fol. 70^{va}: „In bona sexta feria 1457 hec eadem devota magnas et multas gracias [egerat], nam totam passionem a presbitero decantatam quasi per singula verba intellexit, cum tamen litteras non didicit”; fol. 76^{va}: „multa lecta et cantata distincte intellexit, que tamen ab homine nunquam didicit”. See also manuscript of the University Library in Wrocław, call-number I D 5 (hereinafter: *Sag*), fol. 1^v: „oracionem licet antea nunquam ab homine audiverit nec litteras sciret”.

²⁵ *Leg*, fol. 55^{va-vb}. In the visions included here, he writes about himself in an impersonal form. See also *ibidem*, fol. 54^{va}.

²⁶ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, p. 326.

²⁷ *Leg*, fol. 56^{ra}–57^{rb}.

Kwidzyn (von Marienwerder)²⁸, surely known to Abbot Simon²⁹. As in the case of Dorothea of Montau, Dorothea Behir (and also other mystics), the male monks wrote the final records of the apparitions. Without a response, the question must remain whether they have had an impact only on the editions writing process or on the content of revelations, resulting, among other reasons, from the inability of the illiterate mystics to check records themselves or from the difficulty to express in words the contents of the revelations experienced in one's spirit, while in a state of elation³⁰.

According to Peter Waynknecht, visions recorded by Abbot Simon were kept in "a black book entitled *The Book of Spiritual Grace*"³¹. This volume was a peculiar collection of mystical literature, because other "visions of a certain nun" with the same title were to be included in it. This nun is undoubtedly the Cistercian nun Mechtylda of Hackeborn (died 1299), known mainly thanks to the visions she experienced during an illness from 1291, which was written in the book entitled *Liber spiritualis gracie* (also known as *Liber specialis gracie*)³². As you can predict, this *black book* has not survived to this day³³. Only later fragmented sections of revelations have survived.

The most comprehensive section can be found in the manuscript from the collection of the church library of St. Peter and Paul from Legnica, currently stored at the University Library in Wrocław under the call-number Akc. 1948/742 (*Leg*,

²⁸ About Dorothea of Montau, see e.g. from recent works: Strzelczyk, *Pióro w wątych dłoniach*, pp. 68–82; Grzegorz Ojciewicz, *Śmiertelna pobożność. Święta Dorota z Mątów: mity i rzeczywistość*, Szczytno 2016 – further literature in both works.

²⁹ Cf. hereinafter. See also: *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, p. 257. Peter Weynknecht compared the revelations of Dorothea Behir to the apparitions of Saint Brigid of Sweden („in modum sancte Brigitte” – *ibidem*, p. 325). Text of the apparitions of Saint Bridget of Sweden was found in the library of the Żagań monastery at the time of Martin Rinckenberg, at the latest see manuscript of the University Library in Wrocław, call-number I F 771; Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka*, p. 94. About the apparitions of Saint Bridget, see for example Anna Waśko, *Arystokraci ducha. Obraz społeczeństwa średniowiecznego w Revelationes św. Brygidy szwedzkiej*, Kraków 2009, especially pp. 22–36; see also Szatan, *Mędzy ziemią*, pp. 30–31.

³⁰ Compare for instance Strzelczyk, *Pióro w wątych dłoniach*, p. 73.

³¹ *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, p. 326: „in quodam nigro libello intitulato: *Liber spiritualis gracie*“.

³² See for instance Peter Dinzelbacher, *Deutsche und niederländische Mystik des Mittelalters. Ein Studienbuch*, Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 123–128. From Polish elaborations see also: Marta Kowalczyk, *Życie i myśl religijna św. Mechtyldy von Hackeborn*, Poznań 2011; *eadem*, *Cztery mistyczki, dwa imiona i jeden klasztor*, „Studia Warmińskie”, 46, 2009, pp. 295–305.

³³ Gustav Adolf Stenzel already thought so, see *Catalogus abbatum Saganensium*, s. 326, note 1; see also Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka*, p. 95.

fol. 54^{ra}–106^{rb})³⁴, which should be dated in time after 1473³⁵. Moreover, in this code there are other mystical or mystic texts: the life of St. Bridget of Sweden by Birger the Bishop of Uppsala (fol. 34^{rb}–50^{vb})³⁶, prophecy of St. Hildegard of Bingen (*Prophecia sancte Hyldegardis virginis et monialis de ordine Cisterciensi*, fol. 51^{ra}–53^{va})³⁷, The life of Dorothea of Montau by John of Kwidzyn, along with miracles attributed to her (*Libellus beate domine Dorothee exhortatorius ad canonizationem*, fol. 106^{va}–147^{va})³⁸.

A much more modest transcript of the revelations of Dorothea Behir, entitled *Visiones Saganensis mulieris*, is in the manuscript of *Gla*, from the monastery of the canons of St. Augustine in Kłodzko (fol. 194–269)³⁹. This code is a testimony to the living relationships between the Kłodzko and Żagań monasteries, which is confirmed by the *Visiones* text and the correspondence between the heads of both monasteries. The remaining 16 main texts in the Kłodzko manuscript do not concern mystical themes⁴⁰. The situation regarding the tiny codex from the library of the Żagań monastery (*Sag*) is different⁴¹. Apart from the extracts regarding the apparitions of Dorothea Behir (fol. 1^r–10^v, 11^v–33^v), excerpts from the works of Petrus de Alliaco, St. Bonaventure and above all Jean Gerson (fol. 74^v–122^v, 129^r–202^r) contain meditations and mystical experiences.

All three hand-written records of Dorothea Behir's revelations differ significantly in their volume. Basic differences can also be seen when comparing the method of editing individual fragments of revelations. There are visions attributed to Dorothea channelled into two themes and divided into chapters (*capitula*, containing from one to several revelations) in the *Leg* code. The first of the series,

³⁴ A general description of the *Leg* code, see Wilhelm Gemoll, *Die Handschriften der Petropaulinischen Kirchenbibliothek zu Liegnitz*, Liegnitz 1900, pp. 51–52. Cf. reference: Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka*, p. 95, note 414; Mrozowicz, *Schlesien*, p. 149 (here the numbering of the manuscript cards given incorrectly).

³⁵ Date woven into the description of one of the visions, see *Leg*, fol. 73^{vb}. Cf. *Leg*, fol. 234^{ab} (*Lucidarius misse*, where the annual date of 1462 is found in the colophon).

³⁶ *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae ac mediae aetatis*, t. A–I, Bruxellis 1898–1899, No. 1335.

³⁷ José C. Santos-Paz, *Catálogo de manuscritos de Hildegarde de Bingen / A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hildegard of Bingen* (on-line, visited on 28 February 2018), No. 270.

³⁸ Edition: *Acta Sanctorum. Octobris*, vol. 13, Parisiis 1883, pp. 499–558, 560–566.

³⁹ Mentioned already manuscript *Gla* – see note 10 above.

⁴⁰ Mrozowicz, *Kronika klasztoru*, pp. 192–200.

⁴¹ The description of *Sag* Code (written by Joseph Klapper) is in so called Göber's catalogue – manuscript of University Library in Wrocław, call-number Akc. 1967/2, vol. 26, fol. 19–24.

totalling 107 chapters⁴², can be titled *Excerpta quedam de revelacionibus factis cuidam vidue in Sagano ex gracia speciali* (fol. 54^{ra}–87^{va}, 89^{ra}), in keeping with the formulation of the manuscript. According to this title, these are only selected fragments (*excerpta*) of revelations. The second sequence – the Passion of Christ – was preceded by the following information: *Sequitur de passione Domini secundum revelaciones et visiones factas prefate devote* (fol. 89^{ra}–106^{rb}); the list (fol. 88^{r-v}) placed before this series has 33 chapters, while the main text contains 35 chapters. In the case of the *Gla* code, the revelations of Dorothea Behir were also divided into two cycles, although only the second – concerning the Christ’s Passion (fol. 208^v–269^r) – was preceded by appropriate information, identical to the *Leg* code. In this account there is no division into capitula, sometimes only the beginnings of individual descriptions of revelations are distinguished in bold, with a slightly larger module. Preliminary analyses allowed 10 chapters to be distinguished in the first and 19 in the second sequence. In the *Sag* manuscript of Dorothea Behir’s revelations, there are only a few chapters, however, as the preliminary comparisons show, in the second part they are mixed with fragments from *Liber spiritualis gracie* by Mechtilde of Hackeborn and *Stimulus amoris* by St. Bonaventure. The method of editing the apparitions therefore suggests that all three of their known records were created independently of each other. It is not known if they were copied directly from the missing *black book* or from some other manuscripts. The most comprehensive of the legends from the *Leg* code is considered the most valuable, hence further considerations will be referred to.

Abbot Simon began his report on the revelations of Dorothea Behir with an assurance of her credibility (“veridica relacio”)⁴³. He also referred to the words from the Gospel according to St. Luke (Lc 10, 23): “Beati oculi, qui vident, que vos videtis”, he stressed that visions experienced spiritually are more valuable than the physical ones, for many who have seen Christ, have been rejected (“multi fuerunt, qui Dominum Ihesum Christum oculis corporalibus viderunt et tamen reprobati sunt”). As you can imagine, Abbot Simon’s ambition was to reach the widest possible range of readers and propagate the revelations, also outside of Silesia, when he first precisely defined their place: “in partibus Slesie, in civitate Saganensi”⁴⁴. The descriptions of most of the visions contain information regarding

⁴² Chapters are numbered from 1 to 104, however, mistakes in numbering occurred three times.

⁴³ *Leg*, fol. 54^{ra}.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

the circumstances in which they occurred. Sometimes Simon provided dates and locations of visions. The church calendar was used for dating these events. Revelation most often took place in the sacred space of Żagan. It occurred several times in the church at the monastery of the regular canons of St. Augustine (at that time also a parish church), especially in the larger chapel located there (“in capella maiori ecclesie parrochialis”, “in ecclesia nostra”)⁴⁵ and in the Franciscan church (“in ecclesia fratrum minorum in Sagano”)⁴⁶. Revelations also occurred in the chamber where she lived (“in camera sua”)⁴⁷.

Dorothea received visions most often during the Mass liturgy. According to the accounts of Abbot Simon, this was due to the preparation for communion or thanksgiving after it, although they also took place during other parts of the mass (eg “dum *Sanctus* cantabatur”)⁴⁸, “dum celebrans diceret *Pater noster*”⁴⁹), and after confession⁵⁰. It also happened that the confessor himself provoked or encouraged mystical exultations (eg “ipse sua exhortacione devocionem excitare volens”)⁵¹, „confessor volens ignem devocionis ex silice producere”⁵², “confessor suos audita eius confessione ipsam ad devocionem hortaretur”⁵³). According to descriptions, the visions were preceded by the meditation of the Passion of Christ. Dorothea took this type of meditation at least twice a day. Standing with outstretched arms, kneeling or stretched out on the ground, she imagined (“ponit ante oculos mentis”) crucified Christ and began pondering how his first hand was nailed to the cross and what pain he suffered, after which she said one *Pater noster*. In this way she meditated on successive wounds - the second hand, both feet, and finally the side. She drew great comfort from that and lit up with divine love (“accendit divino amore”)⁵⁴.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, fol. 54^{ra}, 57^{ra}, 57^{va}, 58^{va}, 66^{rb}, 74^{rb}, 86^r, 87^{rb}.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, fol. 60^{vb}, 79^{vb}.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, fol. 55^{rb}.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, fol. 69^{ra}, 73^{vb}, 74^{vb}.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, fol. 70^{rb}.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, fol. 57^{va}, 82^{rb}, 82^{vb}.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, fol. 76^{vb}.

⁵² *Ibidem*, fol. 81^{rb}.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, fol. 81^{rb}.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, fol. 68^{rb}: „Habuit enim in consuetudine singulis diebus ad minus bis in die, videlicet mane et sero aut in meridie, secundum oportunitatem loci, temporis aut negotiorum, facere meditationem et contemplacionem circa quinque vulnera Ihesu Christi tali [modo]. Ponit enim ante oculos mentis Ihesum Christum crucifixum. Et ipsa stat manibus extensis vel geniculatur, aut in terra prostrata iacet, incipiens meditari, quomodo primam manum affixerunt et de dolore inde percepto et alia secundum inspiracionem divinam, secundum maius et minus, secundum quod tranquillitas mentis

The transition of Dorothea into a state of elation, as related by Abbot Simon, was usually expressed by verbs such as *pull* (*abstrahere*) or *drag off* (*rapere*), with the emphasis that it happened violently (*mox, subito*). There are also other expressions, sometimes poetically sounding, eg “*mox quasi facula ardenti accensum et illuminatum fuit cor eius*”⁵⁵. Sometimes, however, despite intense efforts and prayers, Dorothea could not achieve ecstatic exultation, which Abbot Simon commented upon, for example, that “*cor tamen ipsius aridum, ut montes Gelboe [cf. 2 Sm 1, 21–23] permanebat, sine rore et pluvia devocionis solite*”⁵⁶. Abbot Simon saw in Dorothea’s visions features typical of the medieval biblical exegesis⁵⁷, ie they included not only a literal (historical) sense, but also a moral, mystical and analogical sense – “*non solum sensum litteralem seu historiale[m] meditata est, ymmo et morale[m], misticum sive anagoycum fideliter inde hausit*”⁵⁸.

Almost all the revelations received by Dorothea were contemplative⁵⁹. Only in singular ones can you find other elements, such as didacticism, which is probably to be served by descriptions of purgatory’s punishments or a call to penance.⁶⁰ We are dealing with a prophetic character in the case of the vision *De plaga futura*, which by the copyist of Dorothea’s revelations was interpreted as a presage of the great plundering and fire of Žagań in 1473: “*processit hec visio in effectum experimentalem in civitate Saganensi, que eodem anno, in die Ascensionis Domini, fuit totaliter incinerata et ab hostibus spoliata*”⁶¹. The subject of most of them

requirit aut permittit. Deinde dicit unum *Pater noster*. Et sic progrediens ad manum dexteram facit similiter. Deinde procedens ad pedes agit similiter. Ultimo ad latus. Et contigit quasi omni die singulis vicibus, quod vidit in spiritu Christum in cruce quinque vlnera continentem. [...] Et magnam inde haurit consolacionem et accendit divino amore. Et tantam habet aliquando dulcedinem ex compassione dominica, quod si membra corporis separari deberent, pre gaudio et dulcedine spiritus non curaret. Et ideo huiusmodi dulcedinis absencia magnam sibi ingerit tristitiam et penam cordis, quam estimat, ut iehennam. Et ergo nunquam secure quietatur cor eius, nisi in vlnerebus Ihesu Christi”.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, fol. 76^{va}. See also: „in tanta elevacione spiritus fuit” – fol. 73^{vb}, „ducitur in excessu mentis” – fol. 82^{va}, „excessum mentis patitur” – fol. 82^{vb}, „in excessu posita” – fol. 78^{va}, 83^{ra}, „amoris ignis exarsit in eius mente” – fol. 83^{vb}; „cepit meditari diucius, ita exarsit ignis devocionis, que Deo contigit, quod abstrahitur” – fol. 87^{ra}.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, fol. 76^{vb}.

⁵⁷ Cf. for example Heinrich Lausberg, *Retoryka literacka. Podstawy wiedzy o literaturze*, Trans. Albert Gorzkowski, Bydgoszcz 2002, par. 900, p. 484; Friedrich Ohly, *Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Idem, Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung*, Darmstadt 1977, pp. 1–31.

⁵⁸ *Leg*, fol. 55^{ra}.

⁵⁹ See classification proposed by Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1981 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 23), pp. 81–86.

⁶⁰ *Leg*, fol. 55^{ra}.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, fol. 73^{va-vb}.

– I am limiting myself here only to the general characteristics – concerned the Passion of Christ. This applies not only to the *De passione Domini* cycle, but also to a significant number of revelations from the first cycle. This subject is well-known in medieval female mysticism⁶², it also perfectly fits in the 15th century's trend of the so-called *devotio moderna*, for which individual prayer and devotion and meditation were so important, and in it Christological reflection, especially on the Passion of Christ, and Mariology⁶³.

In the case of Dorothea, as with several other mystics, a great role is played by spiritual unification (*in spiritu*) with Christ. According to Abbot Simon, Dorothea treated Christ as her beloved (*dilectus*) or even fiancé (*sponsus*)⁶⁴. Uniting with him mystically, she compassionately experienced the pain caused by his torment. In her visions, Christ allowed her to enter his wounds (“apparuit Christus latus dexteri vulneri, ipsam ammonens, ut intraret”)⁶⁵, he embraced her, pressed her to him and kissed her as a sign of true love (“amplectans ipsam ambabus brachiis et ad se ipsam constrictit, deosculans osculo oris sui [por. Ct 1, 1] in signum veri amoris”)⁶⁶ or attached to the whipping post, he embraced and kissed her (“brachia solvens a statua ipsam amplexat [...], deinde labiis eius osculum dulcissimi amoris impressit”)⁶⁷. Some revelations refer in content to celebrated Church holidays, and the inspiration for them was the desire to deepen the knowledge of circumstances commemorated in the liturgy of events or characters (eg on the day of the purification of Mary – “cupiens scire modum illius venerande processionis et oblacionis”)⁶⁸. Visions by Dorothea Behir are characterized by exceptional plasticity - by reporting them, Abbot Simon presented precisely the appearance of the interior or the circumstances in which visions are located, described the shapes of objects, clothing, colors perceived extrasensorily by the visionary. He also recorded a conversation the visionary had with Christ, Mary, at the time of the birth of

⁶² Zob. np. Dinzelbacher, *Die christliche Mystik*, pp. 24–30.

⁶³ See for instance: Mrozowicz, *Schlesien*; Andreas Rüther, *Mittel und Wege neuer Frömmigkeitskulturen im Königreich Böhmen vor und nach der Reformation*, [in:] *Die Devotio moderna. Sozialer und kultureller Transfer (1350–1580)*, vol. 2: *Die räumliche und geistige Ausstrahlung der Devotio Moderna – Zur Dynamik ihres Gedankenguts*, eds. Iris Kwiatkowski, Jörg Engelbrecht, Münster 2013, pp. 75–88 (in both works further literature).

⁶⁴ For example *Leg*, fol. 54^b, 54^{va}, 54^{vb}.

⁶⁵ For example *ibidem*, fol. 54^b.

⁶⁶ For example *ibidem*, fol. 54^m.

⁶⁷ For example *ibidem*, fol. 82^m.

⁶⁸ For example *ibidem*, fol. 57^{vb}.

Christ,⁶⁹ heard “in her heart” voices of Christ (“quasi vocem loquentis in corde ipsius”)⁷⁰. Regardless of the mysticism of the visions themselves, there are reports of miraculous events in their descriptions, such as the circumcision of Jesus, when, after pouring away the water used after circumcision to wash his bleeding wound, green grass grew immediately, on which an ox and donkey began to graze⁷¹.

The presented preliminary characterization of Dorothea Behir’s apparitions allows us to situate them in the mainstream religious life of late medieval Europe, especially the contemporary female mysticism and *devotio moderna*. A detailed analysis of this barely known chapter in the history of Silesian mysticism must wait for the critical edition of the texts of these apparitions⁷², for which there is an excellent, though still almost unused, manuscript base.

⁶⁹ For example *ibidem*, fol. 56^{va}.

⁷⁰ For example *ibidem*, fol. 76^{tb}; see also fol. 80^{vb}, 89^{ra} etc.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, fol. 57^{tb}.

⁷² I mentioned the necessity of the edition years ago (see Mrozowicz, *Schlesien*, p. 149), repeating the earlier postulates of Klapper (*Deutsche Schlesier*, p. 31) and Świerk (*Schreibstube*, p. 135). Editorial works are in progress.

ARTYKUŁY RECENZyjNE I RECENZJE REVIEWS

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The Reformation beyond Simplifications: Diversity, Fractions, Conflicts and the Shaping of New Identities in a Fractal Environment

Eike Wolgast (ed.), *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Zweiundzwanzigster Band: Nordrhein-Westfalen II. Das Erzstift Köln. Die Grafschaften Wittgenstein, Moers, Bentheim-Tecklenburg und Rietberg. Die Städte Münster, Soest und Neuenrade. Die Grafschaft Lippe (Nachtrag)*, Begr. v. Emil Sehling, fortgeführt von der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bearbeitet von Sabine Arend, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017, pp. 619.

Marc Mudrak, *Reformation und Alter Glaube. Zugehörigkeiten der Altgläubigen im Alten Reich und in Frankreich (1517-1540) (Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution, Band 43)*, Berlin Boston: De Gruyter, 2017, pp. 623.

Joachim Bahlcke, Irene Dingel (eds.), *Die Reformierten in Schlesien. Vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Altpreußischen Union von 1817 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz – Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 106)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016, pp. 373.

The 1917 Reformation Jubilee was not only a significant national event in Germany but was also celebrated in such Lutheran countries as Denmark, Norway and Sweden. During the last hundred years, however, the situation has changed. The Reformation, with its background and results, is now discussed as a European event. This means that both the national and the confessional context has been broadened such that the effects of the Reformation are discussed in connection

with virtually every single nation which formerly was under the purview of Rome, that is, Western Christianity. The concept of reformation has been extended as well. While the term “reformation” formerly connotated the different branches of the evangelical movement in the 16th Century – to include “radical reformers” and “anabaptists” – many researchers today speak of the “Catholic Reformation” and not merely “Catholic reform.”

This having been said, the legacy of the 1917 Reformation Celebration is still in the minds of many as they talk about the Reformation, whether in the academy or in the media. The titles of many books evoke the notion that a “German Reformation” exists. Moreover, some themes from the former national discourse have been heard once again in 2017. Among these, Luther’s alleged importance for the modern German language – claimed to be spoken still today – was emphasized. Variations of the themes “Luther the genius” and “the singularity of the Reformation” were replayed in the 2017 setting as well. Although both the German and the Swedish Luther-renaissances are history now their echoes can nonetheless still be heard today, sometimes quite loudly even if rather indistinct and blurry. Luther and the Reformation are often no longer viewed as the Hegelian highlight of history, yet their significance is no less impressive even if for some they now form history’s great antithesis and lowlight. And: while current descriptions of the Reformation have become more and more contextualized, more colorful and less centered on the German paradigm, many studies do still follow certain guiding ideas derived from Romanticism, Idealism or national and confessional convictions. To name an example, Scandinavian researchers often compare the Swedish or Danish Reformations (i.e. the reformations in the centralistic Nordic countries) to some kind of “monolithic” German Reformation. That the Reformation which occurred in the Holy Roman Empire – at least in the German-speaking parts of Europe with their blurry borders and bilingual transitions – was not monolithic and that it did not take place in a centralized state is often neglected.

Marc Mudrak in his study, *Reformation und Alter Glaube* (Reformation and the Old [i.e. Roman Catholic] Faith), makes reference to Christophe Duhamelle and Falk Bretschneider’s definition of the HRE as a “fractal state.” The concept “fractal state” seems to have only recently emerged (Mudrak cites an unpublished talk by Bretschneider from 2014 [pg. 433]) and has, to the best of my knowledge, not previously appeared in the discussions about the Reformation in the HRE. This having been said, such terminology does manage to appropriately describe how the HRE

was shaped, thereby providing a heuristic tool for the political and religious developments during the Age of Reformation. As it turns out, the term “fractal” points much better than “federal” towards the diversity, interconnectivity and brokenness of the HRE. “Federal” could possibly fit, yet it tends to lead the thoughts more towards a well-regulated modern or post-modern political system than was the reality at the time of the Reformation. “Fractal” is, in fact, more than federal. It is the interdependency, the struggle and even the frequently-shifting coalitions between many different actors, including both political and ecclesial entities.

The oft-prevailing views of the Reformation tend to neglect the fractal nature of the HRE with researchers from abroad often simply trying to summarize what the “German” Reformation was and how it functioned. These often are blinded by systematic-theological attempts, especially of the Luther-renaissance and its aftermath, which attempted to describe the central aspects of both Martin Luther’s thinking and of the Reformation. Yet, that the Reformation cannot be understood in such a simplistic manner should be evident, at the very least since Emil Sehling produced the *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Evangelical Church Orders of the 16th Century) more than one hundred years ago. This work began a presentation of the German Church Orders although the larger project was then interrupted for many decades. With the project’s adoption by the *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* around the turn of the millennium, however, many new volumes have been produced under the auspices of Eike Wolgast, the project’s editor-in-chief. Now, some twenty years later, the edition will soon have reached its final goals. It should perhaps be mentioned that the edition follows, somewhat anachronistically, the modern federal states. Such an approach is quite understandably little more than a tool which helps to arrange the source material in the different volumes.

For our purposes, though, we can take volume 22 of the edition, *Nordrhein-Westfalen II*, as a good illustration of the Reformation’s piecemeal and varying reality within the fractal setting of the HRE. In this volume, Sabine Arend, who now has worked as editor of several volumes of the *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, offers the reader a bouquet of “fractalness”. Such a conclusion is not difficult to reach, alone on the basis of the various documents comprising this work. They range from the archbishopric of Cologne and the counties Wittgenstein, Moers, Bentheim Tecklenburg and Riedberg all the way to the cities of Münster, Soest and Neuenrade. The very carefully edited documents – as is usual for this edition – do indeed prove that reformation, in the very fractal HRE, resists

nearly every kind of simplification. Almost everything presented as mainstream for the Reformation, when argued in more general terms and without a more nuanced approach, can easily be falsified. In other words, while paradigms, generalizations and overviews are certainly helpful – and needed – for the discussion of the immeasurable diversity within the Holy Roman Empire, we must conclude that nearly all of them produce little more than a kind of overview. Interestingly, these many paradigms and generalizations are evident already in this single volume of the *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, too. Here we meet both early- and late-stage reformations, “protracted” and “long” reformations, even failed reformations (the showpiece for this is the reformation in Cologne). Concerning reformation within the archbishopric of Cologne it is worth noting that this present edition only provides a glimpse of this most-interesting case. [NB: Other documents related to Herrman von Wied’s attempt to reform his archbishopric have been edited as a part of *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften* (vol. 11,1, 11, 2, 11,3, Güthersloh 1999, 2003, 2006)]. Even more, we encounter again and again in this volume the “second” or “Calvinistic” Reformation. In other words, the fragmentation of worldly and ecclesiastical power, the shifting contours of royal influence, and the ever-present struggles between differing levels of authority can all be observed in this one single volume of the *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*.

Marc Mudrak’s thesis goes on to discuss how the Roman Church, especially the lower clerics and laity, reacted to the evangelical movement. For this purpose he offers several case studies in two groupings. On the one hand he presents cases from the southern (eastern Bavaria, Regensburg, Passau, Ulm) and western parts (county Lippe and the city of Lemgo, county Ravensberg with Herford and Paderborn bishopric) of Germany. Then, in somewhat contrasting fashion, he presents the French cities of Rouen and Paris on the other hand. It must be concluded that there is a slight imbalance between the German and French examples: just two French cities are compared with more than a handful of quite diverse German territories. Consequently, it is not particularly astonishing that the German material is richer and more varied than the French. Not surprisingly, many of the results presented in this ambitious study are quite predictable. The fact that the fractal nature of the HRE, with its overlapping responsibilities and competences, produced more options and a greater impetus to act against the Reformation is something that the reader can expect from the beginning. The selection of source material also produces a sort of imbalance considering that the book market in the German-speaking parts of Europe was more

productive than in French-speaking areas. Thus the prevalence of pamphlets – both promoting and opposing Reformation developments – is decidedly lopsided.

Nevertheless, Mudrak's study, with its attention to both German and French material, is quite outstanding given that comparative studies between different European territories and language areas remain largely neglected. Moreover, this study is not only comparative with respect to source material, it is also comparative regarding the different research traditions, paradigms and periodization of history. Traditionally, French historians have thought along the lines of a *longue durée* or *temps des réformes* while their German colleagues have emphasized the character of the Reformation as an "event," thus highlighting the singularity of the phenomenon. This is not the first attempt to merge such approaches. Heinz Schilling brought these different approaches together in the 1990s. Constantin Fasolt has also promoted the idea of the *longue durée*. Yet, through this study it becomes clearer that the Reformation is both period and event and not merely one or the other. The exception to this is perhaps with the Roman Church which experienced reformation more along the lines of mere transition: from mediaeval religious diversity to early modern diversity. This is probable, as Mudrak shows, and more striking in the French case, though it also holds true – to a certain extent, at least – for the HRE. Nevertheless, in the HRE, the Reformation took on somewhat more the character of an event, something which can be demonstrated by the vast number of printed pamphlets and the different "coping strategies" against the "newbelievers" (*Neugläubige*).

Mudrak's conclusions are varied and plentiful, in fact far too many to be adequately discussed in a review like this. The several points discussed below were, however, of special interest for me. To begin with, there is a predominance of evangelical pamphlets, though it should not be overlooked that representatives of the Roman Church wrote many pamphlets as well. Moreover, the imbalance between the two camps was not as large as is often claimed. It should be noted, though, that the Roman pamphlets were only seldom printed anonymously as their authors were not threatened with harsh consequences. Additionally, French censorship against the texts of the Reformation worked much better than in fractal Germany due to the centralized administration of the state. The Roman Church in France was thus more effective in banning and burning forbidden texts, even including such writings as those of the famed Erasmus of Rotterdam. Nevertheless, the transnational book market worked well for acquiring these texts and texts written by Luther and other reformers did eventually make it to Paris and other locations.

In both France and Germany the term “Lutheran” or derivatives of this word were implemented quite early. Hieronymus Emser and others made a distinction between “old believers” (“Altgläubige”) and “new believers” (“Neugläubige”), yet it was only in France that the adherents of the Roman Church described themselves as “Catholics” before the year 1540. The Roman apologists were well aware that the “Lutheran heresy” had a long prehistory and pointed towards Petrus Valdes, John Wycliff and Jan Hus. This being the case, they nevertheless understood Martin Luther’s ideas as a distinct break. Not surprisingly, the typical loci of the Reformation (e.g. the Eucharist and indulgences) represented the main issues in the discussions. The Reformation developed in France somewhat differently. One example of this is that – still in the 1530s – indulgences in France were quite uncontroversial. Additionally, the Virgin Mary was viewed by the Roman believers in France in a somewhat different manner than in Germany. This is something that becomes a mark of distinction and is a point Mudrak should analyze a bit more, in my opinion. After all, the Reformation in France was strongly influenced by Zwinglian and other “Reformed” ideas, not to mention the *oberdeutsche* Reformation. Over against these, Martin Luther and the Wittenberg reformers maintained an extremely positive attitude towards the Virgin Mary, even if they did not venerate her.

The portions of Mudrak’s pivotal study which discuss the various territories in the HRE were, for me, the most thought-provoking. Amongst these different territories Ulm is probably the most interesting case. The city of Ulm was important and the majority of believers there were evangelical, yet the city was also surrounded by Catholic territories even as parts of the city remained Catholic and lacked any spiritual jurisdiction. On account of these factors, we find regular conflicts between the Roman and the Evangelical believers to have existed in this city. We also can observe there interesting strategies as to how the Roman believers were able to avoid the new faith. A good example of this can be observed in the practice of “Auslaufen” – i.e. to simply leave the city on Sundays and head to a nearby catholic territory, thus maintaining the old rites.

Mudrak shows that the Roman believers (and the lower clerics) used plentiful – but not uniform – strategies regarding how to react against the new faith. Quite often these consisted of an admixture of persistence, adaption and flexibility. In this way the heterogeneous late mediaeval Roman faith was transformed to a heterogeneous early modern one. The fractalness of the Holy Roman Empire could thus be considered as both an advantage and a hinderance for practicing the old

– or even the new – faith. On this basis the author proves that the Roman Church, though still uniform in theory, was divided into many different derivatives during the Age of Reformation. Hence, while greater differences between the differing confessions clearly existed on dogmatic issues, in terms of their manners of acting and adapting to the new religious, political and social situation, the variegation of their responses was at least a commonality with their evangelical counterparts. The comparison between France and the German territories does, in the end, produce results which are certainly somewhat predictable. Nevertheless, even predictable results need to be studied and presented.

The anthology on the Reformed in Silesia deals with similar issues as Mudrak's dissertation. Here, however, we gain a glimpse of the fractalness of a territory and the manifold possibilities for varying entities, whether individuals, dynasties, cities, etc., to practice and live their faith in such a fragmented environment. Since the high Middle Ages Silesia had been a part of the Bohemian Crown Lands and was not incorporated into the Habsburg Monarchy until 1526. Thus, Silesia's status as part of the Holy Roman Empire must be defined somewhat conditionally. Moreover, due to the fractalness of Silesia in this part of the Habsburg Monarchy, the religious situation one finds there was actually similar to the one found in virtually every other part of the Holy Roman Empire: *unique*. In Silesia, due to their somewhat indirect relationship with the Holy Roman Empire their nobility was *de iure* not able to follow the *ius reformandi* stipulated in the Peace of Augsburg 1555; *de facto*, however, Ferdinand had promised at the Diet of Prague 1556 some kind of "unofficial tolerance" (Irene Dingel, p. 19). Despite these facts, the master narrative of the religious history of Silesia has generally been one which describes this territory as biconfessional, Catholic and Lutheran (p. 10). This volume proves, however, that Reformed influences in Silesia clearly existed during the Reformation, even if they might not have been as prominent as the Catholic and Lutheran confessional cultures. Aside from the political reasons for religious tolerance (which was, above all, aimed at the adherents of the Confessio Augustana and not the Reformed), there existed other reasons for the establishment of Reformed confessors in Silesia. Philipp Melancthon was one of them. His contacts to Silesia served their own role in these developments as they later gave rise to a strong Philippistic, indeed "Cryptocalvinistic," movement (Joachim Bahlcke, Irene Dingel, Einführung, pp. 7–14, here: pp. 8–9, Dietrich Meyer, *Die reformierten Hofprediger im Herzogtum Liegnitz-Brieg im 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. 83–114, here: p. 85). The vicinity to the

Bohemian Brothers, and later the contacts to Bucer, Calvin and Johan Casimir von Zweibrücken-Pfalz (Jiri Just, *Die Beziehungen der böhmisch-mährischen und polnischen Brüderunität zu den schlesischen Reformierten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 157–188, here: p. 158) were likewise beneficial for the growth of the Reformed faction in Silesia. Furthermore, as Silesian students were not able to study at their own *Landesuniversität*, when quasi-academic schools (*Gymnasium illustre*) were founded in Silesia, the Reformed element in them became quite prominent (Just, *Die Beziehungen*, here: p. 182f). On account of this situation, many Silesian students also went on to visit the University of Heidelberg and thus were part of the Reformed *res publica litteraria*. This not only had a religious effect on the religious map of Silesia but also impacted its learned, poetic networks (Klaus Garber, *Reformierte Mentalität und literarische Evolution. Aspekte kultureller Disposition der nobilitas literaria Silesiae im europäischen Kontext*, pp. 269–302). In general, this volume proves how thoroughly interconnected Europe was during the early modern period and also that the Reformed possessed their own well-established networks capable of supporting their own Reformed identity. Furthermore, Silesia does not turn out to have been a peripheral part of Europe; rather it found itself in the center of events and interacted with other parts of Europe. We find, for example, the French Reformed Hotman (Uthmann) family being well-aware of its origin in Silesia (Mona Garloff, *Verwandtschaft, Konfession und Gelehrsamkeit im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Beziehungen der französischen Familie Hotman nach Schlesien*, pp. 31–53). Likewise, we meet the irenic and confessionally-neutral Andreas Dudith and his learned milieus (Luca Ilic, *Andreas Dudith und sein reformiertes Netzwerk in Breslau am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 53–64,) not to mention Samuel Hartlib, somewhat later, to have studied at the gymnasium in Brieg (Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, *Die Kontakte der schlesischen Reformierten zum polnischen und litauischen Adel in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 65–82, here: p. 72).

The volume on the Reformed in Silesia does not merely deal with the history of the 16th Century, as does the *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* or Mudrak's study deal with the history of the 16th Century. It actually crosses the border of the confessional age and runs up into the history of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Joachim Bahlcke discusses religious freedom for the Reformed in Silesia at the time of the signing of the Convention of Altranstädt in the 18th Century (*Turbulatores tranquillitatis publicae? Zur Frage der Religionsfreiheit für die Reformierten in Schlesien im Umfeld der Altranstädter Konvention von 1707*,

pp. 205–246), and Roland Gehrke (*Zwischen kirchenrechtlicher Autonomie und konfessioneller Assimilierung. Die Haltung der schlesischen Reformierten zur Altpreußischen Union von 1817*, pp. 247–268) shows how the Silesian Reformed dealt with the *Altpreußische Union* of 1817: They both tried to preserve some kind of autonomy with respect to ecclesiastical law while assimilating to some extent in religious matters. The *Altpreußische Union*, of course, became a church where different theologies existed side by side and, in this respect, was more modern than many other churches in the 19th Century.

“Modernity” is, by the way, the catchword for some concluding remarks – not only to this volume about the Reformed in Silesia but to all three works presented here. Research on the Reformation and the Confessional Age claims that one of the main attributes of these periods is a modernization of theology, church and society. The French *Annales*-school has, however, argued that this modernization started much earlier. Likewise, the German church historian, Berndt Hamm, describes this religious modernization, already underway in the 15th Century, as “normative Zentrierung.” As I argued above – especially in respect to the fractalness of Central Europe – it is likely useless to attempt to identify such central attributes as “modernization” in such a situation. Similarly, such terms are limited beyond usefulness if they must always be bound to particular territories. This is exactly what Gabriela Wąs does in her article which discusses the principalities of Liegnitz and Brieg during the 16th and 17th Century. She shows that the turn of these territories to Reformed doctrine was used for “eine grundlegende institutionelle Modernisierung, sie sollte dem Machtzuwachs der fürstlichen Herrschaft dienen, die sich auf weltliche wie auf geistliche Bereiche erstreckte.” (*Calvinismus und Modernisierung. Eine Fallstudie zur politisch-konfessionellen Entwicklung der schlesischen Fürstentümer Liegnitz und Brieg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. 189–204, here: p. 204). I think that it is exactly as in this article that the fractalness of Central Modern Europe must be discussed. When all is said and done, the story must be derived from the fractal histories and sources, not from the theory or the paradigm.

The three books presented in this review help us understand that the history of the Reformation in Central Europe is richer than paradigms and theories can explain. That does not exclude the fact that paradigms and theories do, in fact, point towards the leitmotifs of a period. Nevertheless, these leitmotifs always need to be verified and rechecked in the end – for every single territory.

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***Proces beginek świdnickich w 1332 roku. Studia historyczne i edycja łacińsko-polska [The process of Świdnica Beguines in 1332. Historical studies and Latin-Polish edition]*, eds. Paweł Kras, Tomasz Gałuszka OP, Adam Poznański, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2017, pp. 298.**

The report on the interrogation of beguines by the inquisitor Dominikan Jan Schwenkenfeld, which took place in Świdnica in September 1332, was known from the Bolesław Ulanowski edition of 1889. The publisher relied on the only known copy of it – a fifteenth-century copy from the manuscript of the cathedral chapter in Krakow. This edition was considered to be obligatory, despite the fact that since the 1950s the existence of a contemporary written record in the Vatican collection was known to exist. The source text has been used many times, mainly in Polish research, mainly to show the oppressive actions of the Church towards unorthodox secular groups or the changes in weaving at the beginning of the 14th century.

The new edition was prepared by Paweł Kras of the Catholic University of Lublin, Tomasz Gałuszka OP of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków and Adam Poznański of the University of Wrocław. The publishers and authors of accompanying editions of studies are acknowledged experts in medieval heresies, including methods of combating them. They all have published works regarding inquisition activity in the late Middle Ages. The developed edition is based on two manuscripts, with the rotulus from the collections of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Lat. 13129a) drafted by public notary Nicholas of Pankow in 1332. His image was included in the publication. The edition was preceded by studies on the beguines movement, as well as the history of the Świdnica community (P. Kras) the

activity of Jan Schwenkenfeld (T. Gałuszka) and studies concerning the text itself (T. Gałuszka, A. Poznański).

Kras presented the beginnings of the beguines' movement – communities of secular women who led a religious life. The most important reason for their formation was the implementation of the postulate of apostolic life, i.e. life in humility and poverty. While men could implement this postulate in religious communities, women had to look for other possibilities – due to the reduction of the number of female monasteries. The author pointed out that the development of the beguines community was possible thanks to the support of the local clergy (p. 40), but at the same time noted the suspicion and reluctance of some of the clergy to beguines (p. 47). This duality resulted from the fear of informal movements, and thus escaping the strict control of the Church. The beguines and especially the begbards postulating poverty and religious zeal were criticized by mendicants referring to the same values: Dominicans, and especially those struggling with a more or less literal treatment of the Franciscan poverty concept.

A breakthrough moment for the communities of beguines and begbards was the Council of Vienne and the constitutions proclaimed in November 1317, in which the existence of unconfirmed religious communities was forbidden. As indicated by Kras, these constitutions crowned the process of gradually limiting the existence of secular movements. The consequence was the inquisition process and the closure of beguines houses, with the exception of Flanders and Provence. The first source-tested action targeting beguines in Silesia was precisely the trial of Świdnica beguines in 1332. Its result remains unknown. It probably did not bring an end to the activities of the beguines in Świdnica, who stayed there until the middle of the 14th century.

This trial was prepared carefully. The papal inquisitor for the dioceses of Wrocław and Lubusz was the lector of the Dominican convent in Świdnica Jan Schwenkenfeld who chaired the tribunal. It was composed of representatives of the parish clergy and the Dominicans and Franciscans of Świdnica. In the first stage (7–8 September), 11 women were interrogated. These were mainly women who were living in the beguines home in Świdnica for a relatively short period of time (at most 1.5 years) or who came from other homes (Wrocław, Erfurt and Leipzig). In the second stage (11–12 September), 5 women, referred to as 'capuciata', were interrogated. Kras noted some terminological instability. While during the interrogations the Inquisitor used the beguines term, which was pejoratively marked, he used the neutral word 'capuciata' in the edited text (pp. 87–93). The

women defined themselves in the testimonies as sisters, implying association with women's convents. The term 'capuciatæ', referred to by the translator of the protocol as 'sisters in hoods', was translated in the study – not too happily – as 'capuchins' (written in quotes, e.g. pp. 72, 74, 88, 92).

Kras showed three perspectives of the analyzed protocol. The first – resulting from the very nature of the source – is the perspective of an inquisitor, whose task was to check whether the Świdnica beguines professed the views of the Brethren of the Free Spirit sect, the second is the perspective of younger sisters who were forced to extreme ascetic practices, and the third is the perspective of the sisters who lived in homes for extended periods (one – Gertrude from Świdnica – for 28 years, the other, blind Anna – for 26 years), and who believed that they lived in a religious congregation within the Church. Interestingly, the Świdnica beguines took a permanent place in the urban community of Świdnica and until 1332 they were not criticized by the religious or parish clergy. The oldest, Gertrude, said there was no enemy in the city (pp. 240–241).

As the author emphasized, the source material provides insight into the inner life of a small community of women who, through severe asceticism, aspired to apostolic life, but also an insight into internal friction between a group of older women, referred to as „perfect” and younger „novices”. The conflict undoubtedly resulted from the expectations of the older sisters regarding the extreme obedience of the younger, but also the suspicions of novices that the older sisters treated themselves too gently and wanted to be perceived by non-community people as good Christians.

With great sensitivity, Kras analyzes the process of protocol creation and its content. The testimonies in German were carefully translated into Latin and edited by the inquisitor and public notary. Usually the Inquisitor's questions were omitted in the protocol, which means that part of the testimony is unclear. Presenting the technique of the inquisitor's work, Kras nuanced the hypothesis about imposing beliefs or even controlling the testimonies by the interrogators. He stated that although the testimonies of Świdnica beguines are distorted by multi-level writing, translation and editing, „many women's statements give the impression that they have actually been spoken in written form” (p. 83). This impression probably results from the manner of recording individual testimonies (grammatical forms, independent speech), as well as from few German inclusions, as if the public notary noted words live and then looked for a Latin equivalent. However,

this is not enough to dispel doubts as to the extent to which the Inquisitive Protocols contained actual statements of the interrogated persons and to which they constituted the interrogators' constructs. Such doubts are always accompanied by analyses of court protocols, which is shown in the discussion of the works by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie or Carlo Ginzburg.

Kras approached the accusations of sexual promiscuity – more frequently used against heretics – in a balanced way. He pointed out that in case of the Świdnica beguines, the accusations of sexual contact with beghards and sodomy appeared only twice in the testimonies of the younger sisters, who drew their knowledge from accounts of others. The Inquisitor himself must have had doubts about these revelations, since they had not been used in further interrogations (p. 121).

Noteworthy are considerations regarding the definition of Świdnica beguines as „daughters of Udilinda”. Kras developed the hypothesis of Jarosław Szymanski about the existence of a loose association of beguines houses in the area from Rhineland to Moravia and Silesia, and even suggested that the Świdnica house was directly descended from the house in Cologne founded in 1291 by Odelinda from Pyrzyce (pp. 93–103). As a consequence of adopting this hypothesis, it is easier to follow the penetration of theological ideas and contents. The problem is that the information concerning such an association is not confirmed by other sources. The existence of such a union is supported by evidence of rotation of the sisters, some of whom went to Świdnica from Silesian or German cities, or indications that beghards were hosted at the Świdnica home. Perhaps, then, there was an awareness of the Cologne origin of the community. Interestingly, Kras found similarities between the Świdnica community and groups of beguines from Flanders, Rhineland and Thuringia (pp. 102, 106). There are no additional premises for this hypothesis.

This problem is related to another issue addressed by Kras – the issue of memory and writing. The piety model emerging from testimony, consisting of the cult of poverty, manual labor (weaving), strict ascetic practices and constant prayer, was close to the original Franciscans and spirituals. In any case, the beguines probably kept in touch with the Franciscans of Świdnica, who may have been pastoral carers over the women's community (pp. 104, 186–187). There is no evidence to suggest that books or written texts were used at the Świdnica beguines home. One can even call it a certain anti-intellectualism, which I would rather associate with the original Franciscan spirit rather than with the Waldenses influence. In one of the testimonies (Jadwiga from Wrocław) a significant wording appears – here the

admonished sisters were to answer: „we are watching the book of life, and priests and preachers are watching cow’s skin (in cutibus faccarum)” (pp. 186–187). This may mean that the organization of life and teaching in the community were based on the oral culture and memory of the master (magister) and older sisters. The testimony emphasizes their role in teaching young girls (pp. 190–191). Older sisters also conveyed teachings that may have come from written texts, such as the story of the dialogue between St. Augustine and his son (pp. 212–213). This problem undoubtedly deserves further study, because the statement of anti-intellectualism of the beguines or their opposition to the knowledge of educated priests in favour of the illiterate knowledge that should flow directly from the Holy Spirit (p. 187), for example, argues with the testimony of embroiderer Małgorzata that beguines falsely explain the Holy Bible (pp. 222–223). Gałuszka as well indicated the possible inquiries or inspirations of the inquisitor, by presenting a questionnaire for Jan Schwenkenfeld’s questions (pp. 123–141). After a thorough analysis of the protocol, the author came to the surprising conclusion that the Inquisitor had made a cardinal mistake, considering his own theological interpretation as merely true and disregarding the views of the beguines (pp. 140–141).

The edition of the source was preceded by the description of both manuscripts. The description of the Vatican message is sometimes unclear. It seems that a sheet of paper with a copy of the description of the murder of Jan Schwenkenfeld from the 15th century was sewn in between folios 3 and 4 of the rotulus, which, however, cannot be seen in the reproduction. Furthermore, information is given about the piece of paper from the nineteenth century in the book on folio 1 verso. It seems, however, that the nineteenth-century fragments are located above the text of the protocol (folio 1 recto). The description of the second manuscript from the Kraków Archives of the Cathedral Chapter (LA 37) is sometimes too brief (e.g. on fol. 17 recto: document form without further details). It is a pity that only the images of those three pages were included, rather than the whole protocol of this manuscript. The publishers noticed similarity of content (including a collection of papal bulls about George of Poděbrady) to the Kraków manuscript BJ 423, formed within the circle of preachers in Wrocław¹. It is worth adding that in the National Library in Warsaw there was another codex with a similar collection of texts (Lat.F.ch. IV.102),

¹ See Marian Zwiercan, *Cod. 423*, [in:] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 2, Wratislaviae etc. 1983, pp. 269–298.

unfortunately it was destroyed in 1944. Certainly, this circle of manuscripts deserves further studies.

The Latin text edition was prepared carefully, as was the Polish translation, and was also provided with very good analytical tools. The publishers did not hesitate to admit doubts connected with the interpretation of some of the terms used in the text, such as „sheep eternity” (*eternitas arietina*), which one of the sisters carried on herself (pp. 196–197).

The book has been provided with an extensive bibliography including publications on beguines. It contains some editorial errors (e.g. a double-placed description of the article by Jörg Oberste), spelling (e.g. in this article *Predikt* instead of *Predigt*), in word transfer etc. The indicated weaknesses do not diminish the value of the discussed book, which should be considered a model source edition. The wish of the publishers that the newly available source would give impetus to new research will certainly be fulfilled.

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***Moda na Cranacha [Fashion for Cranach]*, eds. Ewa Houszka, Marek Pierzchała, Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe, 2017, pp. 231, ill.**

The idea for a Wrocław presentation, commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, focused on the artistic and content aspects of art that created the iconosphere of the reformed religion in the first century of its existence. However, a group of works that evidently belonged to the art sphere created for Catholics, including those by Lucas Cranach the older, was taken into account. This artist diversified the cost and price of paintings by the system and technique of workshop art production, and thus created the conditions for the emergence of “fashion” for his creations (which his son continued). This is how the title of the exhibition and its catalog can be understood. Let us emphasize that the idea of workshop art production and the blurring of individuality resulting from “production” by coworkers and building a recognizable brand, was not the original idea of the Saxon master, but a continuation of earlier processes taking place in late Gothic painting and woodcarving workshops¹.

The layout of the catalog reflects the problem and the idea for the exhibition, on which Cranach’s works and his studio were a decided minority. The clasp, made from Cranach works, contains paintings by local Breslau masters, which dominate the presentation. In their works, as Bożena Steinborn stated a long time ago, and the authors of the catalog do not question it, the influence of the style of the Wittenberg studio in Silesia, although noticeable, was not that overwhelming. The

¹ Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculpture of Renaissance Germany*, New Haven-London 1980.

remarks in the essays and catalog notes show that it seems more visible where the painters used Cranach's designs in Lutheran prints. Other indicated convergences, such as the type of the Danubian landscape, stony ground in the foreground or the type of dress, were more common in the first third of the century and must be treated with caution. In this respect, the title term fashion, referring to the influence or reaction to the emergence of a painting product suited to the needs and time and to satisfy the desire to have "Lutheran" images in the "canonical" type by conscious members of the community of faith, seems to be applied in an anachronistic manner and exaggerated. Here, this fashion is followed only in Silesian painting examples, without reference to the neighboring regions. We do not learn, therefore, whether and how the described phenomenon was distinctive to Silesia.

The book contains five essays and a proper catalog with a set of 59 presented objects. Most of them come from the Wrocław collections, but also from 12 other museum and church institutions, including two foreign ones. Almost half of the references (Renaissance, Silesian religious paintings, drawings, old prints) were written by Marek Pierzchała. The rest is devoted to the paintings of Cranach and other non-Silesian painters (Ewa Houszka, Aleksandra Janiszewska, Dorota Juszcak, Beata Lejman, Agnieszka Patała, Aleksandra Szewczyk).

The publication was carefully prepared in terms of content and publishing. However, the use in the catalog of some pages with black tint background with white letters on it (both for text and illustrations), should be considered unsatisfactory. As inconsistently used, it introduces ambiguity.

The first essay (B. Lejman) introduces the subject of the Reformation, presents its protagonists (Martin Luther, elector Frederick The Wise) and focuses on Cranach. There is also a reference to a fragment of the grave inscription of the painter in Weimar, with the words "pictor celerrimus" (the fastest painter). Although this is the epigraphic record, and the praise of Cranach's speed of work was praised by his contemporary Christoph Scheurl, it exist an another explanation. The meaning of the inscription, after taking into account the abbreviation, could be in accordance with traditional one, i.e. "celeberrimus" (illustrious), as the monographers of the Weimar churchyard assumed². Or maybe both meanings were consciously

² Hannelore Henze, Doris-Annette Schmidt, *Der Jakobskirchhof zu Weimar*, Ilmenau 2010. It was also interpreted this way earlier, according to Johann G. Schadow, *Wittenbergs Denkmäler der Bildnerei, Baukunst und Malerei mit historischen und artistischen Erläuterungen*, Wittenberg 1825, p. 133.

combined using the similarity of the sound³? The author, writing about the famous coat of arms and the signature depicting a winged serpent, undertook an old interpretation, associating a change of the wing type with the death of Hans, the firstborn son the master, in 1537⁴. This is a popular and current explanation in the scientific literature, but is it not too romantic? Lejman strengthens it by writing about a serpent who “lowered” its wings while Flechsig saw it as a change from “bat’s wings” to “bird’s wings” and from the raised to the “lying”. An illustration of an essay with reproductions from the modern edition of *Passional Christi and Antichristi* (with the changed font), not from the original, which is suggested by the captions (pp. 15, 17) is a trip up.

A. Patała’s essay explains the circumstances of the occurrence of Cranach’s paintings in the collection of the Bishop of Wrocław, Jan Thurzo. It showed the historical background of the first decades of the 16th century, including family ties and contacts of the clergy from the cathedral circle (Christoph II Scheurl, B. Stein, D. Schleupner, J. Hess and others), including the bishop himself, with Wittenberg. This hierarchy, however, balanced it with contacts and purchases from Nuremberg, including at Dürer’s. Patała seems to be more skeptical about the scale of Cranach’s “fashion”. She emphasizes the “superficial reception”, the lack of evidence of the impact of Cranach’s imported works on the local environment and “fashion” limited to a narrow circle of clergy. A small painting of the Virgin of the Apocalypse (Archdiocesan Museum)⁵, repeating the style of composition of the painting from the cathedral in Wrocław (No. 6) or its models, was worth adding to the not so numerous group of recorded examples of reception of broadly understood Cranach forms. In the entire study only here, (p. 42) was there a reference to the second painting in Silesia of Madonna and Child from the early Catholic period of Cranach the older, Madonna of Collegiate Church in Głogów (after 1945 in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow). The Polish government has been trying to get it back for years with no success⁶. One of the other pictures evoked by Patała, which until 1945 was in Wrocław, and now at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, seems to be interesting not only because of the cryptoportrait of the family gathered around

³ As it was already suggested in: *A Hand-book for Travellers on the Continent*, London 1840, p. 411.

⁴ Eduard Flechsig, *Cranachstudien*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1900.

⁵ Inv. no. 1810.

⁶ It is strange that on the website http://lucascranach.org/PL_DMG-Lost_NONE-001 the picture appears with an unspecified place of storage.

the body of Christ taken down from the cross. The painting was in the Cistercian church until the dissolution of the monastery in Lubiąż⁷. But how the painting, which commemorates a Lutheran family not connected to Silesia, got there, remains a mystery.

M. Pierzchała is the author of the key text in the paper, focused on an analysis of the influence of illustrations of Lutheran prints on the selection and form of performances on Silesian epitaphs after the beginning of the 17th century, not only painted but also carved. The author states that less sophisticated woodcuts, not only from the Bible, but also from Lutheran postils were readily used. He analyzes the ratio of woodcut patterns to pictorial epitaph comprehensively and competently, indicating the causes and sense of dissimilarity, resulting from religious attitudes and beliefs, and sometimes more individual premises. Besides, they were also used by Catholic clients “The themes and their approaches proposed in woodcuts were embedded in the consciousness of the faithful as much as the content of the reformer’s teaching, also convincing as an iconosphere component for those who did not identify with Lutheranism” (p. 64). The question is, do we know anything about the book collections of canons of the second half of the 16th century and the ways in which these prints interact outside the Lutheran environment? However, when Pierzchała writes about simultaneous performances in the background of the main stage of Catholic pictorial epitaphs (pp. 60–63), suggesting that it is an influence of Lutheran prints, it should be noted that the character of biblical representations is rooted in the pre-Lutheran tradition of religious imagery.

The effect of illustration woodcuts was also supposed to be “to enter figural scenes in the universum of the world perceived in material concreteness, richness and pictoriality, giving new value to religious artworks” (p. 64 n.). However, the “materiality” of the style of Silesian painting is also ascertained as the effect of imitating woodcuts. Perhaps it should be seen as a multilateral process of slow transformation, from “gothic” shots, represented in a conservative type of religious imagery (golden backgrounds, not taking into account details of spatial context), into a modern, religious painting from the 15th century. The author draws attention to its significance (p. 167). The motifs of Rafael (in the epitaph of Nicolaus

⁷ Johann Gustav Büsching, *Bruchstücke einer Geschäftsreise durch Schlesien, unternommen in den Jahren 1810, 11, 12*, Breslau 1813, p. 522 n., appreciated the class of portraits on the painting, combining them with the leading painters of the early 16th century.

Uthmann, p. 187) and Dürer (p. 64 n.) also point to the freedom in using and combining patterns by the artists.

A. Janiszewska's essay describes the specifics of Cranach's workshop production, reported on the basis of the latest literature (Gunnar Heydenreich, Bodo Brinkmann), especially the acceleration technique (parchment as a foundation, use of sketches in painting, red ground (complexion) and sketching in grey, simultaneous painting of many images (drying), standardized format of small panels. It indicates the business sense of Cranach, allowing him to expand into industries related to painting and image production, such as printing and bookbinding, running pharmacies (pigments). Describing the stages of the master's career, she states that in 1501–1504 in Vienna (p. 70) he became familiar with the painting of representatives of the Danube school, and was "perhaps inspired by" Albrecht Altdorfer's paintings. Let us note that the painter's known works have appeared since 1506, and nothing is known about his life during this period.

The last, succinct essay by B. Andruszkiewicz is devoted to celebrating the anniversary of the Reformation in Wrocław and Silesia in 1917 in respect of funded artistic works and engaged artists on this occasion. In summary, she concludes that in 1917, the whole (Protestant) city took part in the holiday, when in 2017 it had – understandably – a very different dimension. Unfortunately, a significant expression of how Protestantism is currently perceived in Poland was the failure of the Polish parliament to pass a resolution commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Reformation.

The set of catalog entries is a great guide to leading, well-reproduced examples of 16th-century Silesian painting, as well as Polish "Cranachs". Among them, the ones devoted to the paintings so far poorly described and which bring new findings or hypotheses, like Virgin of the Apocalypse from the cathedral (No. 6), an epitaph with a representation of St. Jerome from Głogów (No. 7), and especially the two-sided votive image from the Archdiocesan Museum (No. 9) from around 1520–30. In this case, one can talk about sensation, especially for researchers in the Czech Republic. It was possible to identify a posthumous portrait of the Czech king, George of Poděbrad – first, kneeling before Man of Sorrows assisted by Mary and St. John, and on the reverse, in an independent, half-length portrait. M. Pierzchała rightly associated the founder of the painting with the grandson of the king, the Catholic prince of Ziębice and Oleśnica Karol I. The painting deserves further research, which will further illuminate the historical context of its creation and

destiny. Certainly, Karol's direct contacts with the bishop of Wrocław and the chapter may be relevant, confirmed even in the minutes of the meetings⁸. Especially that in 1525 the chapter was forced to give the prince Albrecht Dürer's painting Adam & Eve, which was entrusted by the bishop Jan Thurzo to the chapter library. The prince was to give it to queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Mary of Austria in gratitude for her services to the Church in Wrocław⁹. Could this fact have anything to do with the creation of the image of the royal progenitor of Karol I, then the governor general of Silesia, and his possible appearance within the cathedral island?

⁸ *Acta Capituli Wratislaviensis 1500-1562*, vol. 1–2, ed. A. Sabisch, Köln-Wien 1972–1976, *passim*.

⁹ *Acta Capituli*, vol. 2, 1, pp. 370–371, No. 1527 from 18 January 1525.

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Gabriela Wąs, *Reformacja i władza. Reformy chrześcijaństwa w nurcie reformacji a spory na Śląsku w XVI i pierwszym dwudziestoleciu XVII wieku [Reformation and power. Reforms of Christianity in the Reformation and disputes in Silesia in the 16th and first twenty years of the 17th century]*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017, pp. 406.

Celebrated pompously, not only in Germany, the 500th anniversary of the announcement by Dr. Martin Luther of 95 theses against indulgences, the treaty that initiated the reformation movement, burdensome for the history of the world and abounded in a number of scientific and cultural events. The historians involved in this issue were led to in-depth reflection on its course and long-term consequences. The book by Gabriela Wąs, devoted to the mutual influence of the Reformation and power in the early modern era, should certainly be included in such works.

The authoress is an acknowledged researcher of broadly understood religious relations in Silesia and neighboring countries, placing her historical works not only in the modern era, but also in the Middle Ages. Among them, the most important place is occupied by studies and articles devoted to the history of the Reformation and Protestantism in this area. The researcheress set out to demonstrate the role that secular supreme authority played in forming the foundations of church organization and religious doctrine of the main Protestant denominations in Silesia in the first century after the appearance of Martin Luther, from the 1620s to the end of the second decade of the 17th century. Against the broad background of pan-European events occurring at the same time, this particular “interaction” was created between the reformers and people of power striving to rectify the principles of

faith and religious life, promoting these changes and concurrently seeking to gain greatest advantage from building their modern structures of territorial power. Literarily, the issues that have been the subject of scientific discourse for Germany, the homeland of reformation, were now presented in relation to the selected area – Silesia as a whole, comprising several selected principalities, as well as the principal centre of this province – Wrocław. Concepts such as denominational education (*Konfessionsbildung*) and confessionalisation (*Konfessionalisierung*) were presented, among others. Apart from the researches of foreign historians concerning certain areas of Poland, this is actually the first such view of this aspect of religious and political changes in Polish historiography. Although the researcheress rejects the completeness and complementarity of the theses put forward in this respect in the introduction (p. 13), stating that it was not the purpose of proving the occurrence of confessionalisation in Silesia, but only the diagnosis of “whether there were comparable phenomena in the area of Silesia within its research frameworks”. However, it can be concluded that the final effect of these studies is something more than just a preliminary understanding of the available source materials.

The material arrangement of the considerations is distinctive. These are actually five separate studies (chapters) sharing a related title, and yet are separate entities (which was also emphasized in the introduction) (p. 13). She points out that while the last four chapters are closely related to each other, presenting a step by step attempt – however unsuccessful – to establish Calvinism as the prevailing religion in the early seventeenth century, the first chapter is devoted to the concept of the relationship between the authorities and the Church (Reformation) outlined in the thoughts of the Silesian reformer, Caspar von Schwenckfeld. The eras of von Schwenckfeld and his supporters, as well as the above-mentioned Calvinization of Silesia from the beginning of the 17th century, are separated by the space of nearly a hundred years. We learn about meanders and the significant achievements of that period only in the form of references to attempts at creating a Calvinist national / territorial church at the beginning of the Thirty Years War. Therefore, we see Lutheranism and its problems with authorities from the perspective of a “distorting mirror”, and the omission of this key topic for Silesia can be considered justified only because of the extent and complexity of this problem. Certainly it will require a separate study in the future. The publication by the authoress in this volume of the Schwenckfeldian version of the Reformation is, however,

perfectly valid, since there is some similarity between the solutions proposed by Caspar von Schwenckfeld and those applied in practice by the Silesian Calvinists almost a century later.

The hero of the first chapter, Caspar von Schwenckfeld, was a Silesian nobleman, courtier and politician, active in the twenties of the 16th century at the court of the Legnica-Brzeg-Wołów dukes. For a short time he gained a lot of influence over the shape of the Reformation in these principalities, he gained the trust of their rulers and some members of the elite. He was a believer in the gentle version of Lutheranism, based on an in-depth inner life and lack of coercion (ideological anarchism). The researcheress presented the extremely interesting attitude of the thinker and his supporters toward princely power - the “kingdom of the external order”, needed by the world and fully accepted by the Schwenckfeldians, but completely separate from the “kingdom of faith.” It is a pity, however, that while presenting the original achievements of the reformer she neglected to provide even elementary information about its further fate and the scale of the impact of his thoughts on the region of Silesia, Germany and Europe at a later time, to conclude the chapter.

The second chapter presents the genesis, background, course and effects of conversion to Calvinism by two Silesian dukes John Christian of Brzeg and George Rudolf of Legnica, ruling the Duchies from the beginning of the 17th century. The conversion of the first governor general of the whole of Silesia on behalf of the Bohemian Crown at a later time was of key importance for the development of Calvinism in this area. Behind the conversions there were certainly dynastic, family and personally motivated religious choices of converts, but also – which first drew the attention of Gabriela Wąs – they were part of a political game, an additional advantage to be gained in the dispute between dukes, the Silesian states and the king (at that time of the Catholic Habsburg family), as well as a stronger emphasis on an opposition to the broadly understood Catholic camp in the Reich (pp. 68–69). The thread of the conversion of both Silesian princes was presented, which is worth adding, against a wider background of similar cases in Germany and Northern Europe. The work of Gabriela Wąs is therefore an excellent and well-developed comparative material, allowing an understanding of the course of this type of process. The conceptual conversion facilities for Calvinism, the so-called “conversion”, were also treated extensively in the analysis of so called “later evangelical humanism” developed within the circle of a close associate of

Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, a theological direction referred to as philipism. There were close links between these trends, and identification with the views of “late” Melancthon made it easier for Calvinists to seek full legitimisation of their faith within the Reich. On the occasion, the researcheress detailed the long and important traditions of the Calvinism in Silesia, which has been present here since the mid-16th century. The consequence of the aforementioned conversions was the binding of the princely regime to Calvinism, while in the meantime Lutheranism remained a denomination of the Silesian state elite (p. 108). The authoress, following the voices of other historians at a certain distance, approached the issue of the so-called “Second Reformation”. In her opinion, in Silesia, as in many other areas of the Reich, this classic process of building a creed, consisting not only of taking over from the Lutherans, but also the completion of the Reformation (ie the Reformation of religious life), did not take place (pp. 110 and 145).

The third chapter is an in-depth study of the circumstances and goals of the conversion of the Legnica-Brzeg dukes to Calvinism mentioned above. The ideological program of this conversion and the subsequent potential for Calvinization of the two principalities included the anonymous *Demüthige und sehnliche Supplikation* from 1613, formed within the circle of Silesian supporters of the reformed religion, most probably clergy.

It was addressed to the princes and widely understood states of the province (gentry, town councils, officials, etc.). Of particular interest is the presentation of a mechanism of religious propaganda and specific manipulation of public opinion aimed at convincing Silesian elites that the proposed changes, not mentioned by name, aim to bring about the “true” Augsburg creed and are a reference to the thoughts of Martin Luther himself (p. 164). Further postulates of the reformers, however, were aimed at completing the “imperfect” Lutheran reformation, the rejection of all “papist” relics and the introduction of typically Calvinist ceremonies, such as “breaking the bread” (p. 192). It was, therefore, a radical program, impossible to accept for the general Lutheran community of Silesia – as evidenced by immediately published polemics. In the opinion of the Wrocław researcheress, this was a manifestation of a special conflict of interest: “Calvinism, the most politically active Evangelical course, found itself in a situation between rivalry with Lutheranism and the need to create a common front with it against the rebirth of Catholicism” (pp. 209–210).

The fourth chapter discusses the Letter of Majesty of Frederick I, the Bohemia “winter king”, the declared Reformed Evangelist of 5 March 1620, in the course of the argument responding to the question raised in the subtitle and declaring the policy of tolerance for Calvinism – a religion so far officially not recognized in Silesia (in Bohemia), the unquestionable intention of this regulation was to ensure its religious supremacy in the near future. For this reason, this move was badly received by the Lutheran community in Wrocław (p. 274).

The fifth and last chapter is a summary of the efforts of the state authorities in favor of the Calvinization of Silesia. Reformed evangelicals using the provisions of the Letter of Frederick I of 1620 started their official activities in Wrocław, immediately exposing themselves to harassment from dissatisfied Lutherans, especially clerics and commoners. The open formula of the Wrocław congregation meant that it soon became a general Silesian congregation (p. 285). The defeat of Frederick I near White Mountain stood in the way of the further development of the Calvinist community in Wrocław – the existence of which, according to the title of the chapter, could be considered as an introduction to the Calvinistic creed of Silesia. Gabriela Waś accepted the opinion of other scholars that the too open support for Calvinism at the expense of Lutheranism contributed largely to a defeat in the clash with the entire power of the Habsburgs and the Catholic League (p. 319). Frederick I, who was hiding in Wrocław for a few weeks on the way to Palatinate, tried only to secure the minimum subsistence for his denominational brothers, but this action was not successful. Eventually, along with his escape from the city, the local Calvinist commune was completely dispersed (p. 349).

In conclusion, the researcheress strongly emphasized once again that as a result of the Lutheran reformation of the first half of the 16th century, the Silesian rulers had a limited influence on the management of Protestant churches in their countries and hence they willingly turned to Calvinism, which guaranteed a greater range of power (pp. 356). Lutheranism remained a faith of the broadly understood state opposition. The attempt to create the basis for the top Calvinization of the state and thus the strengthening of state power in the hands of representatives of the new dynasty, however, brought the opposite effect and as a result weakened the resilience of the Bohemia-Silesian confederation in a collision with the Habsburgs.

As a consequence of reviewing the book presented above, it is obviously necessary to point out some minor deficiencies to the authoress. While generally Polonizing the names of German rulers, why did Gabriela Waś not do it with the

Saxon prince from the Albertine line, Moritz von Wettin (p. 169) and Moritz, Landgraf Hesse-Kassel (p. 196), since there is a Polish version of the name, Maurycy? Also a bit strange – regardless of the researcher's intentions – is the term „reformed reformation” introduced at the end (pp. 356, 358–360). However, these are minor criticisms that do not take away from the book's substantive meaning. We have obtained a very important and innovative work, introducing for the first time with such power to Polish historiography the concepts known so far only from foreign publications (eg, confessionalisation). It is worth emphasizing the broad comparative background for the research results presented here, their detail and reliability. It is also an excellent material for further comparisons, for example with the similar areas in many aspects of Royal Prussia and Gdańsk.

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Agata Rybińska, *Granice integracji. Religijność Żydów wrocławskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku (1854–1890)* [*Borders of integration. Religiosity of Wrocław Jews in the second half of the 19th century (1854–1890)*], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2017, pp. 264.

The discussed book by Agata Rybińska appeared in the publishing series *Bibliotheca Judaica* edited by Marcin Wodziński. This series has been maintained at the highest scientific level for many years, presenting primarily interdisciplinary research and new research perspectives in the field of Jewish studies. Rybińska's publication, which is a study of the religiosity of Wrocław Jews in the second half of the 19th century in the light of their acculturation aspirations, fits perfectly with the assumptions and objectives of the series. The author took up the topic and examined it on the basis of previously unused different types of source materials. She skilfully used appropriate research tools, mainly in the field of discourse, semiology and social anthropology.

The research on the history of Jews in German Wrocław was published by Bernhard Brilling, Guido Kisch, Andreas Reinke, Till van Rahden, Marcin Wodziński, and Leszek Ziątkowski, and popular science works – Maciej Łagiewski. However, so far no one has comprehensively addressed the issue of religiosity of Jews in Wrocław against the background of 19th-century disputes between local rabbis about tradition and reform, and their cooperation within the *Einheitsgemeinde* – i.e. one religious commune, combining two cult factions, defined by Rybińska as orthodox and liberal. The reviewed publication is the first in this field. The author drew from oblivion the figure and achievements of the Wrocław rabbi Manuel Joël, a teacher at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and in the years 1863–1890 a rabbi

of the liberal faction in the municipality of Wrocław. The years of his activity in Wrocław define a framework for her work.

Rybińska was the first to use religious texts such as prayer books and sermons for research into religious practices. The queries also included documents related to religious life, schools, municipal organizations and foundations, as well as yearbooks, the Jewish press, and grave inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery at ul. Ślężna in Wrocław. She also referenced magazines, letters and memoirs in which she found details of individual religious practices as well as the functioning of the Jewish community. Such a widely sourced query gave a guarantee of a solidly documented argument.

The author proves in her book that “Religious distinctiveness constituted (...) the most important factor determining the boundaries of the integration of Wrocław Jews” (p. 25). She notes that in the face of modernity, the challenge that the group in question had to face was defining and actively shaping its own religious identity. She distinguishes three main areas in which these activities were carried out: education, liturgy and practices related to the burial and preservation of the memory of the dead. The main topics of her analysis constitute three problems: (1) Was it possible to achieve the ideal of a Jewish citizen educated in secular science, while at the same time being aware of his Jewish religious identity and what did the religious education of Wrocław Jews look like in the age of modernity? (2) How did the Wrocław debates on the reform of the liturgy proceed and how far has the language acculturation in worship progressed? (3) What processes of acculturation and integration do grave inscriptions in the cemetery of the Jewish commune indicate? Discussing these issues corresponds with the division of the book into three relevant chapters.

Modernization brought about significant changes in the field of education, both ideological, from European and Jewish Enlightenment and legal thinking. In the first chapter the author shows the efforts made by the academic community to reconcile the religious education requirement with the universal obligation of secular education, which was intended to create an exemplary citizen (p. 37). In the second half of the 19th century, Jewish parents sent their children mostly to municipal schools, and in the absence of religious schools, the task of religious education fell to a large extent on the family (p. 56). The wealthier hired private teachers, who prepared children from families belonging to the liberal faction for confirmation or orthodox boys for the bar-mitzvah. The Jewish community also

organized lessons during which the youth was familiarised with the rhythm of the liturgical year, the Torah and the Hebrew language were taught, because the Wrocław rabbis were worried about declining knowledge of the Hebrew language. Separately, Rybińska deals with the education of girls, directed primarily toward a knowledge of Judaism that allows the running of a Jewish home, as well as vocational training, enabling the practical operation of a farm and earning money. It shows that the Jewish woman's ideal remained faithful to tradition, but did not differ from the widely promoted model of the German Hausfrau, which Rybińska adequately calls *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*, while the third part in the Jewish case was, of course, replaced by a synagogue. Gender diversity is indeed a very interesting topic of the book. The author also deals with religious education of adults, focusing on the Jewish Theological Seminary. This institution was the first German rabbinical seminary, the centre of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* – a nineteenth-century intellectual movement promoting critical research on Judaism using modern methodologies of secular sciences. Having examined the curriculum and magazines published by the Seminary, Rybińska shows how religious and general education was combined in the Seminary. In addition, she traced sermons and occasional speeches to show how the double identity of German Jews was shaped in them and their dual duties – as followers of Judaism and citizens of the German state (p. 81).

According to Rybińska, the cult, and especially the public liturgy, distinguished Jews from the majority of the inhabitants of Wrocław. The second chapter is devoted to prayer-books and songbooks used in the religious community. The author introduces the reader to the subject of discussion on the reform of Judaism, conducted in the second half of the 19th century in Wrocław, although unfortunately – due to the lack of sources expressing the voice of the orthodox – quite one-sidedly. She also presents only prayer books that served the Reform faction. She analyzes in detail the form and content of three prayer books – the Hebrew-German *sidur* by Joël (issue 2, Berlin 1880) and two for women – *Beit Jaakow* (3rd edition, Breslau 1835) by a teacher of religion Heinrich Miro and Hanna (Breslau 1867) by Jacob Freund. The first work deserves special attention due to the parallel edition in two languages. The author examines the discrepancies between the original version and the translation and observes a tendency to avoid Hebraicism and typical Hebrew stylistic measures (e.g. hyperbole) as well as the resignation from terms referring to Judaism as a national religion (p. 100). She considers these works as a marginal phenomenon, because the German translation was not completely

devoid of Hebraisms, and despite the “universal biblical message”, “Jewish liturgy and practices were too different from the Christian ones” (p. 104).

Joël sees the bilingual nature of the prayer as a sign of acculturation. Similarly, he evaluates the hymns of Moritz Deutsch, the main cantor of the reformed synagogue in Wrocław, and others, as confirmation of the “reformed” character of the liturgy, while caring for tradition (p. 109). It can be noticed that the writing of songs under notes in Latin Hebrew transcription does not have to be treated as a curiosity language, as the author wants (pp. 105, 111), but it was certainly the result of a different direction for recording notes and Hebrew. Analyzing prayer books intended for women – written in a monolingual German version and intended for individual piety – Rybińska indicates the disappearance of Hebraisms (list in Annex 3), and the occurrence of language tracing from the Christian religious vocabulary. She assesses these prayers as evidence of progressive linguistic acculturation of Wrocław Jews endeavouring to not emphasize their own distinctiveness (p. 128). The Jewish woman model propagated by prayer books was, according to the author’s findings, coincident with the traditional – resulting from the above-mentioned educational assumptions – and did not reflect the social changes of women’s situation in the nineteenth century (page 132).

The third and last chapter deals with the sepulchral sphere. Following in the footsteps of Agnieszka Jagodzińska, who in her innovative study on the acculturation of Warsaw Jews investigated the cemetery as a cultural text, Rybińska presents the reader with in-depth analyses of the form and symbolism of tombstones and, above all, the contents of the inscriptions from four sections of the Wrocław cemetery at ul. Ślężna, where burials were conducted between the years 1870–1890. The findings allowed her to conclude that, although the studies show progressive acculturation, the sepulchral sphere was “the most different and least susceptible to acculturation” (p. 188). This is evidenced, according to Rybińska, by the characteristic for Jewish identity symbolism of tombstones, and above all by the constant preservation of elements of the Hebrew language, which was an expression of Wrocław Jews’ concern for “maintaining tradition and emphasizing their own religious identity” (p. 188). Also in this chapter, the author treats the gender issue separately and confirms the observations from previous chapters regarding the social role of women described mainly as limited to the sphere of the home and the traditional model of religiosity.

In the end, Rybińska places the researched community of Wrocław Jews in a space between orthodoxy and liberalism, which provokes the question as to whether such a problem does not reflect the proper focus of her research work. Although the title of the monograph includes the phrase “borders of integration”, the author does not actually show the process of “adapting the Jewish minority to the majority of the Christian community through behaviors leading to the elimination of social barriers between them” (definition of integration according to Rybińska, p. 29). She considers acculturation a pre-condition of integration and describes it as “adopting the cultural and social customs of the dominant group of non-Jews, for example behaviors, cultural patterns (language, names and surnames, dress code, customs)” (p. 29). The author describes the manifestations of the direction of the development of a part of the studied community from orthodoxy to liberalism, the manifestation of cultural adaptation in the field of religiosity, which the author assesses as a decisive factor for individuality. However, the book lacks the promised research in the title of work on the social integration of Wrocław Jews at various levels of contact with the majority of society. Significant in its definition of integration is also one-sidedness, i.e. an indication of the integration of the minority’s aspirations towards the majority, while ignoring the limitations and opportunities for integration, coming from the majority. Their existence in their considerations is only marginal: “in a sense, the possibility of integration was conditioned by the external, state situation” (p. 83). The author focuses mainly on the processes of reforming religion and acculturation, without embracing the focus of research on various levels of social contact between Jews and Christians. This raises the question of whether it is reasonable to speak of integration only from the perspective of religion and theology?

The objection that can be put forward in this publication is the translation of the adjective *israelitisch* as Jewish, especially in cases of self-identification of Wrocław Jews and in the context of the author’s reflection on identity. The terms *Israelit* / *israelitisch* grew out of the nineteenth-century emancipation discourse, the idea of a nation-state and the integration of Jews as citizens of the Mosaic religion. *Jude* / *jüdisch* concepts were burdened with negative connotations to different degrees, which the author herself notes in reference to the writings of Joël, who consistently used the term *Israelit*, and *Jude* only once, in a pejorative sense (p. 76). The book could also do with a more thorough correction of the German language, which would eliminate quite a few grammatical and spelling mistakes.

The above-mentioned problems or slips do not undermine the advantages of the work. The picture of religiosity of the Jewish community in Wrocław, depicted by A. Rybińska, was presented with the internal dynamics of the process of religious reform and the tensions resulting from the challenges of modernity. The reader received a historiographically encapsulated and well-grounded analysis of the acculturation in the German Jewish religion in the second half of the nineteenth century. The book will certainly be a necessary reading for researchers interested in both the history of Jews in Wrocław and their religiosity in the face of modern challenges and wider – the history of German Jews. The work is also an important contribution to the study of the reform of Judaism.

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***Die Auflösung der Klöster in Preußisch-Schlesien 1810*, hrsg. von Marek Derwich, Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 2016, (*Dziedzictwo Kulturowe po Skasowanych Klasztorach*, vol. 6), pp. 523, ill.**

The creation of this volume is the result of the long-term research project initiated in Wrocław in 2010 during the international conference entitled “Prussian convent dissolution in Silesia on the background of secularisation processes in Poland and Europe”. This scientific event was connected with the 200th anniversary of the edict issued by the King of Prussia to dissolve the monasteries. As outstanding German church historian Josef Joachim Menzel noted in the 1980s, these events were “the deepest blow to the life of Catholic Silesia” since the Reformation. They had important effects in social and cultural life. However, it is still not fully explored.

The three-day conference was attended by approximately 100 researchers from several countries. In the following years a four-volume publication was prepared with 76 articles (in Polish, German, Russian, with English summaries). The volumes were constructed thematically, offering the reader a very broad overview of the problem in the 19th and 20th centuries. Attention is drawn to the inclusion of the secularising actions of the post-Stalinist authorities of Poland during the Stalinist period. (vol I: *Genesis. Dissolutions on the Austrian and Russian partitions*, vol. II: *Dissolutions on Prussian Silesia and the Prussian Partition*, vol. III: *Sources. The effects of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Dissolutions in 1954-1956*, vol. IV: *Documentation*). The volume V was the edition of a document describing monasteries in the Duchy of Warsaw in 1810. Detailed information about the

publishing house is available in English on the project website (<http://www.kasaty.pl/dissolution-of-monasteries-in-the-former-polish-lithuanian-commonwealth-and-in-silesia-against-the-background-of-secularisation-processes-in-europe/>).

In 2016, thanks to the financial support of the National Program for the Development of Humanities, a volume was prepared in German with the selection of articles from the above-mentioned publication. The editor of the volume, the medievalist Marek Derwich, the originator and director of research on the secularization of monasteries, chose 19 articles for printing. As we read, the selected texts concern little-known or completely untested issues. They were supplemented with a new article, created especially for this publication. Among the authors we find researchers from Poland and Germany, representing history, archeology, and history of art. Among them are university employees and members of research projects, museologists, librarians and clergy.

The articles are divided into five thematic parts, but not equally. In the first, which was entitled “The Liquidation of Monasteries”, there are six texts. A Prussian secular edict was published (here by M. Derwich). The three articles dealt with the issues of the number of orders and foundations to be dissolved. There are some differences in the sources and literature on the subject. Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk and Anna Jezierska analysed the list drawn up for the needs of taking over religious cultural property, kept in the Library of the University of Wrocław (the so-called Büsching copy – “Acta manualia [...]”). They pointed to some differences between the above mentioned “Acta manualia” and the list published at the beginning of the 20th century by O. Linke. In the annex, we find among others, tables containing the locations of 88 monasteries and church foundations with the names of the government commissioners responsible for secularising them. M. Derwich made a comparison of listings of church entities subjected to dissolution, which have been in the literature on the subject since the mid-nineteenth century and are based on various archival materials. A list of 108 such institutions was established (only 7 of them were not closed in 1810). Among them there were 85 religious houses, including only 14 female convents. According to the author, further research is necessary, as this is not yet a complete statement. The problem of statistics of the course of secularisation was also touched upon by Andreas Reinke. Similarly to the aforementioned authors, he pointed to the existing discrepancies. He also drew attention to two marginally used Prussian sources (from 1811 and 1838). In the annex there is the table with 92 liquidated monasteries and foundations, information on the

number of monks, the number of villages owned and the value of property. Among the richest were the Cistercian abbeys in Trzebnica, Henryków and Krzeszów. This part also includes two case studies (the secularisation of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem by Karl Borchardt and the Franciscan monastery at Mount St. Anne described by Anselm Janusz Szteinke). An attempt at a comparative approach was made by Roland Prejs who compared the Silesian secularisation with secularisation in the Russian partition in 1864. He came to the conclusion that differences prevail, resulting from less organizational efficiency of the Russian authorities.

The second part of the volume focuses on the fate of monks from liquidated monasteries. It is a pity that only two articles were presented here. The first, penned by Kazimierz Dola deals with stipends for the existing members of religious communities (there were about 620 monks in 56 male monasteries), including means for the purchase of new clothing (cassock of secular clergy), funds for living (the only income available while awaiting parish assignments or for those unqualified for pastoral ministry). However, Henry Gerlic touched on the fate of Silesian Cistercians (they constituted over $\frac{1}{3}$ of all Silesian monks). He presented the reactions of the monks to the authorities actions of redirecting them to a secular pastoral ministry. From the earliest times some of the religious orders led the parishes within the confines of their lands and estates in pastoral ministry. About $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Cistercians in the early nineteenth century performed pastoral ministry. The author drew attention to the transformation of religious parishes into secular ones, as well as the employment of former monks in schools. He also discusses allowances paid by the authorities, issues of resettlement of monks from monastery facilities. These themes contain many research postulates that may be implemented in the future. Among others, there is a lack of analyses of the secularisation of female monasteries and the fate of the Silesian nuns. It would also be important to present the reactions of the faithful to secularisation and their attitude towards monks.

In the third part there are as many as 6 items. They concern the fate of movable goods, primarily art relics, rich libraries, which remained after liquidation of the monasteries. Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk conducted research into the collections of paintings, graphics and sculpture from the monasteries which were obtained by the University of Wrocław, founded by the King of Prussia in 1811 on the site of the former Jesuit academy (taken over by the state as early as 1776) and Viadrina from Frankfurt an der Oder. Thanks to this, the university had, from its instigation, rich collections for its library, archive and museum. Protection of the most valuable

collections was overseen by Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching who compiled the inventory (the already mentioned “Acta manualia die Uebnahme der Bibliotheken, Kunstsammlungen & Archive [...]”). The rest of the art objects were put up for sale (including, inter alia, auctions of paintings and graphics in Berlin), exchanged or given to other temples. Among the acquired paintings were, inter alia, paintings of gothic painters, the famous baroque painter Michael Willmann. Historical interiors of churches and abbeys have been deprived of works of art associated with them for centuries. As a result, the cultural heritage of the region was impoverished. The collections were gradually dispersed or lost, which was shown in detail by the author.

Maja Gąsowska presented the fate of some post-monastery monuments, using as an example objects of medieval sculpture and painting in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw. Their transfer during the years 1945-1947 from Lower Silesia to Warsaw was one of the consequences of the post-war change of the western border of Poland. Of at least 115 objects taken from Wrocław museums, which in turn were reinforced by the collections from secularised orders, some were of monastic provenance. They were, among others a large Pieta and figure of St. Catherine of Alexandria from the Cistercian monastery in Lubiąż. This topic requires further research, the list of collections taken up by the Warsaw museum is still incomplete. This part of the volume also discusses the collection of 83 official document stamps used in Silesian monasteries, currently stored in the National Museum in Wrocław (Beata Marcisz-Czapla). The collection of the department of old prints of the University Library in Wrocław, which took over the majority of approximately 150,000-200,000 volumes of monastic books (most of these collections were burned at the end of the war), was depicted. Currently, it is believed that approximately 83,000 works from the University Library were once owned by monasteries, however, thousands of volumes are waiting for accurate identification. The issue of the fate of monastic books was also addressed by Bożena Kumor-Gomułka, presenting the concept of creating the Central Silesian Library. She highlighted the reasons why, during the nineteenth century, there was no unification of the great Wrocław libraries - the university library and three other collections derived from monastic resources. The latter were included in the Library of the City of Wrocław. It was not until 1945 that the survivors of the collections were merged into today's University Library. This part also includes an article about the fate of art collections from the Wrocław headquarters of the Crusader Order with Red Star (Arkadiusz Wojtyła).

The fourth part of the volume, entitled “The Consequences”, consists of three articles. Gregor Ploch dealt with the impact of liquidation of monasteries on the social development of Silesia in the 19th century. His text is the catalog of research questions and challenges, because in the case of Silesia, up to the present, these problems remain only signaled. He pointed out that the liquidation of monasteries was part of the wider currents of secularisation. It influenced the change in religious life and functioning of the Catholic community, the relations of Church and state. He pointed to the role of secularisation in the rapid dismantling of feudal remnants, its impact on the development of education, the expansion of cities and the general creation of a modern middle-class. The next article is again connected with the early history of the University of Wrocław. Teresa Kulak, the well-known researcher of its history, discussed the importance of material monastic resources for the establishment of a university in the capital of Silesia. In her opinion, it would be impossible without them, due to the financial situation of the Prussian state. The university received, among others 50,000 thalers and numerous properties. Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos dealt with the use and adaptation of post-monastery buildings in Wrocław in the 19th and 20th centuries (13 monasteries were located within the city walls and at Ostrów Tumski). This has become part of the ordering and modernization of the urban space.

The volume is closed by two articles placed in the “Memory of monasteries” section. Marek L. Wójcik presented the longevity of symbolism connected with the tradition of monasticism in Silesian heraldry after 1810. It appeared mainly in towns belonging to monasteries. At present, 9 communes in Lower Silesia have coats of arms with such elements. Two archaeologists Aleksander Andrzejewski and Leszek Kajzer demonstrated on selected examples the further fate of the monastery buildings from various parts of the then eastern provinces of Prussia (Rudy near Racibórz, Jemielnica near Opole, Ołobok near Ostrów Wielkopolski and Łąki Bratniańskie near Nowe Miasto Lubawskie).

This extensive volume is the real mosaic of interesting and often only partially known problems. The authors of the texts, limited by the effects of previous research and the state of recognition of the source database, can barely signal many of the questions. They also provide evidence of the need for in-depth and comprehensive research on the subject of the secularisation of religious orders and its multifaceted effects. They constituted however, the process of social modernization of the Silesian lands that took place throughout the 19th century.

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500 YEARS OF REFORMATION IN WROCLAW AND SILESIA

The 500th anniversary of the Reformation was celebrated with great momentum and variety in Europe and abroad. The Refo500 Foundation, which runs the Refo500 website, co-ordinated activities related to initiating, preparing and informing about the most important events of the jubilee year¹. In Poland, a similar function is carried out by the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Republic of Poland, the Decade of Reformation project, which created the website of the 500 years of the Reformation² and profiles on social media³. They contain reports on a very broad celebration of the jubilee, which, apart from religious events, has included numerous scientific and popular science conferences, exhibitions and music concerts.

Nationwide festivities inaugurating the 500th anniversary of the Reformation began with a service that was celebrated on 31 October 2016 at the Church of Jesus in Cieszyn. The choice of location was not accidental. The area of Cieszyn Silesia is inhabited by one of the strongest concentrations of the faithful of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland. The liturgy was led by Bishop Adrian Korczago from the Cieszyn diocese, Bishop Marian Niemiec from the Diocese of Katowice and Fr. Tomasz Bujok from the Lutheran parish in Drogomyśl in the Cieszyn diocese. The Roman Catholic Church was represented by the Primate

¹ <https://www.refo500.com/en/about-refo500/about-the-foundation/> (access: 20 November 2017)

² <http://luter2017.pl/>

³ Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/Luter2017pl>; Twitter: <http://twitter.com/reformacja2017>; Google+: <http://plus.google.com/109506371552399948646>

of Poland, Archbishop Wojciech Polak. The letter to the assembly was sent by the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda⁴.

Thanks to resolutions of the Regional Assembly of the Silesian Voivodeship of 21 September 2015, establishing 2017 as the Year of Reformation⁵ and of the Regional Assembly of the Lower Silesian Voivodeship of 25 November 2016 establishing 2017 as the Year of Remembrance for the Reformation⁶ Jubilee celebrations in Silesia were supported by local government authorities. In Wrocław itself, the City Council at its session on 6 July 2017, celebrated the 500th anniversary of the Reformation with a resolution based on which the section of Wejherowska Street with the M. Luther's Evangelical Center for Diakonia and Education, was renamed to the Rev. Martin Luther's street⁷.

The Lutheran Diocese of Wrocław, one of the dioceses from the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland, and bishop Waldemar Pytel personally, were involved in the majority of the events in Lower Silesia and its capital. The main celebrations in Wrocław took place on 7–14 May 2017 as part of The 7th Festival of Protestant Culture under the slogan “500 years of the Reformation 1517–2017”⁸. The organizers were the Evangelical School of Theology, the Evangelical Parish of Divine Providence, the Wrocław Diocese of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland and the Christian Fellowship in Wrocław. The rich program of the week long celebration was inaugurated by Beata Bednarz's concert with the band, which took place on 7 May in the Church of the Christian Fellowship in Śępolno, the district of Wrocław. Two days later, in the auditorium of the Evangelical School of Theology, the National Scientific Conference “Faces of the Reformation” was held. Its co-organizer was the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Wrocław and the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław. Among

⁴ *Wdzięczni za łaskę. Cieszyńskie 500 lat Reformacji*, https://www.luteranie.pl/nawosci/wdzieczni_za_laske_cieszynskie_500_lat_reformacji,4383.html

⁵ Resolution no. V / 12/1/2015 of 21 September 2015 regarding: adoption of a resolution on the announcement of 2017 as the Year of Reformation, http://archiwumbip.slaskie.pl/index.php?grupa=40&id_menu=217&id=75350

⁶ Resolution No. XXVIII / 893/16 of 25 November 2016 regarding the adoption of a resolution establishing 2017 as the Year of Reformation, <http://bip.umwd.dolnyslask.pl/dokument,iddok,36660,idmp,543,r,r>

⁷ Resolution No. XLIII / 937/17 of the City Council of Wrocław of 6 July 2017. In the matter of naming the street in Wrocław, <http://uchwaly.um.wroc.pl/uchwala.aspx?numer=XLIII/937/17>

⁸ Program of the 7th Festival of Protestant Culture “500 years of the Reformation” <http://www.ewst.pl/2017/04/vii-festiwal-kultury-protestanckiej-500-lat-reformacji/>; <http://www.luteranie.wroc.pl/?p=8844>

the speeches presenting different perspectives were papers devoted to the historical approach to theological disputes between advocates of the science of Martin Luther and Catholic theologians over the centuries, as well as the problems of contemporary social theology⁹. After the conference, there was a presentation of the Polish edition of the biography of Martin Luther by Prof. Heinz Schilling "Martin Luther. Rebel in an Age of Upheaval"¹⁰, organized in 'Barbara – information point' at Świdnicka street with the help of the General Consulate of Germany in Wrocław. A few exhibitions have been opened as a part of numerous cultural events. The opening of the exhibition "The faithful on the way, forest preachers, children in prayer" at the Silesian Museum in Görlitz took place on 11 May, at the Church of Mary Magdalene at Szewska street. The exhibition "Here I stand – Martin Luther, Reformation and its consequences" was set on the square near the church. The event was honoured by the concert organized by the Consulate General of Germany in Wrocław, "Reformation Music" performed by the choir of the National Forum of Music under the direction of Agnieszka Franków-Żelazny. A day later, in the Mathematical Tower in the main building of the University of Wrocław, the opening of the exhibition "Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum" (God's Word lasts forever) "Protestant church building of the modern era in Europe" took place. The exhibition presented the results of research carried out by a team led by prof. Jan Harasimowicz from the University of Wrocław as part of a grant from the National Science Centre. The theme of the exhibition was 28 Protestant churches, from cathedrals to village churches, built from Scandinavia, through the Baltic States, Poland, Czech (former Bohemia), Germany to Switzerland and Great Britain¹¹. An important event of the Festival was the debate entitled "With A View of Civil Society 1517–2017" organized by the Information Office of the European Parliament in Wrocław. It took place in the House of Europe on Saturday, 13 May. It was attended by Prof. Jerzy Buzek, former president of the European Parliament, currently chairman of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy of the European Parliament, Bishop Waldemar Pytel, bishop of the diocese of the Wrocław

⁹ Conference "Faces of the Reformation", <http://www.ewst.pl/2017/04/konferencja-oblicza-reformacji/>

¹⁰ Heinz Schilling, *Martin Luther. Rebel in einer Zeit des Umbruchs*, München 2013 (English translation: *Martin Luther. Rebel in an Age of Upheaval*, Transl. by Rona Johnston, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹¹ Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, *Nowa wystawa w Muzeum UW*, „Przegląd Uniwersytecki” No. 3/218/2017, p. 14, http://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/79672/PU_2017_03.pdf

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Poland and Rafał Dutkiewicz, President of Wrocław. The discussion was led by Prof. Adam Jezierski, rector of the University of Wrocław. An important topic was the coexistence of various denominations in Silesia, Poland and Europe in the past and today¹². The festival, which also hosted meetings and open lectures, doctoral and student conferences of theologians, theater performances, concerts, reviews of Christian music bands, vocal workshops and multimedia shows, was closed by a mass commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Reformation celebrated on Sunday, 14 May, at the church of Mary Magdalene in Wrocław¹³.

For the second half of 2017, several noteworthy scientific conferences were planned in Wrocław. On 11–12 September 2017, the Institute of Musicology of the University of Wrocław in cooperation with the Wrocław diocese of the Lutheran Church and the National Forum of Music in Wrocław organized an international scientific conference “Musical culture of Wrocław evangelical churches. Shaping tradition and musical ecumenism”. It was attended by musicologists representing the most important universities in Poland, as well as researchers from Germany, Slovakia, Great Britain and the United States. The speeches concerned: Protestant music composed and performed from the 16th to the 20th century in Wrocław and Silesia as well as neighboring lands, composers associated with Wrocław, as well as organs in Wrocław and Silesian churches and their builders. On the occasion of the conference, a memorial plaque was unveiled dedicated to Wrocław composer and organist Adolf Hess (1809–1863). Each day of the session was closed by concerts, including the concert “500th anniversary of the Reformation”, which could be heard in the church of St. Elżbieta at the end of the conference¹⁴.

The jubilee year was celebrated at the University of Wrocław during the inauguration of the academic year by a lecture from Prof. Jan Harasimowicz entitled “The Heritage of the Reformation in Western Civilization and Culture”¹⁵. In the last months of the year, the university was the organizer or co-organizer of three

¹² http://www.europarl.europa.eu/poland/pl/biuro_we_wroclawiu/2017wroc/relacja_spol.html; <http://www.ewst.pl/2017/05/spoleczenstwo-obywatelskie-1517-2017-europa-polska-wroclaw/>

¹³ Summary of the 7th Protestant Culture Festival “500 years of Reformation”: <http://www.ewst.pl/2017/05/vii-festiwal-kultury-protestanckiej-500-lat-reformacji-podsumowanie/>

¹⁴ <http://muzykologia.uni.wroc.pl/Instytut-Muzykologii/Badania/Konferencje-i-wyklady/Kultura-muzyczna-wroclawskich-kosciolow-ewangelickich>

¹⁵ *Wykład inauguracyjny prof. Jana Harasimowicza Dziedzictwo Reformacji w cywilizacji i kulturze Zachodu*, „Przegląd Uniwersytecki” No. 4/218/2017, pp. 8–10, http://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/89360/PU_2017_04.pdf

important conferences. The first of these took place on 16–18 November 2017. It was the International Scientific Conference “Reformation and Monastery, Monastery and Reformation. On the 500th anniversary of the beginning of Reformation” prepared by the Wrocław Friends of History Society, a branch of the Polish Historical Society, together with the Institute of History of the University of Wrocław and the Institute of History at the University of Opole. The speeches of participants from Ireland, Germany, Romania, Switzerland, Ukraine, the United Kingdom and Poland were grouped into several blocks: Monastic life on the eve of Reformation, Reformation and monastery, Monastery and Reformation in Royal Prussia, Monastery and Reformation, Monastery against Reformation, Impact of Reformation on the monastery, Protestant orders and Reformation and dissolutions of monasteries. The papers outlined mutual relations in selected countries in Europe from the 16th to the 18th centuries between supporters of the Reformation and the Mendicant Orders, Augustinian friaries, Cistercian Order and Cistercian Nuns, Bernardines, Dominicans, Jesuits and Orthodox monks¹⁶.

At the turn of November and December 2017, the Third Congress of German Studies was held in Wrocław organized by the Willy Brandt Centre for German and European Studies of the University of Wrocław. The theme slogan was “Germany open? 500 years after Luther”. At the opening of the Congress on 30 November 2017, the inaugural evening lecture entitled “Dominating, invisible. Five centuries of Reformation in the cultural landscape of Silesia” was delivered by Prof. Przemysław Wiszewski. The deliberations mainly concerned issues of the 20th century and issues of contemporary Germany as well as Polish-German relations. However, the program also included a thematic block on the Reformation’s legacy and panel discussions dedicated to celebrating the anniversary of the Reformation in Poland and cross-border cultural contacts in the Reformation jubilee year. On December 1, Heinz Schilling’s book “Martin Luther. Rebel in an Age of Upheaval” was presented, followed by a discussion moderated by Prof. Krzysztof Ruchniewicz¹⁷.

The International scientific conference “Reformation: between idea and implementation – Silesian, Polish and European aspects” organized on 7–8 December 2017 by the Institute of History of the University of Wrocław and the State Archives in Wrocław in cooperation with the Wrocław diocese of the Lutheran Church closed

¹⁶ <http://www.kasaty.pl/reformacja-a-klasztor-klasztor-a-reformacja/>

¹⁷ <http://www.wbz.uni.wroc.pl/pl/aktualnosci/item/1297-otwarcie-iii-zjazdu-niemcoznawcow.html>

a series of scientific events related to the jubilee year in Wrocław. Presenters from the Czech Republic, Germany, Norway and Poland highlighted a wide range of problems related to the rooting of the Reformation in Europe, in particular in Poland, Bohemia and Silesia, and its continuation, construction of the Protestant school system, and finally with the intellectual dimension of the Reformation in the early modern period. The conference was accompanied by the exhibition "Faces of the Reformation in a document", organized by the State Archives in Wrocław, whose vernissage took place on 7 December¹⁸.

The most important artistic event of the jubilee year in the capital of Lower Silesia was the "Fashion for Cranach" exhibition prepared by the National Museum in Wrocław. Its opening took place on 30 October 2017, on the eve of the 500th anniversary of the symbolic event for protestants – the announcement of 95 theses by Martin Luther on 31 October 1517 in Wittenberg. The works of Lucas Cranach the Elder, his son, Lucas Cranach the Younger and artists from the sphere of their influence were borrowed from many museums in Poland, as well as from Berlin and Budapest. The subject of the exhibition was not accidental. The Cranachs were associated with Wittenberg, supported Lutheranism, and created their foundations for the visual side of the Reformation and had a significant impact on the art of subsequent centuries. They also strongly influenced Silesia, and the works from their workshops quickly arrived in Wrocław or Brzeg¹⁹.

Jubilee events were also held in many towns in Lower and Upper Silesia. Of the numerous conferences, at least a few are worth noting. On 27 May 2017, in Cieszyn, the International Scientific Conference "I, Adam Wenceslaus, Duke of Cieszyn, have decided to carry out a reformation of religion and mass... Religious transformation in the Duchy of Cieszyn from the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century". It was organized by the Evangelical-Augsburg parish in Cieszyn, the Regional Research Institute of the Silesian Library in Katowice and the Cieszyn Cultural Centre National House. Researchers from Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany discussed issues regarding the situation of the Church in the Duchy

¹⁸ Lucyna Harc, *Reformacja: między ideą a realizacją – aspekty śląskie, polskie, europejskie [Reformation: between idea and implementation – Silesian, Polish and European aspects]*, „Przegląd Uniwersytecki” No. 5/220/2017, p. 47, http://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/89198/PU_2017_05.pdf

¹⁹ <https://mnwr.pl/moda-na-cranacha/> See Romuald Kaczmarek's review of exhibition catalog *Moda na Cranacha*, eds. Ewa Houszka, Marek Pierzchała, Wrocław: National Museum, 2017, p. 231.

of Cieszyn in the period preceding the performance of Martin Luther, the religious situation in the 16th and 17th centuries, legal changes following the Reformation, Protestant education, as well as literary and artistic aspects of Protestantism in the Cieszyn Duchy²⁰. The international conference “500 years of Reformation in Upper Silesia” was organized by the Regional Research Institute of the Silesian Library and the University of Stuttgart on 28–29 September 2017 in the main building of the Silesian Library in Katowice. Presenters from Poland and Germany addressed the adoption and consolidation of the Reformation in Upper Silesia from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the functioning of the Protestant church in Prussia and Austrian Silesia until 1918, the activities of the United Church and the Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia in the interwar period, during World War II and after 1945²¹. The Jan Nowak-Jeziorański College of Eastern Europe in Wrocław, in cooperation with the Deutsches Kulturforum Östliches Europa and the editorial staff of *New Eastern Europe* prepared a seminar “Heritage of Reformation in Central and Eastern Europe 1517–2017” on 13 October 2017 at the Castle in Wojnowice. The speeches given on the role of Protestant churches in forming political opposition in Germany and in the process of Polish-German reconciliation and the role of Protestant churches in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, were presented in two blocks²². On 6 November 2017, the historical symposium “Evangelicals on the Pszczyna Land” took place, organized by the Municipal Museum in Tychy and the Evangelical-Augsburg Parish in Tychy. Topics related to the Reformation and the functioning of the Evangelical church in Pszczyna and Tychy from the 16th to the 20th centuries were discussed during the symposium²³.

The year of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation abounded in numerous exhibitions organized by museums and cultural institutions in Lower and Upper Silesia. It's worth mentioning a few from the long list. The Cieszyn Library has prepared two exhibitions: outdoor, located on the Market Square in Cieszyn, entitled “Fathers, our brothers and Poles, Protestants. From the photo album of Fr. Jan Stonawski” and the exhibition “Heritage of Reformation” presented in the interiors of the library with the most valuable Protestant prints from own collections²⁴. The Museum of Upper Silesia in Bytom brought closer the presence of

²⁰ <http://www.muzeum.cieszyn.org.pl/images/Pdf/Konferencja27.05.2017.pdf>

²¹ Conference: “500 years of Reformation in Upper Silesia”, <http://ibr.bs.katowice.pl/?p=2042>

²² <http://www.kew.org.pl/dziedzictwo-reformacji-europie-srodkowej-wschodniej-1517-2017/>

²³ <http://luter2017.pl/wydarzenie/ewangelicy-ziemi-pszczynskiej/>

²⁴ <http://kc-cieszyn.pl/index.php/news,264/>

Lutherans in the city in the 19th and 20th centuries. The exhibition was accompanied by a documentary “In the Footsteps of Bytom Evangelists” directed by Alicja Schatton²⁵. On 19 October 2017, the vernissage of the exhibition “Evangelical Churches of the Świdnica Land Until 1945” was held at the Commerce Museum in Świdnica²⁶. A temporary exhibition “Everything is achieved through hope. Cultural heritage of the Reformation in Silesia” was presented for half a year at the Silesian Museum in Katowice, from 21 October 2017. Five modules (“Spirituality”, “Education”, “Tradition”, “Society and politics”, “Culture”) and the richness of collected exhibits highlighted the manifestation of the presence of evangelicals in Silesia and brought closer their denominational identity²⁷.

The above-mentioned events helped to analyze and better understand the phenomenon of the rapid reception of the Reformation in Wrocław and Silesia. They also drew near numerous traces and remnants of the cultural landscape of this part of Europe, which had an extremely interesting and complicated past. The Central Jubilee Celebration of the 500 Years of Reformation at the end of this event-rich year in Poland took place on 26–29 October 2017 in Warsaw²⁸. Many of the initiatives taken have been continued in the following year. An example may be the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Silesia, planned for 1–2 June 2018 in Jawor and in the New Church near Świerzawa. Undoubtedly, the following years will also be abundant in publications announced by the organizers of numerous conferences and symposia.

²⁵ <http://muzeum.bytom.pl/?event=rada-i-czynem-luteranie-w-bytomiu-w-xix-i-xx-w-otwarcie-wystawy>

²⁶ <http://kosciolpokoju.pl/blog/2017/10/19/wystawa-w-muzeum-dawnego-kupiectwa/>

²⁷ <https://muzeumlaskie.pl/pl/wystawy/osiaga-sie-nadzieje-kulturowe-dziedzictwo-reformacji-slasku/>

²⁸ <http://luter2017.pl/wydarzenie/obchody-centralne-reformacyjny-weekend/>

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Additional information about the journal and tables of contents of current and archival issues can be found on the pages: <http://sobotka.uni.wroc.pl> and <http://www.wtmh.nino.pl/sobotka.html>.

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