

# **Architectus**

2022 1(69)

DOI: 10.37190/arc220103

Published in open access. CC BY NC ND license

# **Zygmunt Łuniewicz\***

# Nil timide, nil tumide. About the oldest view of Strzelin and the finials of its towers

# Introduction

Among the Silesian towns, Strzelin has a relatively sparse and late iconography [1] because the oldest one, which has been known so far, was made only by Joseph Haas in 1713 [2, p. 87, Abb. 27] (Fig. 1). This state can be connected both with a small size of the town up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its distance from the most important communication routes. The insufficiency of iconographic sources for the period preceding the 18th century should be considered all the more important as the town was damaged several times by great fires, the largest of which took place in the years 1351, 1466, 1548, 1609, 1610, 1619 and in 1706 [3, pp. 10, 12, 13, 28], [4, pp. 122, 123, 435, 448, 512, 513], [5, pp. 30, 90, 91]. Moreover, the reconstruction of the appearance of old buildings is made more difficult due to extensive damages during the last war and the demolition of most of the relics of buildings in the subsequent years. Thus, the discovery of the hitherto unknown iconographic material containing – as it should be assumed – the

# Johann Ch. Letsch' friendship book

The above-mentioned view (Fig. 2), which constituted one of the friendship book's pages, was noticed in the commercial offer of the Viennese antique shop Inlibris<sup>2</sup> in 2017 and then Kotte Autographs<sup>3</sup>, where it was sold to an anonymous buyer at the end of 2019<sup>4</sup>. Thus, at present, the only information about it is the one which could be found in the item's description. According to the seller's data, the card was part of the friendship book of Johann Christoph Letsch (\*1634, † 1686), a deacon from 1664, and from 1672 a pastor of the parish church in Brzeg [6, pp. 95, 96], and the manuscript contains entries from the years 1653–1660<sup>5</sup>. The veduta shows the town

<sup>17&</sup>lt;sup>th</sup>-century panorama of the town should be considered not only surprising, but also valuable from the research point of view. The aim of the article was to verify the reliability of the iconographic message with the methods used for the analysis of iconographic materials. They included a comparison of preserved buildings, archaeological relics as well as written sources and iconography. The obtained data was then confronted with the image of the town which was presented in the discovered veduta.

<sup>\*</sup> ORCID: 0000-0003-2461-3031. Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław University of Science and Technology, Poland, e-mail: zygmunt.luniewicz@pwr.edu.pl

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The assessment of the time of the emergence of newly discovered iconographic sources, which are known only from digital copies placed on the web, should be supported by an analysis of the substrate and the technique of execution, as attempts at falsification in this matter are observed. A good example is the view of the castle in Grodno in Belarus, which was put up for sale via the Belgian Ebay service in February 2020. Its appearance coincided with a lively discussion on the controversial reconstruction of the building. With the original unavailable, the analysis of the photographic copy was performed by M. Volkau and K. Wołkowski. The depiction of the castle, despite the appearance coinciding with the image obtained on the basis of other sources, was considered to be a skillful forgery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Antiquariat Inlibris: https://inlibris.at/de.html, at present, the website with the item is unavailable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kotte Autographs: https://www.kotte-autographs.com/de/autograph/stammbuch/ [accessed: 21.12.2021].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Despite the attempts made, it was not possible to establish the current location of the manuscript.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The friendship book was established during Letsch's education in Maria Magdalena junior high schools in Brzeg or in Wrocław, which he attended later.

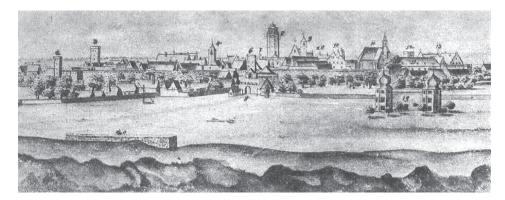


Fig. 1. Joseph Haas, panorama of Strzelin in 1713 (source: [2, p. 87, Abb. 27], collections of Biblioteka UWr, Wrocław)

II. 1. Joseph Haas, panorama Strzelina w 1713 r. (źródło: [2, s. 87, Abb. 27], zbiory Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu)



Fig. 2. Bartholomeus Pilgram, Nil timide, nil tumide,
Panorama of Strzelin in 1653,
a card with an entry from 1662
in Johann Christoph Letsch's
friendship book
(photo courtesy of Antiquariat
INLIBRIS)

II. 2. Bartholomeus Pilgram, Nil timide, nil tumide, Panorama Strzelina w 1653 r., karta z wpisem z 1662 r. w sztambuchu Johanna Christopha Letscha (zdjęcie dzięki uprzejmości Antiquariat INLIBRIS)

from a slightly elevated perspective, i.e., situated in an open landscape between the hills. Below, there is a Latin sentence and caption as follows: *Nil timide, nil tumide*<sup>6</sup>/*Bartholomeus Pilgram/Strel. Consul Ao 1653/16 7-bris*<sup>7</sup>. The whole is surrounded by a wreath of olive branches and a ribbon. The author of the entry can be easily identified with Bartholomäus Pilgram, the mayor of Strzelin from November 26, 1642 to December 11, 1671. He held his position for almost three decades until his death at the age of 71. As late as 1735, chronicler Johann Christoph Brinkes described him as "very meritorious" [3, pp. 7, 18].

# The image of Strzelin from 1653

The analysis of the veduta allowed us to identify the most important dominants among the drawn ones. In the article the sequence applied was from left to right with the exception of fortifications because these are discussed at the end. First, the images of individual objects in the friendship book were described, then their construction history was presented and an attempt at reconstructing selected phases of their historical transformations was made.

# St. Michael's Parish Church

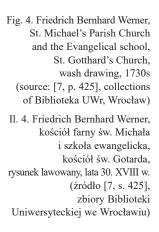
On the left flank of the building, there are optically connected bodies of two buildings with towers which are covered with translucent cupolas. A tall silhouette of the church in the background with a basilica layout and with a presbytery on the left and a tower partially hidden be-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Probably an abbreviation of the sentence *nil timide nil tumide*, *sed omnia moderata*, which can be translated as *Nothing timid, nothing lofty, but everything moderately*.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  The author would like to thank Michał Kurzej for his help in reading the ligatures of the record.



Fig. 3. Friedrich Bernhard
Werner, panorama of Strzelin,
wash drawing, 1730s
(source: [7, p. 421], collections
of Biblioteka UWr, Wrocław)
Il. 3. Friedrich Bernhard Werner,
panorama Strzelina,
rysunek lawowany, lata 30. XVIII w.
(źródło: [7, s. 421],
zbiory Biblioteki
Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu)





hind the ridge of the roof, corresponds to the dimensions of St. Michael the Archangel's Parish Church before its partial collapse and demolition in 1757 [4, p. 293]. The layout of the drawn church allows us to assume that the view was taken from the north, so the location of the tower on the south side is consistent with the later iconography of the building. However, it is difficult to verify the existence of lower aisles or chapels because the history of the construction of the temple remains poorly known so far. In the drawings by Friedrich Bernhard Werner, which were probably drawn up in the 1830s [7, pp. 421, 425, 437] (Figs. 3, 4), the church has a kind of a transverse and extended western part, which is covered with a perpendicular roof with gables and a height corresponding to the walls of the nave. This structure is not yet visible in the drawing by Joseph Haas from 1713, so it could have been erected during the reconstruction after the fire in 1706. The tower, reaching just above the ridge of the roof, probably did not undergo any changes. So far, it has not been established when it was constructed. Bells were mentioned in 1491 [4, p. 16], whereas in the description of the fire from 1619, Görlich's text also mentioned a bell tower (Glockenthurm) and a church tower (Kirchthurm) [4, p. 283]. The first of them, which was identical to the aforementioned Brinkes' [3, p. 11] and Drescher's [5,

p. 31] tower, was built in 1563 during the reconstruction after the fire of 1548. The other one was supposed to be erected and covered with copper by a master from Świdnica only in 1596 [4, p. 283]. It can be assumed that the aforementioned bell tower is in fact a ridget turret. However, the information that the church tower appeared only at the end of the 16th century seems unlikely. In the realities of Silesia, the situation where a parish church of a medium-sized town did not have a tower happened only incidentally. Undoubtedly, therefore, the master from Świdnica who was mentioned by Görlich was only a cupola constructor as the chronicler mentions the execution of copper covering. The distinction between a church tower and a ridget turret remains important because in the next fire only the roof and the bell tower of the church were supposed to be destroyed, whereas the church and the school were to remain intact [4, p. 448]. It is true that situations in which the roof of the church is on fire, while the tower next to it is not destroyed are rare, nevertheless, several cases of this type are known in Silesia<sup>8</sup>, so it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> St. George Church in Dzierżoniów was on fire several times: 1607 (?), 1695 and 1706, however, the tower, which was completed in 1588, has survived to this day. Similarly, the belfry of the monastery church in Henryków survived a roof fire in 1843, and in 1907 the cu-



Fig. 5. St. Gotthard's Church and St. Michael's Parish Church, an attempt at reconstructing the appearance of the building in 1653 (elaborated by Z. Łuniewicz)

II. 5. Kościół św. Gotarda i kościół farny św. Michała, próba rekonstrukcji wyglądu budowli w 1653 r. (oprac. Z. Łuniewicz)

possible that the cupola survived. The fragmentary text from the knob of the cupola, which dates back to 1619, does not contain information about the reconstruction [4, pp. 280, 281]. In Pilgram's veduta, the tower is visible either with a narrow terrace and a balustrade, or with an octagonal superstructure only which is directly supported by the quadrilateral main part. The superstructure was covered with a single-clearance cupola with a spindle-shaped spire. This type of form was one of the most frequently repeated motifs in the works of the Świdnica carpentry masters from the Stellauf family<sup>9</sup>, so the assumption that the cupola which was erected by the inhabitants of Świdnica in 1596 survived until the panorama was made becomes more probable. The building survived in this form until 1706, when the entire wooden part of the tower, i.e. the cupola, was pulled down. During the works, a copper sheet covering [4, pp. 288, 289], which in turn corresponds to the greenish color of the cupola shown in Pilgram's veduta was also noted. In the same year, a great fire in which the church was damaged as well broke out in the city. However, the cupola was not rebuilt during the repairs. In Werner's later views, the tower is crowned with a little pyramidal roof, which results in giving the impression of being higher, but the comparison of the number of storeys suggests that its size has not been changed and it is the draftsman's licentia poetica only. Relatively soon after Werner's view was drawn up, the construction of a new temple, which was known from pre-war photographs, was started and completed together with the tower in 1768 [4, p. 295]. The presbytery, which is preserved today in the part of the foundations, has survived from the older building [8, p. 259]. The reconstruction sketch (Fig. 5) uses the outline of the foundation walls of the church, which was discovered in the course of archaeological research in 1978 [9, Figs. 2, 3, 6] and illustrations by Werner [7, pp. 421, 425, 437], [10]. The tower is presented in a variant with a narrow terrace and a balustrade. The cupola, which crowns the octagonal superstructure, has a profile resembling the crowning of the parish church in Świdnica and has a spindle-shaped spire above the open-work.

# St. Gotthard's Church

A building with a tower from the west and a lower part from the east, which is visible in the foreground in front of St. Michael's Parish Church, is St. Gotthard's Church. The original rotunda from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after dismantling the apse, was connected with the newly built aisle part on the eastern side, from which the northern part was erected first, and then the southern part in the mid-14th century. A cylindrical part was added to the former rotunda in the 14th century and then in the 16th century or at the beginning of the 17th century a polygonal part was added [11, p. 13]. The date of construction of the superstructure has not yet been specified. The church, as one of the few buildings, survived a fire in 1548 [3, p. 10], [4, p. 283]. In 1584, the bell was hung on the tower [3, p. 12]. The church copula, which is visible on the veduta, was constructed in 1620, after the tower had been destroyed by a fire a year earlier [4, pp. 290, 448]. In literature to date, the reconstructed finial was described as a tent roof [1, p. 10], however, the analyzed veduta clearly shows a reddish copula with two domes, two open-works and a spire with a knob, a flag, and a star. At the base of the tower, there are delicately marked arches which may reflect blind arcades of the tower superstructure that has survived to this day. The building is shown in this shape on the prepared reconstruction sketch (Fig. 5). Probably destroyed in a fire in 1706, the copula was not reconstructed. The drawings by Haas (Fig. 1) and Werner (Fig. 4) show the tower with a conical roof. At present, the church is also crowned by a similar one.

# Town hall

In the middle of the town panorama there is a high town hall tower which is the unquestionable dominant of the composition. Its complicated construction history includes numerous disasters and subsequent renovations. Some of the copulas were mentioned in written sources and iconography, whereas the existence of others can be deduced from circumstantial evidence. The oldest part of the building was a medieval granite tower which existed from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and probably served as the senior civil administrative officer's tower [12, p. 14]. It has survived up to the height of the third storey. The building was

pola of the Ursuline church tower in Wrocław was not damaged either, despite the fact that the roof truss burned down at that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The cupolas of Mary Magdalene towers in Wrocław (1565), the parish churches in Świdnica (1565), St. Christopher's Church in Wrocław (1575) and perhaps in the castle in Oleśnica (1561) constitute confirmed works of the Stellaufs. Apart from the aforementioned towers, this motif can be found in the vicinity of Strzelin in the crowning of the parish church in Głubczyce (1579), the town hall in Otmuchów (1604), the church in Stolec (1610), and the castle tower in Bierutów (1622) as well as so-called The Leaning Tower in Ząbkowice Śląskie (1635).

made higher probably in the Middle Ages, but no records on the basis of which it would be possible to define their scope and chronology have survived. Presumably, like in other Silesian towns, a tall and square at the bottom tower which changed into an octagon at the level of the third storey, was crowned with a slender pyramid-shaped spire. Along with the remaining buildings of the market square, the town hall was damaged in a fire in 1548 [4, p. 435]. The catalog of monuments contains information about the low pyramid on the tower which existed before 1620 [13, p. 216], but this information could not be found in the listed literature references. The makeshift roof of the tower, which was supposed to have existed for more than half a century from the completion of the reconstruction in 1565 to the fire in 1619, should be considered an unlikely precedent. Although the exact course of the reconstruction remains unknown, a letter from Strzelin councilors to Prince Jerzy II of Brzeg, in which they asked for the use of models for forging the coat of arms of the royal couple and for supporting the construction at least in a minimal way, has been preserved [14, pp. 183, 184]. The letter also mentioned that the ordered decorations were to be sculpted by Jakub Gross. This fact is important because Gross, who was employed mainly as a stonemason and architect, often worked with carpenter Andreas Stellauf who in turn was responsible for erecting two of the most important Silesian copulas of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – on the towers of the Wrocław town hall (1559) and St. Mary Magdalene's Parish Church (1565). They both also participated in the works at the castle in Brzeg, where another object of key importance was erected on the gate – a three-storey copula. Moreover, Gross also gave unknown pieces of advice on the reconstruction of the town hall in Brzeg [15, p. 94]. The copulas of both town halls, i.e. in Wrocław and in Brzeg, belong to a clearly distinguished type of crowning, which can be described as "the modus of the Silesian town hall copula" 10. It is possible that the town hall in Strzelin was then crowned with a copula as well, which can be interpreted in the category of a municipal building architectural sign.

In 1574, a harmless fire which was quickly extinguished took place in the tower. On the other hand, extensive damage was caused by the fire of July 1, 1619, when the tower was destroyed by fire along with a greater part of the town. The reconstruction started the same year, the core was raised and covered with a copula with three open-works. The works were carried out by construction master Melchior Hoffmann from Mirsko [4, p. 329]. As the molten copper from the cover of the former copula was sent for forging to Nysa, the copula was covered with shingles and only the poles were secured with sheet metal. The preserved mention of the payment for the shields with the images of the Brzeg and Brandenburg coats of arms proves that the tradition of decorating the tower with the

signs of the dukes of "Brzeg and Branderburg" also continued in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The balustrade of granite which was mined in quarries in Biały Kościół was made by Andreas Ziegenhorn. Soon after the completion of works, the wind bent the mast and spire along with a knob and a flag, but on September 19, 1620 they were repaired by Martin Bergmann who most probably came from Świebodzice. Copulas with three open-works, as opposed to one and two open-works, constitute a rarity in Silesia because only three more such structures were built before the Thirty Years' War, i.e. on parish churches in Świdnica (1565) and Paczków (in around 1600) as well as on the town hall in Głogów (1602), and later the copula of the parish church in Zielona Góra (1678) was built. As it can be assumed, the tower was then the slenderest in its history, but unfortunately no images of it are known. The copula which is visible in the veduta was created only after the destruction of this triple open-work crowning, which took place during a storm on February 24, 1648. Already the next year, Adam Wagner, a carpenter, finished work on a new copula with two open-works. Similarly as before, this copula was shingled and painted. The tower, which is visible in the veduta, predominates semicircular attics of the town hall walls. It has a tall octagonal core with a clock face, which ends with an ambit with a balustrade. A superstructure topped with two domed bowls and openwork openings rises above. The whole is crowned with a small cupola with a knob, a mast, a flag and a star. The helmet was painted brown, probably imitating the color of un-patinated copper. The tower, immortalized by Pilgram, survived until the fire in 1706. The burnt out structure was provisionally secured and it was not until 1712-1714 that it was fully renovated by master builder Johann Neumann from Strzelin and carpenter Caspar Frantz from Zwrócona near Zabkowice [4, p. 332], [13, p. 216]. The rich iconography makes it possible to reconstruct the appearance of the tower and the finial in detail [5, p. 9], [7, p. 421] (Fig. 5). The masonry parts of the core did not change until the tower was destroyed in 1945. The copula, with two levels of open-works, had heavily undercut domes with an onion-shaped profile. In around 1741 it was covered with green painted shingles [3, p. 5]. It survived until a lightning strike in 1817. The last pre-war one-open-work copula was made in 1818. Although previous studies emphasized that the tower was lowered during the reconstruction [16, p. 10], the preserved iconography allows us to draw opposite conclusions<sup>11</sup>. During firing, the octagonal core above the three square storeys of the base was destroyed. In June 2011, the tower along with the cupola were reconstructed according to the state it obtained after 1714<sup>12</sup>

No far, finials of this type have been identified on the town and town hall towers in Jawor (1537), Lubań (1554), Świdnica (1548), Wrocław (1559), Opava (1770s), Brzeg (1577), Głubczyce (1606), Głogówek (1608), Strzegom (1672), Gryfów Śląski (1688) and probably also in Kożuchów (1601) and Wołów (before 1661).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In the measurement and design drawings of the tower before and after its reconstruction, which are preserved in the collection of the Herder Institute (Inv. No. 238546, 238547), both the height of the tower and its finials did not change.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> During the reconstruction, the design by Maciej Małachowicz and Rafał Karnicki (cf. [15, p. 28, Fig. 7]) was used, but certain unauthorized exceptions were made, such as an incorrect use of plaster on one of the open-works, which was inconsistent with the historical form of the balustrade and the color of the core.



Fig. 6. Panorama of Strzelin with the tower of the rebuilt town hall, present state (photo by Z. Łuniewicz)

II. 6. Panorama Strzelina z wieżą odbudowanego ratusza, stan obecny (fot. Z. Łuniewicz)

(Fig. 6). It now constitutes the central part of the town hall under reconstruction.

On the basis of the above-mentioned construction history and iconography, a study of the transformations of the tower can be prepared (Fig. 7). The complete destruction of the upper parts of its walls made it impossible to

determine the height of the core before the fire in 1548. A certain indication may be the presence of a flat frieze halfway up, which probably was part of the original medieval ending (Fig. 7A). By analogy with other town hall towers, the copula of that time can be reconstructed in the shape of a slender pyramid with an ambit at the base. The preserved relics of the balustrade were made of two types of stone, i.e. the shield with the town's coat of arms was carved of granite, whereas the balusters were made of red sandstone [12, p. 108], [17, p. 30]. From the preserved mentions, it can be established that the baluster balustrade was first constructed during the reconstruction before 1565 and then again in 1619. It is most probably the latter date that can be connected with the preserved shield because then the material that was applied was granite. Despite the lack of unambiguous records, after 1565 the tower was presented as made higher and covered with a cupola, similar to other Silesian town halls (Fig. 7B), on the basis of the circumstantial evidence of a small cornice between the last two storeys of the tower, which perhaps separated various construction phases. Another raising of the core, which is proved by sources, took place in 1619 and then it reached its final height. The form of the threeopen-work copula, which was erected at that time, can be

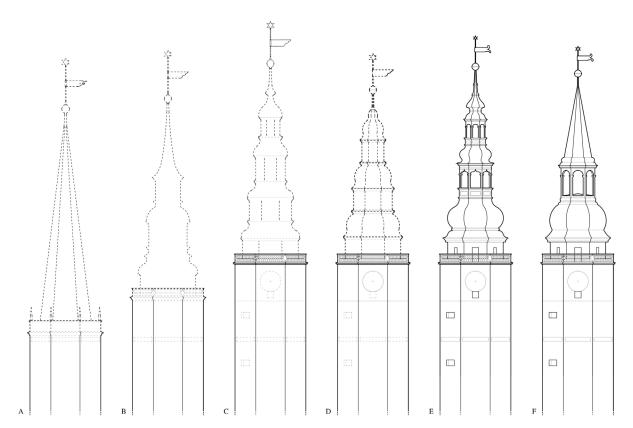


Fig. 7. A study of transformations in the architecture of the town hall tower: A – a hypothetical silhouette of the medieval tower until 1548, B – a rebuilt tower with a hypothetical cupola, the years 1565–1619, C – a raised tower with a three-open-work cupola, the years 1619–1648, D – a two-open-work cupola from the years 1649–1706, E – two-open-work cupola erected in in the years 1712–1714, destroyed in 1817, which is also a model of the finial erected in 2011, F – one-open-work cupola from the years 1818–1945 (elaborated by Z. Łuniewicz)

II. 7. Studium przemian architektury wieży ratuszowej: A – hipotetyczna sylweta wieży średniowiecznej, do 1548 r., B – odbudowana wieża wraz z hipotetycznym hełmem, lata 1565–1619,

C – podwyższona wieża wraz z trójprzezroczowym hełmem, lata 1619–1648, D – dwuprzezroczowy hełm z lat 1649–1706, E – dwuprzezroczowy hełm wzniesiony w latach 1712–1714, zniszczony w 1817 r., będący także wzorem zwieńczenia wzniesionego w 2011 r., F – jednoprzezroczowy hełm z lat 1818–1945 (oprac. Z. Łuniewicz) reconstructed in general outline (Fig. 7C). Only the finial from the next phase can be carefully reconstructed on the basis of the found veduta (Fig. 7D). The later stages of transformations of the tower from the years 1712–1714 and 1818 (Figs. 7E, 7F) have plenty of iconography and their forms do not raise any doubts.

# St. Cross' Church

A building with two gables, most probably above the transept and the tower, is St. Cross' Church which is situated to the right of the town hall. It gives the impression of an object without a roof, which can be interpreted as a state of partial ruin. It was erected in several phases, i.e. from the end of the 13th century to the 1660s. It was secularized after a fire in 1548 and then the church performed economic functions, serving as a cowshed, pigsty, woodshed, and brew-house. Probably after another fire, the roofs were not rebuilt because in 1694 the vaults in the presbytery collapsed and also destroyed the crypts [4, p. 194]. The wavy line of the gables can reflect the eroded crowns of the walls which have remained unsecured for several dozen years. It is difficult to define what the sketchy crowning of the tower in Pilgram's illustration shows, but most probably it is a brick bell storey. The new onionshaped copula without an open-work was made only in 1712 by carpenter Caspar Frantz who was famous for the reconstruction of the town hall dome [4, p. 195]. During the remodeling in the years 1926-1927, the existing crowning of the roof was pulled down and a new one-open-work copula with a strongly bulging dome was erected [18, p. 9], [13, p. 192]. The tower, which was blown up in 1945, was rebuilt in the 1950s, replacing the domed copula with a pyramidal one.

# **Fortifications**

The compact town development in the veduta is surrounded by a double ring of fortifications. The outer lower perimeter was reinforced on the northern side with six semicircular towers with closed loopholes. There is also an earthen embankment at the base of the roundel bastion and a moat. Inside, there is a medieval curtain wall with marked battlements. A tall fortified tower with a ceramic hipped roof with a short ridge is called Baszta Garncarska and is located on the left edge of the panorama. The tower of Brama Wodna, which is located between St. Michael's Church and the town hall, also has a similar shape. The third building in this shape, which closes the view on the right flank, is Katowska Tower, also called Prosiana [1, footnote 59]. The two remaining towers, which are crowned with attics, should be connected with Ziebicka and Wrocławska Gates. The latter, which is visible in an exposed central place on the front of the panorama, is shown together with an extensive foregate and a double gable roof. The walls which were mentioned in 1328 [19, pp. 40, 41, No. 4764] gained a visible appearance after the destruction of the Thirty Years' War. Damaged after the Swedish attack in 1648, the fortifications were repaired and raised, but first, in 1653, the towers were remodeled and later, in the years 1654–1656, the curtains were repaired and roundel bastions were filled with earth [3, p. 15]. Thus, the veduta was made after the completion of renovation works of the towers and roundel bastions. Like other buildings, the town's fortifications lost their wooden roofs in a fire in 1706, after which they were never fully rebuilt. The roof, which is visible in Werner's veduta, dominated above Prochowa Baszta only. It is also the only one of the fortified towers which survived the demolition of the fortifications which were liquidated from 1819 till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century [13, pp. 186, 215].

# **Conclusions**

The analysis of the construction history of individual buildings in the town allowed us to confirm the preliminary assumption that the discussed veduta (Fig. 2) presents Strzelin which is seen from the north in the shape that the town could have had in around 1653, and the buildings shown in it have shapes consistent with the data contained in written sources and preserved relics. The relative location of the objects is correct, although the view was deformed to some extent because distances between individual buildings should be greater. A unique value of the veduta are the only known so far representations of the towers' copulas, i.e., on St. Michael Church, which was probably built in 1596 or slightly later, in 1619. Also above St. Gotthard's Church, we can see a tall, two-storey dome from 1620, a previously unknown element of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century remodeling. The town hall tower was shown with a two-open-work copula which was erected only five years earlier, in 1648, the existence of which could only be inferred from the description. The attics of the town hall walls were also visible. In turn, the depiction of de-sacralized St. Cross' Church, which was devoid of the roof and the crowning of the tower, allows us to assume that originally the building had hitherto unknown gables. Finally, the towers and fortified towers of the town walls were drawn along with ceramic covered roofs with a short ridge and attics in the condition they obtained during the remodeling carried out in the same year as the entry was made. The date on the card, i.e., September 16, 1653, allows us to draw the conclusion that the discussed source is 60 years older than the earliest known iconography of Strzelin. Despite a certain schematic character, it makes it possible to broaden the knowledge of the town's architecture, partially eliminating the research obstacle which is almost complete destruction of a significant part of its building development.

Translated by Bogusław Setkowicz

# References

- [1] Atlas historyczny miast polskich, R. Czaja (red.), t. 4, Śląsk, M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa (red.), z. 10, Strzelin, D. Adamska (red.), D. Adamska, Z. Bandurska, M. Chorowska et al. (oprac.), Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Ośrodek Badań nad Kulturą Późnego Antyku i Wczesnego Średniowiecza, Wrocław 2017.
- [2] Bimler K., Die Schlesischen Massiven Wehrbauten, Bd. 2, Fürstentum Brieg. Kreise Brieg-Ohlau-Strehlen, Kommission Heydebrand-Verlag, Breslau 1941 [collections of the Wrocław University Library].
- [3] Brinkes J.Ch., Strehlische Chronika von 1735. Chronik der mittelschlesischen Kreisstaddt Strehlen von 1250 bis 1741, J.A. Hoffmann (Hrsg.), Verlag Paul Neumann, Velen i. Westfalen 1963.
- [4] Görlich F., Geschichte der Stadt Strehlen in Preußisch-Schlesien, Josef Max und Komp., Breslau 1853.
- [5] Drescher K., Chronik der Stadt Strehlen, Verlag Traugott Erler, Strehlen 1889.
- [6] Ehrhardt S.J., Presbyterologie des Evangelischen Schlesiens, Zweiten Theils, Erster Haupt-Abschnitt, welcher die protestantische Kirchenund Prediger-Geschichte der Stadt und der Fürstenthums Brieg in sich fasset, Verlag Johann Gottfried Pappäsche, Liegnitz 1782 [manuscript in: Wrocław University Library, sygn. 358670/II].
- [7] Werner F.B., Topographia oder Prodromus Delineati Principatus Lignicensis Bregensis, et Wolaviensis [...], [manuscript in: Wrocław University Library, sygn. Akc. 1948/1094].
- [8] Romanow J., Dwilewicz A., Florek S., Rytka K., Strzelin, woj. wrocławskie. Dawny kościół parafialny Św. Michała, "Informator Archeologiczny: Badania" 1978, Vol. 12, 259–260.
- [9] Romanow J., Dwilewicz A., Florek S., Rytka K., Dawny kościół parafialny Św. Michała w Strzelinie, Inwentaryzacja fundamentów, Wrocław 1978 [manuscript in: archives WUOZ, Wrocław].
- [10] Schmidt J.G., Wahre Abbildung der Stadt Strehlen in Schlesien Briegischen Fürstentum, Berlin [after 1741, colored copperplate according to a drawing by F.B. Werner, in: Wrocław University Library, sygn. 2517-IV.B].

- [11] Karst M., Sprawozdanie z badań architektoniczno-archeologicznych kościoła św. Gotarda w Strzelinie woj. wrocławskie, prowadzonych w okresie od listopada 1978 r. do maja 1979 r., Wrocław 1979 [manuscript in: archives WUOZ, Wrocław].
- [12] Małachowicz M., Karnicki R., Średniowieczny ratusz w Strzelinie, Strzelin 2009 [manuscript in: Autorska Pracownia arch. Macieja Małachowicza].
- [13] Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, t. 4, Województwo wrocławskie (dolnośląskie), E. Kołaczkiewicz (red.), z. 6, Powiat strzeliński, A. Dobrzyniecki, R. Kaczmarek, E. Kołaczkiewicz et al. (oprac.), Instytut Sztuki PAN, Instytut Historii Sztuki UWr, Warszawa 2008.
- [14] Grochowska-Sachs E., Jacob Gross, Karl Gottfried Geissler i inni. Nieznane projekty i realizacje wrocławskich architektów w świetle dokumentów, [in:] H. Okólska (red.), Mieszczaństwo wrocławskie. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławia w dniach 7–9 grudnia 2000 r., Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławia, Wrocław 2003, 183–187.
- [15] Czerner R., Ratusz w Brzegu, Oficyna Wydawnicza PWr, Wrocław 1994
- [16] Bandurska Z., Studium historyczno-architektoniczne wieży ratuszowej w Strzelinie, Wrocław 1977 [manuscript in: NID, Wrocław].
- [17] Karnicki R., Możliwości restytucji detalu architektonicznego na przykładzie projektu odbudowy ratusza w Strzelinie, [in:] E. Łużyniecka (red.), Dziedzictwo architektoniczne: w kręgu świata przyrodniczego i budowli miejskich, Oficyna Wydawnicza PWr, Wrocław 2019, doi: 10.5277/DZAR\_M\_2019, 26–36.
- [18] Hoffmann H., Die Kreuzkirche in Strehlen. Eine Führung, Verlag Otto Bergmeyer, Breslau 1939.
- [19] Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, Bd. 22, Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte 1327–1333, C. Grünhagen, K. Wuttke (Hrsg.), E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, Breslau 1903.

# Abstract

### Nil timide, nil tumide. About the oldest view of Strzelin and the finials of its towers

The article analyzes the newly discovered veduta of Strzelin and compares the buildings visible in it with the information contained in written sources and iconography. This panorama comes from the friendship book of Brzeg clergyman Johann Christoph Letsch (\* 1634, † 1686). It presents the town from the north along with a ring of fortifications, buildings and towers of architectural dominants. Below the drawing there is the inscription Nil timide, nil tumide/Bartholomeus Pilgram/Strel. Consul Ao 1653/16 7-bris, which makes it possible to identify the author of the entry as Bartholomäus Pilgram, the mayor of Strzelin in the period of November 26, 1642 – December 11, 1671. The research procedure was aimed at verifying the reliability of the iconographic message with the methods used for the analysis of iconographic materials. They included a comparison of preserved buildings, archaeological relics as well as messages in written sources and iconography. In the course of the research, it was possible to confirm that the buildings shown in the view had shapes consistent with the data contained in written sources and the preserved relics. The relative location is correct, but with some reduction in the distance between the buildings. A unique value of the veduta are the only known representations of the towers' copulas, i.e., on St. Michael's Church, which was probably erected in 1596 or slightly later, and above St. Gotthard's Church – a high, two-open-work dome from 1620, a missing element of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century remodeling. The town hall tower was presented with a two-open-work copula which was erected only five years earlier, in 1648, and was previously known from descriptions only. The depiction of de-sacralized St. Cross' Church, which was devoid of the roof and the crowning of the tower, allows us to assume that originally the building had hitherto unknown gables. The towers and fortified towers of the town walls were drawn along with ceramic covered roofs with a short ridge and attics in the condition they obtained during the remodeling carried out in the same year as the entry was made. The date on the card, i.e. September 16, 1653, allows us to make the conclusion that the discussed source is 60 years older than the earliest known iconography of Strzelin. The panorama at Pilgram's entry, despite a certain schematic character, allows us to expand the knowledge of the town's architecture, in spite of almost complete destruction of a significant part of its building development.

Key words: Strzelin, tower copula, town hall, friendship book, 17th century, iconography of Silesia

# Streszczenie

### Nil timide, nil tumide. O najstarszym widoku Strzelina i zwieńczeniach jego wież

W artykule poddano analizie nowo odnalezioną wedutę Strzelina, zestawiając widoczne na niej budowle z informacjami zawartymi w źródłach pisanych i ikonografii. Panorama ta pochodzi z wystawionego na sprzedaż sztambucha brzeskiego duchownego Johanna Christopha Letscha (\*1634, †1686). Przedstawia miasto w widoku od północy, wraz z pierścieniem fortyfikacji, zabudową i wieżami dominant architektonicznych. Pod rysunkiem umieszczono napis Nil timide, nil tumide / Bartholomeus Pilgram/ Strel. Consul Ao 1653/167-bris, który pozwala zidentyfikować autora wpisu jako Bartholomäusa Pilgrama, burmistrza Strzelina w okresie 26 XI 1642-11 XII 1671. Przeprowadzone postępowanie badawcze miało na celu zweryfikowanie rzetelności przekazu ikonograficznego metodami stosowanymi dla analiz materiałów ikonograficznych. Objęły one porównanie zachowanych budowli, reliktów archeologicznych oraz przekazów w źródłach pisanych i ikonografii. W toku badań udało się potwierdzić, że ukazane na widoku budowle mają kształty zgodne z danymi zawartymi w źródłach pisanych oraz zachowanymi reliktami. Zgadza się wzajemne położenie, przy pewnym zmniejszeniu odległości pomiędzy budowlami. Szczególnym walorem weduty są jedyne znane dotychczas przedstawienia hełmów wież: na kościele św. Michała, wzniesiona prawdopodobnie w 1596 r. lub nieco później, w 1619 r., oraz ponad kościołem św. Gotarda – wysoki, dwuprzezroczowy hełm z 1620 r., brakujący element XVII-wiecznej przebudowy. Wieża ratuszowa została ukazana ze wzniesionym zaledwie pięć lat wcześniej, w 1648 r., dwuprzezroczowym hełmem, znanym dotychczas jedynie z opisu. Przedstawienie zdesakralizowanego kościoła św. Krzyża, pozbawionego dachu i zwieńczenia wieży, pozwala przyjąć, że pierwotnie budowla miała nieznane dotychczas szczyty. Wieże i baszty murów miejskich narysowano wraz z krytymi ceramiką dachami z krótką kalenicą oraz attykami w stanie, jaki uzyskały podczas remontu w roku, w którym wykonano wpis. Zawarta na karcie data dzienna: 16 września 1653 r. pozwala stwierdzić, że omawiane źródło jest o 60 lat starsze od najwcześniejszej dotychczas znanej ikonografii Strzelina. Panorama przy wpisie Pilgrama, pomimo pewnej schematyczności, pozwala rozszerzyć wiedzę na temat architektury miasta, pomimo niemal całkowitego zniszczenia istotnej części jego zabudowy.

Słowa kluczowe: Strzelin, hełm wieżowy, ratusz, sztambuch, XVII w., ikonografia śląska