

# Protestant Church Architecture of the 16th–18th Centuries in Europe

Edited by Jan Harasimowicz

VOLUME 1

SCHNELL + STEINER

**Cover photo:** Interior of the Evangelical Reformed parish church of the Old City in Vienna, 1783–1784.  
Photo: © Justyna Chodasewicz-Siemion (2015)

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# Foreword

Signs indicating the 'city centre' will, in many European cities and towns, take you to a major church. In fact, there is no need to follow the signs at all, because often it is already clearly visible from a distance where the centre is, namely where a monumental, most often medieval, church stands.

The history of Europe is strongly determined by what churches stand for in the sense that European history is strongly determined by faith and religion. The church had a central place in the life of the city and in the life of the people. That applied specifically to the church as a community, because the church was the largest meeting place of the village or town, a place where not only faith was lived out in the community of believers, but where also the main public announcements were made. 'Central' applied to the church as an institution as well, in which each person was personally involved in the most important stages of life such as baptism, marriage and burial, and it also applied to the church as the central and often largest building in the city, although there were certainly some church buildings outside the city in cemeteries and as part of monasteries.

## THEOLOGY

The Protestant Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 had, in cities and regions that chose Protestantism as their leading confession, enormous influence on these existing, medieval church buildings, and also on the construction of new churches. As for the existing churches, hardly anything changed on the outside unless it was something minor like the replacement of the cross on the tower with a cock, swan or ship. The interior, however, changed dramatically, especially when it came to the Reformed version of the Reformation. The change and redesign of churches cannot be understood without Luther's theology. Luther provided a fundamentally new view of the relationship between God and man, and that again resulted in a fundamentally

different arrangement of the church interior. Whereas medieval theology had emphasized man's responsibility and activity in restoring the relationship with God that had been disrupted by sin, Luther radically reversed this and placed all the emphasis on God's grace coming to sinful man as having no way of coming to God from himself. In the Catholic Mass the congregation, through the priest, brings Christ – represented in the bread and wine that are changed into the body and blood of Christ – as a sacrifice to God. Luther reverses this, insisting instead that God comes to the congregation with the message of Christ's sacrifice through the minister. This U-turn in theology means that the sinner no longer goes to God, but God comes to the sinner. This means that the altar gives way to the pulpit. The Mass is no longer the centrepiece representing Christ's sacrifice, but the sermon preaching Christ's sacrifice. Not the visible, but the audible has the lead. The fact that in Lutheran churches in particular the altar remained in place has to do with Luther's fear that the Reformation would be seen as revolution. His motto that first a reformation of the heart must take place after which a reformation of the church interior would naturally follow, resulted in the fact that in Lutheran churches more remnants of the Catholic tradition can be found than in Calvinist churches. Luther stood at the beginning of the Reformation and focused on reforming the message. The reformer John Calvin – born in 1509 whereas Luther was born in 1483 – is of the second generation and wants the reformation message to be expressed more clearly in the reformation of personal life, and also more strictly in the reformation, or better, the purification of the interior of the church building. Added to this is the fact that Calvinism suffered greatly from persecution and many of its buildings were destroyed. The situation of being refugees meant that new buildings arose in new places that could immediately be decorated according to Reformation theology; that is, without any need to remodel an existing Catholic church. This was certainly true of statues and images. Luther's theology of grace caused the loss of the function of the

saints and thus of their images and pictures, as well as a different view of the Mass which was replaced by the Lord's Supper and that included other liturgical practices and instruments.

## BIBLE

One of the biggest changes the Reformation brought about, however, was the place of, and view on the Bible. Images and pictures lost their function as books for the laity because the Bible was the *only* book and was the book that became accessible in one's own language and also became accessible as a personal possession due to the falling prices of printed materials. That Bible also spoke out clearly against making images and pictures of God and worshipping idols. Even in terms of images and pictures, there was and is more to see in Lutheran churches than in Reformed ones. As mentioned before, Luther's principle was to first remove the images from the heart, and when that is done remove them from the church. The Calvinist principle is best expressed in the Heidelberg Catechism teaching on The Lord's Day 35, that God must not be depicted, and also that people should worship no images at all. Moreover, this Catechism explained/stated that believers were not taught by dumb images, but by the enlivening preaching of the Word. The churches were therefore designed in such a way that the focus would be placed upon the Word. The altar was replaced by, an often ornate, pulpit. The altered view of baptism was evident in the placement of the font. No longer was there a separate baptistry nor baptismal font, as in most churches, at the entrance of the building. Baptism was no longer viewed as an independent sacrament, no longer seen as a gateway to the Christian community. The view was that the child being baptized is already in the covenant and thus belonged to the Church, and that baptism is like a sign and seal of wax. Therefore, the font was placed near the pulpit to indicate that baptism is a sign and seal of the promise Word.

The Reformation introduced the singing congregation, so in some protestant regions the thought was that now that there were human voices, organs could be removed. But in most churches they were spared. The fear of the Reformers was that they would distract too much from the spoken Word and simultaneously give rise to too many musical 'performances' during the Sunday services which had little meaning in the worship of God. The theological changes – based on the protestant message of 'the pure Word of God' – took shape in

the transformation of church interiors, the remodelling of old buildings and the construction of new churches, and here theological renewal and artistic vision, denominational conviction and artistic expression were connected. With the Reformation, art did not disappear from the church but became less prominent and took on a different meaning as a form of expression.

## ACHIEVEMENT

All of the above is shown and described now in this immense achievement of Prof. Jan Harasimowicz et al. Here the reader can enjoy the fruit of decades of research, of impressive knowledge and insight, of endless photography and travel, and is served up beautiful and insightful illustrations, with detailed information about all that can be seen on and in Protestant church buildings. Here the story can be found behind why some churches have tall towers, others half towers, or no towers at all, what materials were used, what the costs were, who paid for the church, who designed the church and why some churches were built outside of city walls. Every detail of a church is described and it is made clear that even the tiniest detail has a meaning and relates to the theology of the Reformation. The book presents the national, regional and local peculiarities in building style and in constructing, organizing and decorating the interior of churches. Not only the representative churches of the major protestant countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and Scotland are represented but also the rich and often hidden treasures of Eastern and Southern Europe are revealed. In addition, these volumes cover the wide variety within Protestantism by describing and showing the gathering houses of, e.g., the Bohemian Brethren and Mennonites. All in all, this great and unique work is itself a 'town centre church building', where there is so much to see, to learn and to experience, and where – in line with Martin Luther's ideas – the image supports the Word and not the other way around. This *opus magnum* can also be compared to a church building dominating the city centre in another way; this work from henceforth takes centre stage when it comes to the study of Protestant church architecture, to research on the architecture and art of Early Modern Christianity, and of the European religious and cultural heritage. This book is a vivid monument, a portable museum, a compact encyclopaedia, an eye-opening travel guide, but above all, an academic masterpiece. With this exceptional achievement Prof. Harasimowicz

and company have done an immense service to science and culture, to church and art, and to anyone who is or who wants to become interested in those buildings that occupy such a central place in the cities and towns of Europe, and he deserves praise for this. Together with his team he also mastered the challenge of translating into English very specific architectural and artistic terms and phrases sometimes only used in the language of the region or nation under description. The justifiably

renowned publishing house of Schnell & Steiner shaped all this into a beautiful four-volume set that, for the rest of the century and perhaps longer, will be the standard work in its field. The cooperation between the Harasimowicz team in Wrocław, the Schnell & Steiner team in Regensburg and the REFORC team was smooth and successful, and it is with much thankfulness and some pride that I may, so to speak, open the door for the reader to this cathedral of verbal and visual knowledge.

*Herman Selderhuis*

President of the Reformation Research Consortium  
(REFORC)

first Protestant state<sup>30</sup> – was located in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was necessary to provide a brief outline of the history of the course the Reformation had taken in this area, along with a concise discussion of its architectural heritage. Unlike in Alsace, where Evangelical Lutheran and Evangelical Reformed churches, still used by local communities, are kept in an excellent state of repair, the major Protestant churches in Kaliningrad Oblast, except for the cathedral in Kaliningrad, had been demolished in 1945 or shortly thereafter, while the lesser ones, located outside important cities, have survived as a ruin.

Some essays had to take into consideration the fact that entire historic regions had been divided by modern national borders, the aforementioned former Duchy of Prussia being an excellent case in point. Since the historic capital city of the Duchy was located in its northern part, currently within the borders of the Russian Federation, primary information about the history of the Protestant Reformation in the Duchy of Prussia had to be included in the essay dealing with Russia. In keeping with this decision, the second part of the essay 'Royal Prussia and Ducal Prussia', discussing the southern part of the former Duchy of Prussia, nowadays within the borders of Poland, does not repeat descriptions related to the former capital city and other towns in the northern part of the Duchy, concentrating rather on religious life of the regions belonging to Poland, namely Pomesania, Upper Prussia, and Masuria, with reference to the church buildings surviving on the area, and still used – partly by the local Evangelical Lutheran communities, partly by Roman Catholic parishes. A similar situation is found on the area of the historic Duchy of Pomerania (Ger. *Herzogtum Pommern*; Pol. *Księstwo Pomorskie*), whose western part, known as Hither Pomerania (Ger. *Vorpommern*), belongs to Germany and has been discussed in the essay 'Mecklenburg and Hither Pomerania', while its eastern part, known as Farther Pomerania (Ger. *Hinterpommern*; Pol. *Pomorze Zachodnie*), is located within Polish borders and has been covered in the essay 'Greater Poland, New March and Farther Pomerania'.<sup>31</sup> Here, the historical narrative had to be carried concurrently along two lines, and cross-refer-

ences to the essay dealing with the other part of the Duchy had to be constantly used in order to avoid repetitions. Similar method was employed while compiling the introductory essays to the chapters discussing countries that used to constitute joint entities, namely Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein; Lithuania and Belarus; Sweden and Finland, and Hungary and Slovakia. The inclusion in the present work of chapters on Serbia and Ukraine resulted, in turn, mainly from the fact that compact Protestant communities existed within their borders – of Hungarians in the region of Transcarpathia in Ukraine<sup>32</sup>, and of Hungarians, Germans and Slovaks in the Serbian province of Vojvodina.<sup>33</sup> There can be no doubt that churches used by these communities form an integral part of the cultural heritage of the European Protestant Reformation, even though they do not play any significant part in the overall picture of Ukrainian or Serbian cultures.

Every essay is accompanied by a set of carefully selected illustrations connected with the text by means of appropriate references. They consist mainly of prints, drawings and archival photos, which show the no longer existing buildings that have been included in a given essay, or were at least mentioned in it because of their great importance. There are also designs that were never executed, but represent significant developments in the history of Protestant church architecture in a given country; and finally, there are designs that were executed, but with minor or major modifications. Furthermore, an important place among illustrations to essays is held by drawings and photographs of buildings that underwent far-reaching alterations – as a result of wartime events or post-war neglect. These images show the original appearance as well as the present, thoroughly 'contemporary' state of the buildings.<sup>34</sup>

The essay and the catalogue entries are connected by a photographs section whose extent usually corresponds to the length of a given chapter. The numbering of illustrations in this section continues the numbering of figures illustrating the essay, with references to illustrations appearing in the text. Photographs in this section illustrate only objects discussed in the catalogue entries. [JH]

31 For the history of Pomerania in general, both from the German and Polish perspectives, see: Wehrmann 1904–1906; Uckeley/Bethe 1935; Koch 1939; Heyden 1957/I–II; Labuda 1969; Labuda 1976, pp. 651–1058; Boras 1978; Włodarczyk 1995; Branig 1997–2000; Piskorski 1999; Labuda 2003; Schmidt 2007; Inachin 2008.

32 MREJT I: Kárpátalja; MREJT II: Kárpátalja; Radvánszky 2000; MREJT III: Kárpátalja; MREJT IV: Kárpátalja; Horváth/Kovács 2002; Kollár 2013.

33 Vereš 1930; MREJT VII: Szerbia-Montenegro; Bethke/Glass/Mitrović 2009; Njegovan 2017; Vojnićová-Feldyová 2017.

34 It is well exemplified by the interiors of two churches in the German federal state of Baden-Württemberg: the Evangelical (formerly Evangelical Reformed) Concordia Church (*Konkordienkirche*) at Mannheim (1796–1800; DE-BW 28), destroyed in 1943 and reconstructed in 1949–1952, and the Evangelical (formerly Evangelical Lutheran) City Church (*Evangelische Stadtkirche*) at Karlsruhe (1802–1816, DE-BW 16), destroyed in 1944 and reconstructed in 1950–1958.

3. The catalogue of Protestant church buildings constructed between the end of the 1520s and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup> encompasses 1183 sites. The greatest number, 387 buildings, come from the area of Germany, with Poland (130 items) and the United Kingdom (100 items) taking the second and third place, respectively. Within each chapter of the catalogue, the sites have been ordered alphabetically according to place names, identified with the ISO Country Codes, and a number. Thus, the first catalogued site in the present book is the former Evangelical Lutheran church at **Aigen bei Raabs (AT 1)** in Austria, and the last is the Evangelical Reformed royal chapel at castle **Stirling (GB-SCT 30)** in United Kingdom/Scotland. Each catalogue entry is accompanied by one or two photos (interior and exterior view). Photographs are usually complemented by ground plans, drawn in scale, with a compass rose. While compiling catalogue entries, researchers had to comply with content guidelines, drawn up by the project's principal investigator. Some of the entries take into account all fourteen items, but other inevitably omit some of them. Nevertheless, the items always appear in the following order:

- 1 Church location
- 2 Church name and denomination (historical and present)
- 3 Church building history
- 4 Church founder(s) and main benefactors
- 5 Church architect, builders and craftsmen
- 6 Church situation
- 7 Building materials
- 8 Church interior
- 9 Church exterior
- 10 Original Protestant fittings
- 11 Decoration of the interior
- 12 Inspirations and models for the church
- 13 Church significance and impact on later architecture
- 14 Bibliography

1 **Church location.** This item locates the church site within the country's present territorial and administrative subdivisions, typically the province/county, district and municipality/commune. The historical name of the

region is given, as are the variant names of the location – Banská Bystrica in Slovak, Besztercebánya in Hungarian, and Neusohl in German refer to the same place. The multilingual naming is often a result of past changes to administrative borders and land ownership, predominantly resulting from political decisions, wars and/or foreign annexation. As a particular locality changed hands, its official name frequently changed from one language to another. The ordering of the church sites in accordance with the present country borders was practical but not ideal. It was necessary to include some additional historical information, particularly with respect to borderlands. **Ahrensburg (DE-SH 1)** was a self-administered estate when a Lutheran church was erected there between 1594 and 1596. It subsequently came into possession of the King of Denmark, then the King of Prussia. Today, Ahrensburg is a town in German Schleswig-Holstein, hence it has been listed under a German ID. Church sites that originally were under the same administration may be listed under different countries. Some churches are known by the names of farmsteads or estates on which grounds they were built (for example, **Gröf á Höfðaströnd (IS 1)** in Skagafjörður commune, Iceland) while some have assumed the names of specific local features. The **Nes Kirkeruiner (NO 18)** on a headland, or *nes* in Norwegian, between two rivers, in the present Vormsund commune, Norway, is an example of the latter, listed as Nes Akershus. Historic names are used for church locations that have subsequently lost the administrative status of their own, such as **Dolstad** hamlet, now part of Mosjøen, Norway, see **NO 4**. A handful of church buildings that have been moved from the original location are listed under the present location, the church at **Svätý Kríž (SK 33)** being an example. Erected in 1773–1774 in the Slovak village of **Paludza**, this wooden church was moved to Svätý Kríž in the 1970s.

2 **Church name and denomination.** The religious denomination of the church and its place within the organisational structure of the relevant Church are recorded here. The official name of the Church is given both in English and the vernacular. Transfers of ownership and other notable historic events are recorded here as well, focusing on the period when the church was in sole use by the Protestants, or concurrently with the Catholics under the *Simultaneum* agreement.

35 Generally, the cut-off point has been set in the year 1815, but in some cases also churches built a few years later have been included.



**Fig. 12** Kahren (DE-BB 17), Evangelical (formerly Evangelical Lutheran) parish church, c. 1500, 1706. Interior arranged according to the 'divergent axes principle', with the altar (late 16<sup>th</sup>c.), defining the longitudinal axis, and the pulpit (1706) determining the transverse axis.



**Fig. 13** Łęgowo (PL 68), former Evangelical Lutheran (since 1945 Roman Catholic) parish church, 1600–1604. Interior arranged according to the 'divergent axes principle', with a pulpit defining the transverse axis and the corresponding galleries opposite.

3 **Church building history.** The start and completion dates of the church construction are indicated under this item, as well as significant subsequent alterations and major renovation campaigns. Some churches were purpose built as Protestant, others originally served Roman Catholics or were converted from secular buildings. Generally, the period from the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is covered. Events outside this time bracket are only recorded if they have significantly impacted upon the structure of the present church and/or resulted in a change in the building's use.

4 **Church founder(s) and benefactors.** If known, the names of the individuals and bodies that paid for the construction of the church, its decoration and fittings are given here. Other sources of funding included local or international fundraising campaigns. Those who instigated the build and other important benefactors may receive a mention. A careful reading of these names in some instances reveals lesser known aspects of this patronage, for example an Evangelical Lutheran village church (PL 12: *Dzierżążno Wielkie*) founded by a Catholic lord.

5 **Church architect, builders and craftsmen.** The names of known architects, masons and other craftsmen involved in the construction and/or any significant rebuilding of the church are listed here. This information concerns the period when the church served the Protestants. The earlier and later contributions are generally ignored.

6 **Church situation.** Protestant churches were often located in accordance with strict conditions stipulated in the building permission. The permission might have specified a particular location and materials to be used. The kind of surroundings that the church had when it was used by the Protestant congregation is given, for example, the grounds of the founder's estate, or the town's main square, or a site by a lake, or within a cemetery on the outskirts of a village, etc. The proximity of churches other than Protestant may be noted. The present situation may differ from the original one; this may be indicated.

7 **Building materials.** Main materials used in the construction of the church are recorded under this item. Generally, this information concerns the present building. The type of bond may be given if of note. For wooden churches the construction method is given. The material used for roof covering is generally indicated under item 9 where information about the roof forms can be found.

8 **Church interior.** The focus here is on the organisation of the sacred space. True to the key objective of the project, the emphasis is on description of features that served the performance of Protestant liturgy. Therefore, item 8 begins with a statement on the original Protestant liturgical arrangement of the interior, if known. A longitudinal, or transverse, or central arrangement – respectively – defines how the faithful congregated in order to listen to the Word delivered from the pulpit, and in practical terms – also how the sitting arrangement looked like,



**Fig. 14** Dippoldiswalde (DE-SN 8), Evangelical Lutheran parish church of St Mary and St Lawrence, 1496–1506, 1636–1638. Example of a traditional hall church (*Hallenkirche*).



**Fig. 15** Pasy (PL 70), Evangelical Lutheran parish church, 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>c., 1765–1775. Example of an early modern stepped-hall interior (*Staffelhalle*).

what was the placement of pews, galleries and boxes in relation to the liturgical focus of the building. Possible arrangements depended on the position of the pulpit. The overall design of the building structure (on which more below) determined a particular liturgical space. The architects of new churches, purpose-built for the Protestants, were able to accommodate their requirements in the new designs. In Protestant churches converted from the Roman Catholic ones, the prominence of the sanctuary housing the altar had to be resolved. The traditional, east-west alignment of Roman Catholic churches meant that the high altar was placed at the east end of the church. Until the 1960s the priest and the congregation prayed *ad orientem*, hence the traditional *oriented church*. Instead of the altar, the pulpit became a focal point in the Protestant worship. According to the teaching of Martin Luther, the Word proclaimed from the pulpit transforms the gathering of the faithful into a house of God. In a church consisting of a rectangular nave, the pulpit was typically placed either against one of the short walls (thus constituting the longitudinal arrangement) or at the centre of the longer wall (the transverse arrangement). The benches or pews were arranged accordingly, either side of the pulpit and facing it. The pulpit placed at the centre of the circular or oval nave, or at the crossing of a cruciform building, represents a centralised liturgical arrangement. In some churches the principle of intersecting axes, encapsulated by the German phrase *das*

*Prinzip der divergierenden Achsen* ('the divergent axes principle') was applied (Figs 12–13). This arrangement involved the placement of the altar at one end of the long axis, and the pulpit at one of the ends of the short axis.<sup>36</sup> Some flexibility was possible in churches built on Y, L and T plans. **Budal (NO 3)**, **Holmestrand (NO 12)**, and **Surnadal (NO 27)** are examples of the Y layout with the liturgical focus on one of the arms. This explanation should help with understanding what is meant by a particular liturgical spatial arrangement and its direct relationship to the church layout. The church layout is described and frequently illustrated with a ground plan purposely drawn for this project. The description of the internal architectural composition and decoration follows. When describing the interior of the present church, both historic and present features have been considered and this distinction made clear. The terminology used to describe various types of church buildings is discussed in more detail below.

9 **Church exterior.** Under this item the exterior of the building, as seen today, is described. Changes to the historic fabric may be noted, if significant. Features are listed in a prescribed order, starting with elevations, the articulation and decoration of the walls, followed by the shape and style of window and door openings, concluding with roof forms and coverings, including those over the tower or belfry.

36 Wex 1984, p. 63; Rust 1998; Langer 2003, p. 157; Harasimowicz 2022, pp. 82–84.



**Fig. 16** Montbéliard (FR 24), Evangelical Lutheran parish church, 1601–1607; Heinrich Schickhardt. Example of a plain single-room interior (*Salkirche*).



**Fig. 17** Loosdorf (AT 10), former Evangelical Lutheran (since c. 1627 Roman Catholic) parish church, 1570–1588. Example of a 'Roman single-room interior' (*Römischer Saal*).

**10** *Original Protestant fittings.* This item concerns the original Protestant fittings, if of artistic quality and *in situ*. Altars, pulpits, baptismal fonts, confessionals, organs and organ cases, as well as pews, galleries and boxes are listed alongside the names of their makers and the dates, if known. A brief description of the form and decoration of each object is provided. Objects later than the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and those not used in liturgy, such as monuments, memorial tablets and paintings of secular subjects are not included. Fittings that have not survived or have been moved elsewhere, are only mentioned if of particular significance.

**11** *Decoration of the interior and exterior.* The church décor, typically wall and ceiling paintings and sculpture, are described here. The decoration of the galleries may also be described in some detail.

**12** *Inspirations and models for the church.* This and the following item place the church building in the wider architectural and/or artistic context. Earlier designs that have or might have served as inspiration or model are considered.

**13** *Church significance and impact on later architecture.* If known, this information is given here and may be complemented with additional historical details.

**14** *Bibliography.* Individual listings are informed by critical reading of international literature on the subject. Sources consulted by the author, predominantly of a secondary nature, are listed in an abbreviated form under item 14 and in full in the Bibliography listed in volume 4.

Some provincial churches have not been published previously and no historical information of significance was available on the internet at the time of writing.

*Specialist terminology and issues in English translation.* During the editing of the catalogue entries, and in particular during their translation into English, numerous terminological problems arose that are worthy of further consideration.

The material under scrutiny represents historical multiculturalism. Substantial international scholarship of the subject, available in a number of languages, has been critically examined. The complexity of multidisciplinary knowledge required in this project has undoubtedly been a challenge for each researcher. It was not without consequences that the team was strictly Polish, naturally representing research practice and intellectual perspectives shaped by a particular educational and scholarly tradition. Incidentally, one may wonder how would the approach and outcomes differ if the team were entirely French, or American, or international? Church listings and essays were originally written in Polish. To be published in the English language, highly skilled translators were required, those with excellent command of nuanced specialised vocabulary that is not easy to find. Therefore, the translation from Polish into English was undertaken by Polish academic art and architectural historians of relevant specialisms. Despite inevitable imperfections of the present volumes, it is believed that the benefit of sharing this contents with English-speaking readers all over the world outweighs the limitations of publishing in Polish.

Some of the difficulties encountered when looking



**Fig. 18** Eisenach (DE-TH 4), Evangelical Lutheran parish church of St George, c. 1500, 1558–1561, 1717. Example of a galleried hall (*Emporenhalle*).



**Fig. 19** Hornbæk (DK 26), Evangelical Lutheran parish church, 1737; Peder Sørensen Ulf and Christopher Hansen. Example of a galleried single-room interior (*Emporensaal*).

for English equivalents to continental terminology, and when trying to integrate different historiographical conventions, are worth outlining.

**Architectural types of church buildings.** As commonly acknowledged, a historic church building bears testimony to a plethora of religious, ecclesiastical, geo-historical, political, social and artistic phenomena, of both local and broader significance. Some traditional names by which particular groups of churches are known reflect significant political events of the past. Churches of Peace were built in Silesia under the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia of 1648.<sup>37</sup> The articular churches are called so, because their construction was licensed under the Sopron Articles of 1681.<sup>38</sup> A toleration church was a church built in accordance with the Edicts of Toleration issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1781.<sup>39</sup>

A church building is arguably the most multifaceted of all cultural artefacts. The intellectual challenge of encapsulating this complexity in a single church record, out of necessity short, was therefore enormous for both the Polish scholars and research students who undertook the recording, as well as for those who have trans-

lated their texts into English, making the present publication possible.

To describe the overall shape of the building the authors relied on a typology that is standard to academic architectural history as taught in some parts of continental Europe. Many terms derive from German historiography and have equivalents in Polish and other languages of Central Europe, but may sound obscure to English speakers. It was an editorial decision to retain some German terms – such as *Saalkirchen*<sup>40</sup> and *Römische Saalräume*<sup>41</sup>, *Emporenkirchen*<sup>42</sup> and variants of the latter, namely *Emporenhallen*, *Emporenbasiliken* – as being immediately recognisable to many continental subject specialists. The definition of the term *basilica* being possibly a notable exception, specialist English and American dictionaries are of limited help, rather ignoring the strict typology developed by German scholars from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>43</sup> Some readers may appreciate it if we elaborate on this essential terminological matter.

Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave<sup>44</sup> describe the interior of the Methodist church (Wesleyan), completed in 1864, at Pocklington, Yorkshire, as the ‘usual spacious hall [sic!], still complete with gallery’. The German

37 Grundmann 1970, pp. 18–21; Banaś 1971, pp. 53–64; Morawiec 1998; Caspary 2005; Sörries 2008, pp. 26–28, 99–104; Schaaf 2017; Seidel-Grzesińska 2017; Schaaf 2019.

38 Sólyom 1944, pp. 84–85; Brandt 2008, pp. 305–308; Krähling/Danielisz 2020.

39 Herold/Leeb 1991/1992; Reingrabner 1994b; Brugger 1997, pp. 380–383; Schuler 2008, pp. 436–445; Sörries 2008, pp. 61–66, 69–77; Leeb 2013.

40 Lexikon Kunst 4, p. 252.

41 Fürst 2015.

42 Großmann 1994; Yates/Wooding 2011, Cat. No. 232.

43 See, for example, Mai 1969.

44 Buildings of England: Yorkshire Eest Ridding, pp. 649–650.



**Fig. 20** Frödinge (SE 9), Evangelical Lutheran parish church, 1739. Free-standing wooden belfry, 1694; Lars Broddesson Höflin.



**Fig. 21** Speicher (CH 49), Evangelical Reformed parish church, 1808–1810; master builder Konrad Langenegger. Pulpit, accessible from the second storey of the tower.

scholarship refers to this type of a single-cell church building as a *Saal* (*sala* being the Polish equivalent) or *Saalkirche*.<sup>45</sup> Readers of the present volumes may find the ambiguity of the term *hall* particularly misleading. To give an explanation – a hall church is a term used here to denote an aisled church in which the aisle, or aisles, and the nave measure approximately the same height –

see **Dippoldiswalde** (1496–1506, 1636–1638; **Fig. 14; DE-SN 8**).<sup>46</sup> A hall church is therefore different from a basilica which has the nave higher than the aisles and is lit by clerestory windows. In some entries there appears the term ‘stepped hall’ (Ger. *Staffel-* or *Stufenhalle*), which denotes a church in which the nave, devoid of clearstory, is slightly taller than the aisles – see **Pasym**

<sup>45</sup> The German and Polish scholars have been using the term *Saal/sala* to refer to almost any kind of a boxy ecclesiastical interior from the early medieval period onwards, cf. *Lexikon Kunst* 4, p. 252; *Kozakiewicz*

1976, p. 416. More on the terminological equivalence of German/Polish/English in *Seidel-Grzejska* 2021b.

<sup>46</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/hall-church>.



**Fig. 22** Holdhus (NO 11), Evangelical Lutheran 'old church', 1726. Interior facing the pulpit and the altar. *Rosemaling*-type painted decoration on walls.



**Fig. 23** Kvikne (NO 16), Evangelical Lutheran parish church, 1652–1654, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup>. Chancel with a retablo from 1663 and *Rosemaling*-type painted decoration on walls, from 1730s.

(14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>c., 1765–1775; **Fig. 15**; **PL 70**). An 'aisled hall' is therefore a tautology, introduced intentionally to disassociate this kind of design from a single-cell hall in the Pevsner and Neave sense. The 'one room' approach to the design of preaching churches was important to the performance of liturgy. It supported corporate (inclusive) worship and ensured that the clergy were not elevated, or separated from the congregation.<sup>47</sup>

A *Saalkirche* can therefore be described as having a nave without structural internal divisions, no aisles, no transepts, no chapels. The layout is typically rectangular – see **Montbéliard** (1601–1607; **Fig. 16**; **FR 24**), but can also be octagonal or oval. Churches on Y and L plans do not classify as such spaces. However the *Saal* type has variants with chapels and/or galleries, one of which the German scholars call *Römischer Saalraum* ('Roman single-room interior'). As this type of interior derives from the Il Gesù church (1568–1576) in Rome, Polish literature refers to it as a 'Jesuit space' – see **Loosdorf** (1570–1588; **Fig. 17**; **AT 10**). The nave is flanked by three shallow recesses in the lower portion of the walls, housing chapels, and is lit by windows in the upper walls. The vertical articulation of the walls extends over the barrel-vaulted ceiling, giving the interior a modular character.

With the distinction between two church designs called in German a *Halle* and a *Saal* in mind, the difference between two types of galleried churches, namely the *Emporenhalle* and the *Emporensaal* is clearer. An

*Emporenhalle*, or a galleried hall church has galleries spanning the spaces between the piers, rarely the columns, that separate the nave from the aisle – see **Eisenach** (c. 1500, 1558–1561, 1717; **Fig. 18**; **DE-TH 4**). The galleries are installed either along the longer sides of the nave or all around the interior. The same is true of an *Emporensaal*, however the interior has no structural divisions into bays and aisles, where the galleries are a wooden insert – see **Hornbæk** (1737; **Fig. 19**; **DK 26**).

Due care is required to ensure architectural terminology is accurate. When the working language and the dissemination language differ, this is easier said than done. Even the terms sharing the same etymology and appearing equivalent are prone to misuse. The seeming equivalence may prove misleading. The *nave* in English, and *nawa* (pronounced *nava*) in Polish is a good example.<sup>48</sup> Sharing the same medieval Latin origins and reference (both in terms of the actual elongated shape and metaphysically) to a ship, the English term refers strictly to the main central portion of the church, while in Polish also to an aisle. In Polish, differentiating adjectives are required – *nawa główna* or *nawa boczna* respectively – to describe the building accurately. A misnomer such as 'a three-nave church' is not uncommon in some architectural texts translated from Polish into English, used to describe what in fact is an aisled church, i.e. one which comprises an aisle, or aisles, on either side of the nave. To complicate the matter further, the English-speaker does not find the

47 After **Presbyterian Worship 2014**, p. 9.

48 Collins English Dictionary, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/nave>; AAT, <http://vocab.getty.edu/page/aat/300004627>;

<https://www.britannica.com/technology/aisle>, all three accessed on 26 April 2023. See also **Kozakiewicz 1976**, p. 319.

phrase *three-aisled church* misleading – the nave being the central aisle that draws one's eyes to the altar. In the colloquial expression 'the bride walking down the aisle', the term *nave*, although meant, is not used. *Transept* is both an English and Polish term, yet may easily cause confusion in translation. In a cruciform church, its transverse portion is called *transepts* in English, but *transept* in Polish. What in Polish reads 'two arms of a transept' for an English speaker implies a shape different from a Latin cross. The translator may inadvertently 'rebuild' the actual church under description, as regretfully is often the case. A false conclusion as to the type of church structure and layout may easily be drawn. Similarly, other architectural features can be misrepresented in bad translation. *Arkada* in Polish implies a single arch, while the English term *arcade* refers to a series of arches, the strictly ornamental use of which is called *arcading*. *Attic* and *parapet* are terms present in both the English and the Polish languages, yet refer to different kinds of structures; applied without critical reflection by the translator, risk introducing factual inaccuracies. Plentiful further examples of possible misreading of the original text that may get lost in translation could be given. An English-speaking reader may not be aware of the factual inaccuracy introduced by the translator to otherwise linguistically correct translation. Therefore, one cannot stress enough the role of knowledgeable, responsible and nuanced translation. The rarely appreciated role of the translator, and subsequently that of the subject editor, copy editor and proof-reader, all capable of picking up errors, cannot be overstated. Whether one contributes as an author, translator or editor, the required wide-ranging skills, both linguistic and subject-specialist, are rare to find. The range of specialist subjects that need to be covered when dealing with the heritage in question – is likely to overwhelm even the most knowledgeable modern scholars. The nuanced linguistic awareness of this complexity may prove challenging. *Belfry* is a common English word used to describe a bell tower or a bell chamber. It may be little known even to the native English speakers that the term *belfry* originally denoted a movable wooden structure employed in besieging fortifications; the association with *bells* is believed to be later.<sup>49</sup> Assuming that few readers are aware of this origin, we resort, once more, to a tautology; the *wooden*

*belfry* may come informative in descriptions of many churches in Sweden (**Fig. 20**) and elsewhere.

Familiarity with a particular architectural term may prove deceptive. *Aedicule*, *arcade*, *cupola*, *epitaph*, *lantern* are nouns that exist in a number of languages and yet – despite shared etymology – differ in meaning. The French term *gloriette* has been adopted by many European languages. While in English it refers to a garden pavilion, Polish authors use it to describe a roof cupola in openwork. *Cupola* is another British and American term for a small roof structure, not necessarily covered by a domed roof, as the etymology and usage in other languages would indicate. Unless translators are fully aware of such ambiguities and nuances, the risk of inadvertently altering the appearance of the feature being described remains strong. It goes without saying that critical reading of the translation (or, any text in that matter) is essential. And so is the familiarity with the established epistemological usage and best scholarly practice.

The established historiographical practice varies from one school of thought to another. Some terminological phrases may work in some national contexts, but translated *verbatim* may become ambiguous in another language. A pulpit installed in the manner of a small balcony is in Polish literature referred to as an *ambona refektarzowa*; access is through a staircase carved out of the thickness of the wall of the adjacent vestry or other room (**Figs 13, 21**). The term was introduced to Polish scholarship by Jakub Pokora, who studied such pulpits in Protestant churches in Silesia.<sup>50</sup> One should refrain from *verbatim* translation into English as a *refectory pulpit*<sup>51</sup>, and into French as a *chaire de réfectoire*<sup>52</sup>, as the latter two terms imply a pulpit placed in a refectory.

International scholarship often resorts to foreign vernacular specialist terms. The first known original use of such a term is often retained, or borrowed to emphasise – rightly or wrongly – where a particular feature or phenomenon originated or became popular. *Rosemaling* is a Norwegian term, which English has absorbed. Entered in standard dictionaries, it means rose painting and refers to painted decoration consisting of floral motifs, made popular in Early Modern Norway (**Figs 22–23**). The Swedish two-eave roof, *säteritak* (see **Habo**, 1680–1723; **SE 12**) has its equivalent form in Polish architecture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and in Polish literature is referred to as a Cracow roof. In international con-

49 Belfry, see <https://www.britannica.com/technology/belfry>, accessed on 26 April 2023.

50 Pokora 1982, p. 57, note 68.

51 Correctly: lector's pulpit, see **King Northern Division 2**, pp. 404–405.

52 Correctly: chaire de lecture, see *Thésaurus de la désignation des objets mobiliers*, <http://data.culture.fr/thesaurus/page/ark:/67717/T69-723>.

texts, such terms may be confusing in literal translation (a Cracow roof over a Swedish church?) and wrongly imply a particular influence. Similarly, the Dutch/Flemish gable, or the English bond, are architectural features whose names make reference to a particular geographical area. Translation from one language into another must be conscious of implications for possible changes in meaning, therefore critical. When an exact equivalent is missing a descriptive phrase, or a scope note, will mitigate the lack of equivalent foreign term.

Despite the ongoing major international efforts to compile a comprehensive multilingual glossary of specialist art and architectural terminology, the lack of such a resource remains acute. There are many helpful vocabularies, but none seems to fully respond to specialist research.<sup>53</sup> A wide range of literature needs to be consulted to accurately and consistently convey in English the vernacular nuances. The task faced by this and other projects, of similar international scope, may at times feel overwhelming.

Recording historic architecture is a duty of relevant national heritage preservation bodies. Individual countries have developed documentation in various formats, such as the Historic England's Listing of protected historic sites and the Swedish National Heritage Board's register of historic buildings (BeBR), both having extensive coverage of ecclesiastical architecture.<sup>54</sup> Individual scholarly and educational efforts of this kind, such as recording of hundreds of wooden Orthodox churches in the Lemko region in the south of Poland and north Slovakia, are notable.<sup>55</sup> The pioneering nature of the present project lies in its international scope and specific perspective, namely looking at how particular liturgical needs have shaped European Protestant sacred architecture, its exteriors and internal arrangement and décor. The sheer number of churches, both surviving and no longer extant, that should be recorded to make this study comprehensive was beyond the means of the Polish team. There are many neglected sites that await proper fieldwork and archival studies. More research and much greater publication efforts, supported by adequate expertise and funding, are required. However, it is believed that the selection of churches included in the present survey is representative enough to convincingly evidence the leading research question. Considerable

new research into churches not previously published, or published in obscure vernacular languages, is expected to encourage further research. Arguments presented in the accompanying essays are open to debate, while the format adopted for the church listings is expected to facilitate wide-ranging comparative studies. The subjects may range from formal characteristics of spatial designs applied to Protestant ecclesiastical architecture, through the variety of decorative schemes employed, manifest in liturgical fittings, wall paintings and sculpture, to in-depth discussions of contemporary historical and geo-political events that impacted upon the architectural and artistic developments.

While presentation of our findings in English is expected to facilitate their diffusion, future researchers should never lose sight of vernacular specifics within pan-European Protestant culture and remain acutely aware of the complexity of this heritage and languages used to describe it. [ASG and ABK]

4. Each of the chapters of the present publication, consisting of an introductory essay, a set of illustrations and an extensive catalogue, forms an art-historical monograph of architectural heritage of the Reformation and early modern Protestantism in a given area, set within a broad historical context. Such a construction of the work familiarises with specific features of Protestant church architecture in every country individually, and at the same time enables various comparative studies defying the divisions of the current national and regional borders. Criteria of those comparative studies may be denominational, typological, stylistic, and even social, taking into account the circumstances of the church foundation – by kings, dukes, magnates, noblemen, burghers, and even peasants. Possible directions for such studies have been indicated in the introduction by the project's principal investigator and Editor-in-Chief of the present book, which presents Protestant church architecture as a 'European phenomenon'.

In the introduction as well as in numerous essays and catalogue entries appear references to views about church buildings and their furnishings and decoration expressed by the Reformers, and also to normative regulations in this regard set down in Church ordinances and agendas, promulgated in many countries and towns.

53 The lack of consistent terminology for wooden architecture, rich in localisms, and a technical vocabulary for describing particular architectural features such as medieval moulding profiles is often noted. See, for example, Morris 1992.

54 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/>; <https://www.raa.se/hitta-information/bebyggelseregistret-bebr/>, both accessed on 18 May 2023.

55 Giemza 2023.



**Fig. 24** Tønder (DK 44), Evangelical Lutheran parish church of Christ, 1591–1592. An early Baroque architectural retable, 1695; sculptor's workshop of Peter Petersen III.



**Fig. 25** Düsseldorf (DE-NRW 4), Evangelical (formerly Evangelical Reformed) Neander Church, 1683–1685. Wall clock opposite the pulpit, 1710.



**Fig. 26** Strasbourg (FR 36), Evangelical Lutheran parish church of St William, 1307, 1589, 1636–1667. Carved group of Pelican in her Piety supporting the pulpit, 1656.

There are also numerous references to various currents of Protestant piety of the early modern period, including the proto-Pietism of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the Pietism of Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke.<sup>56</sup> A broader discussion of the meaning and symbolic function of Protestant church architecture would require, however, that the present, already quite extensive work, be much expanded in length. Thus, a separate volume would have hold a complex analysis of forms and iconographic programmes of the main items of church furnishings in Evangelical Lutheran and Evangelical Reformed churches, known as the **triple liturgical focus** (Ger. *Prinzipalstücke*). In Lutheran churches

such an analysis would have encompassed altarpieces (**Fig. 24**)<sup>57</sup>, pulpits, and pulpit altars<sup>58</sup>, as well as baptismal fonts and baptismal angels<sup>59</sup>, further, organ cases<sup>60</sup>, confessionals, money boxes, patron's pews and boxes, and common benches.<sup>61</sup> As far as Evangelical Reformed churches are concerned, the research would have to cover pulpits, communion tables and baptismal fonts<sup>62</sup>, as well as – similar to Lutheran churches – various forms of seating. A separate place should be accorded to supradenominational items of church furnishing such as **clocks**, which were found not only on church towers and gables, but also inside: above or below pulpits (**Fig. 21**), or opposite to them (**Fig. 25**).<sup>63</sup> In the same cate-

56 On this subject, see Harasimowicz 1998a; Harasimowicz 2004a; Harasimowicz 2017c, pp. 259–272.

57 Wiesenhütter 1936, pp. 176–186; Eggert 1937; Poscharsky 1978; Harasimowicz 1986a, pp. 57–78; Dürr 2006, pp. 92–94, 99–106; Poscharsky 2014, pp. 229–250; Poscharsky 2015; Zduńczyk 2015; Zduńczyk 2022.

58 For Lutheran pulpits in general, see Wiesenhütter 1936, pp. 186–200; Poscharsky 1963; Pokora 1982; Harasimowicz 1986a, pp. 79–110; Katalog Zwickau 2016. For Lutheran pulpit altars: L'Aronge 1921; Stade 1931; Schönberg 1942; Mai 1969; Müller 1972; Meißner 1987; Granasztóiné Györfy 1992; Meißner 2002; Krüger 2009a; Pius 2014; Harmati 2017; Kaluch-Tabisz 2018a.

59 The literature on Lutheran baptismal fonts is rather modest; see: Wiesenhütter 1936, pp. 202–207; Harasimowicz 1986a, pp. 111–131; Teuchert 1986; Mathies 1998; Matczyńska 2020. On Lutheran baptismal angels see: Cuveland/Cuveland 1978; Aye/Kronenberg

2006; Flügge/Noll-Minor/Stachat/Ziems 2006; Seyderhelm 2009; Becker-Carus 2012.

60 On this subject, see e.g.: Meyer-Siat 1983; Jonkanski/Seidel 2012; Zgliński 2012; Diederichs-Gottschalk 2017a.

61 So far mainly patron's boxes have been examined, see: Kießling 1995; Späritis 2008; Aßmann-Weinlich 2014.

62 The Ritual observed in some local Evangelical Reformed Churches did not envisage permanent baptismal fonts. For the furnishings of Dutch and Swiss Evangelical Reformed churches in general, see: Gutscher/Senn 1984; Van Swigchem/Brauwier/Van Os 1984; Reymond 1999b; Steensma 2013.

63 A clock above the pulpit can be found in the Evangelical Reformed parish church at Speicher (1808–1810; CH 49), and below the pulpit, in the former Evangelical Lutheran church of the Holy Cross in Poznań (1785; PL 19). A clock hung on the wall opposite to a pulpit can be found in the Evangelical Reformed Neander Church in Düsseldorf (1710; DE-NRW 4).

gory fall universal Christian symbols, such as the Pelican in her Piety (pelican piercing her breast to feed its young with its blood) which appears as in-the-round sculptures in Evangelical Lutheran and Evangelical Reformed churches, mostly on pulpit supports (Fig. 26).<sup>64</sup>

More attention should also be devoted to the 'symbolical charge' of Protestant church interiors, manifested by means of representations associated with 'evil forces' understood in the widest sense of the term. They can be found even in Evangelical Reformed churches, which in principle are considered to be free of any 'superstition'. A good case in point is a carved mascarón under the body of the pulpit in the Swiss church at **Aarwangen** (1576–1577; Fig. 27; CH 1), and a painted panel depicting a strange-looking mermaid holding a sabre and a sword, on the ceiling of the church at **Drávaiványi** (c. 1790–1792; Fig. 28; HU 10) in Hungary. We are less surprised by the carved image of Satan represented as a winged dragon 'chained' to the first step of the stairs leading up to the afore-mentioned stone pulpit in the former Evangelical Lutheran church of St Mary Magdalene in **Wrocław** (1579–1583; Fig. 29). As is well known, Martin Luther considered the 'real' presence of Satan among people, even among 'good Christians', as an undeniable fact, and the only weapon that could deter its destructive intentions was – in keeping with St Paul's Epistle to the Romans – 'the power of the Word'.<sup>65</sup> Therefore every preacher who ascended the stairs of the Wrocław pulpit, by treading upon the image of the chained Prince of Darkness, would symbolically free himself from the influence of Satan. Thus the pulpit was understood – in keeping with the interpretation of numerous theologians, representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy – as the 'watchtower of Christ's vineyard' (Ger. *Wachturm des Weinbergs Christi*)<sup>66</sup>, impenetrable to any scheming of the evil forces of any kind.

The production of the postulated additional volume would have required further work of the Editor-in-Chief and the researchers who have contributed to the present book, at least of those who have studied the furnishings and decoration of Protestant churches in depth. Yet, it is not sure they would be willing to undertake this task, as already the work on the present book was very time-consuming. I extend my deepest thanks to all of the contributors to the present publication,

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64 Sculptures of the Pelican in her Piety appear, among other places, on the supports of pulpits in the Evangelical Lutheran church of St William in **Strasbourg** (1656; FR 36), in the Evangelical Lutheran church of St Lawrence at **Wasselonne** (1755–1757; FR 42), and in the Evangelical Reformed Great Church at **Westzaan** (1740–1741; NL 49).

65 *Bekennnisschriften* 1992, pp. 549–550.

66 *Haebler* 1957, p. 41; *Lieske* 1973, p. 40; *Harasimowicz* 2017c, pp. 173–174, 177.

67 See note 25.



**Fig. 27** Aarwangen (CH 1), Evangelical Reformed church, 1576–1577. Grotesque head carved at the bottom of a wooden pulpit.



**Fig. 28** Drávaiványi (HU 10), Evangelical Reformed church, c. 1790–1792. A mermaid holding a sabre and a sword on one of the panels of a painted ceiling.



**Fig. 29** Wrocław, former Evangelical Lutheran parish church of St Mary Magdalene (since 1946 Polish Catholic Cathedral of St Mary Magdalene), Renaissance stone pulpit, 1579–1583. Sculptor Friedrich Gross the Elder, painter Bartholomäus Fichtenberger. Carved image of Satan disguised as a winged dragon, depicted as if chained to the first step of stairs leading up to the pulpit.

the 'Refo500' platform we were able to count on their far-reaching help and overarching support. The platform became a patron of the methodological workshops held in 2013 and 2015, and of the photographic display *Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum. Early Modern Protestant Church Architecture in Europe*, mounted on the occasion of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Reformation<sup>68</sup>, and has actively supported the present book by including ample information about its forthcoming appearance on their website.<sup>69</sup>

Numerous public institutions and private individuals have contributed in various ways to the present work's seeing the light of the day – by making available documentary records and photographic materials, and by providing valuable advice and guidance. Among institutions, we are especially indebted to the following: The Finnish Heritage Agency (*Museovirasto*) in Helsinki, The National Archives of Sweden (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm, The Evangelical Church in Central Germany (*Evangelische Kirche in Mitteldeutschland*) in Magdeburg and Erfurt, L'Ufficio Beni Culturali della Tavola Valdese at Torre Pellice near Turin, The Dresden State Art Collections (*Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*), The National Museum of Denmark (*Nationalmuseet*) in Copenhagen, The National Museum of Iceland (*Þjóðminjasafn Íslands*) in Reykjavik, The National Museum in Cracow (*Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie*), and The National Museum in Gdańsk (*Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku*). We extend our most sincere gratitude to the following individuals: Rudolf Leeb and Karl W. Schwarz (Austria), Petr Hlaváček, Ondřej Jakubec, and Tomáš Knoz (Czech Republic), Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen (Denmark), Krista Kodres (Estonia), Frank Muller (France), Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, Ernst Badstübner, Sybille Badstübner-Gröger, Joachim Bahlcke, Kathrin Ellwardt, Johann Michael Fritz, Arno Herzig, Thomas Kaufmann, Ernst Koch, Klaus Raschzok, Heinz Schilling, Eva-Maria Seng, Bettina Seyderhelm, Udo Sträter, Kai Wenzel, and Ulrich Wien (Germany), Dóra Danielisz, Béla László Harmati and János Krähling (Hungary), Ojārs Spārītis (Latvia), Justin Kroesen and Konrad Ottenheim (The Netherlands), Oddbjørn Sørmoen (Norway), Bogusław Dybaś, Edmund Kizik, Ryszard Knapiński, Jerzy Krzysztof Kos, Janusz Małek, Sergiusz Michalski, Maciej Ptaszyński, Jacek Wijaczka, and Marcin Zgliński (Poland), Edit Szegedi (Romania), Miloš Dudáš and Eva Kowalska (Slovakia), Emidio Campi (Switzerland), Robert Evans and Andrew Spicer (UK)

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While deciding, in 2012, to apply to the National Science Centre for funds to carry out the research project on *Protestant Church Architecture of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries in Europe*, I assumed it would be completed by 2017, to coincide with the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of Martin Luther's work of the Reformation. When it turned out that keeping this deadline would not be possible, I thought about another important anniversary – the fifth centenary of the Reformation in Wrocław, my hometown, with which also most of my academic career has been associated. Official promulgation of the

68 See note 27.

69 <https://reforc.com/news/11453-2/> accessed on 31 May 2023.