

*Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude
der Stadt Dantzig (1695)*
by the Gdańsk Builder Bartel Ranisch.
The Book, its Readers and Contexts*

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ABSTRACT This article examines *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (1695) by the master builder Bartel Ranisch, one of the first European architectural treatises presenting Gothic architecture from a historiographical perspective. The book describes Gdańsk churches, illustrating ribbed vault construction to inspire patrons and revive builders' skills. It was widely read among the Gdańsk elite and classified as historical literature. The study contextualises Ranisch's work within early modern antiquarianism and urban identity, emphasising his novel use of guild documents. Unlike many contemporaneous authors, Ranisch avoided religious disputes, instead highlighting the continuity of Christianity from the Teutonic Order onward. His book diverged from dominant classicist discourse, focusing on practical construction methods rather than theoretical treatises. Ultimately, it serves as a key source for understanding early modern medievalism and architectural historiography in Central and North-Eastern Europe.

KEYWORDS Gdańsk (Danzig), Bartel Ranisch, architecture, medievalism, 17th-century historiography

ABSTRAKT *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig (1695)* autorstwa gdańskiego budowniczego Bartela Ranischa. Książka, jej czytelnicy i konteksty. Artykuł analizuje *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (1695) autorstwa mistrza budowlanego Bartela Ranischa – jeden z pierwszych europejskich traktatów architektonicznych ukazujących gotycką architekturę z perspektywy historiograficznej. Książka opisuje gdańskie kościoły i ilustruje konstrukcję sklepień żebrowych, mając na celu inspirowanie fundatorów i przywrócenie umiejętności budowniczych. Była szeroko czytana wśród gdańskiej elity i klasyfikowana jako literatura historyczna. Artykuł umieszcza dzieło Ranischa w kontekście nowożytnego antykwaryzmu i tożsamości miejskiej, podkreślając jego nowatorskie wykorzystanie dokumentów cechowych. W przeciwieństwie do wielu współczesnych autorów Ranisch unikał sporów religijnych, akcentując ciągłość chrześcijaństwa od czasów zakonu krzyżackiego. Jego książka odbiegała od dominującego klasycystycznego dyskursu, koncentrując się na praktycznych metodach budowlanych. Dziś stanowi ona istotne źródło do badań nad wczesno nowożytnym medievalizmem i historiografią architektury w Europie Środkowej i Północno-Wschodniej.

SŁOWA-KLUCZE Gdańsk (Danzig), Bartel Ranisch, architektura, medievalizm, historiografia XVII w.

IN 1695, a handsome book in folio known under the title *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzic* was published in Gdańsk (German: Danzig), then part of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, by the local master builder Bartel Ranisch (1648–1709?).¹ Combining technical expertise and historical sensitivity with a generous number of images, it became one of the first European architectural treatises on the topic of Gothic architecture written from a distinctly historiographical perspective.² As foreshadowed by the book's descriptive title, this pioneering book presented more than a dozen local churches, accompanied by illustrated precepts on how to construct complex ribbed vaults based on examples taken from the buildings described.

Bartel Ranisch published the book at a particular moment in the history of the city. The period up to the middle of the 17th century was a time of development for Gdańsk, which became the major trading centre of the Baltic region and by far the largest city of the Commonwealth. However, the crisis that struck the country in the middle of the 17th century, profoundly intertwined with the far-reaching changes occurring in the patterns of the European economy, had dire consequences for the city as well. It was in this period of slow decline that the wealth of Gdańsk's architectural heritage drew Ranisch's attention. In his address to the

readers, where he presented himself as a dedicated citizen, he referred to the flourishing of local architecture, which he said began during the rule of the Teutonic Order (1308–1454), and attributed the establishment of Gdańsk's churches to the efforts of the burghers, thus evoking the pride his readers could take in the history of their city and the achievements of their ancestors. The magnificence of the city's churches and the richness of their architectural forms, contrasted with the simplicity of contemporary buildings, led Ranisch to attempt a recreation of what he believed to be a waning art of constructing elaborate ribbed vaults. In a retrospective approach towards the local architectural tradition, he aimed to inspire patrons and to restore the skills of builders, and thus to stimulate the development of architecture in the city.

Ranisch's career as a builder has recently been presented anew, based on previously unknown sources, especially Gdańsk city accounts and guild documents.³ Drawing on the results of this research, this essay focuses on his main achievement – the description of Gdańsk churches published in 1695. Although Ranisch's book has received some scholarly attention, it has usually been treated as a source of information about the history of local architecture and used as a tool to facilitate its reconstruction, especially after the destruction of the Second World War.⁴ This essay, in contrast, will

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1. The full title reads as follows: *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude Der Stadt Dantzic / Worinnen Einer jeden Kirchen Grund-Riß / Auffzug oder Abriß vollkömmlich zu ersehen / wie dann auch von den Kunstreichen Gewölbern in denen Kirchen / sowol im Grund-Risse als Aufstellung derselben deutlich gehandelt wird; Nebst / Der Beschreibung aller anderen Kirchen / so ausserhalb Walles in den Vorstädten gelegen seyn / nach ihrer Maaß* (Dantzic: Johann Zacharias Stollen, 1695).

2. In using the term "Gothic" I am aware of the controversy involved, but I have chosen to use it for the sake of clarity of argument in the spirit described in Robert Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture. Its Evolution, Extinction, and Reception* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 1–18.

3. Franciszek Skibiński, "The Gdańsk Builder Bartel Ranisch (1648–1710?): New Research on His Biography and Architectural Activity", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 87, no. 1 (2025): 5–34.

4. See especially Helene C. Kaplan, "Bartel Ranisch i sklepienia gdańskie", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 22, no. 3 (1977): 167–190; Anna Kulig, Krystyna Romaniak, "A Universal Geometrical Method for Reconstruction of Gothic Vaults", *Journal for Geometry and Graphics* 12, no. 1 (2008): 81–86, and Anna Kulig, "Wirtualne rekonstrukcje sklepień gwiazdzistych

address three topics: the circumstances of the book's creation, its readership among the local elite, and its place amongst 16th- and 17th-century writing on architecture. This will allow to achieve two goals: first, a better grasp of the peculiarities of Gdańsk's culture and architecture at the time when the declining city was increasingly viewed through the lens of its history, and second, a better understanding of Early Modern medievalism, especially in the context of urban culture in Central and North-Eastern Europe, a topic left out of Francesco Russo's seminal study on printed illustrations of medieval architecture.⁵

MAKING OF THE BOOK

The circumstances of the book's publication indicate a connection to the municipal government, though no data exists to suggest it was made on the government's initiative. It was printed by Johann Zacharias Stolle, originally from Halle (Saale) in Saxony, well known for his work for the city and the local Academic Gymnasium.⁶ The book has been dedicated to the civic authorities, including the Royal Burgrave and the burgomasters, councilors and aldermen of the Main City (German: Recht Stadt) of Gdańsk. The appeal to the urban government seems purposeful, as the publication of the book took place at the time when Ranisch was beginning to work more intensively for the Gdańsk authorities.⁷ The dedication is highlighted by the city's coat of arms placed on the frontispiece, above which a Polish royal eagle spreads its wings, holding a shield with the initials of King John III. The shield constitutes a clear allusion to the Sobieski family's Janina coat of arms and, through its notably sculptural form, serves as a deliberate realisation of the widespread iconographic tradition in which the monarch's personal heraldry is displayed on the eagle's chest (Fig. 1).



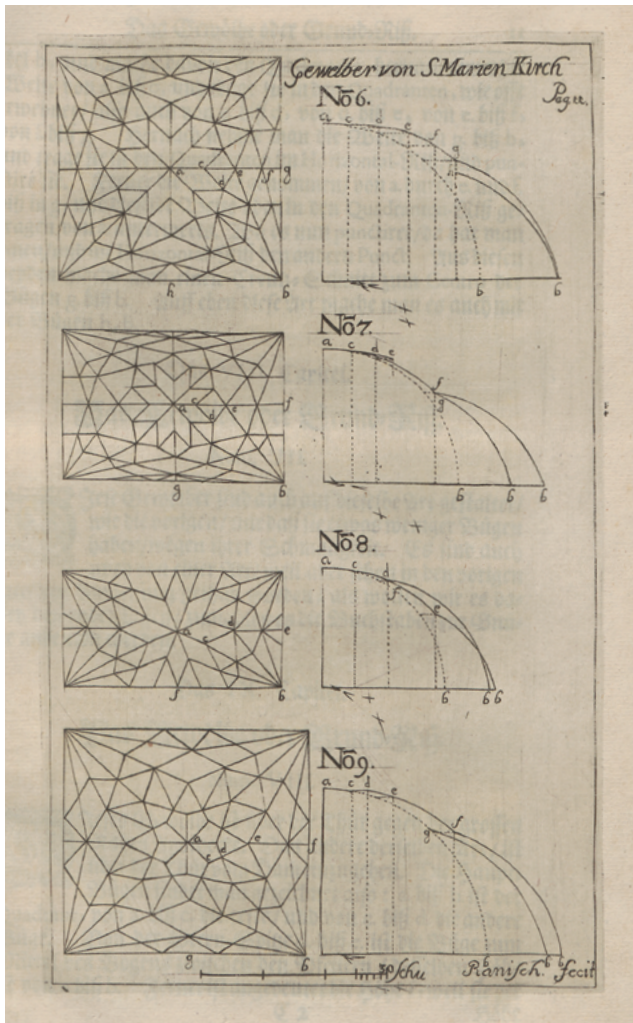
1 Charles de la Haye, after Bartel Ranisch (?), frontispiece, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (Dantzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

wykonane na podstawie analizy dzieła Bartla Ranischa”, *Modelowanie Inżynierskie* 17, no. 48 (2013): 78–85. Regarding the use of Ranisch's book for restoration work, see for example Marcin Gawlicki, *Zabytkowa architektura Gdańska w latach 1945–1951. Kształtowanie koncepcji konserwacji i odbudowy* (Gdańsk: Słowo/ obraz terytoria, 2012), 108, 117, 123.

5. Francesco Russo, “The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe”, *Architectural History* 54 (2011): 119–170.

6. Maria Pelczarowa, “Z dziejów oficyn drukarskich w Gdańsku (w. XVI–XVIII)”, *Rocznik Gdański* 14 (1955): 150; Zbigniew Nowak, “Gdańsk jako ośrodek drukarski i wydawniczy do końca XVIII wieku”, *Rocznik Gdański* 50, no. 1 (1990): 145; Piotr Paluchowski, “Drukarze z ulicy Rzeźnickiej. Właściciele drukarni Rady Miejskiej i Gimnazjum Akademickiego na Starym Przedmieściu”, in: *Stare Przedmieście*, eds. Janusz Dargacz and Katarzyna Kurkowska (Gdańsk: Muzeum Gdańska, 2019), 211–213; Grażyna Piechota, “Drukarze rad miejskich i gimnazjalni jako edytorzy książek szkolnych w okresie staropolskim”, *Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne* 13, no. 1 (2020): 206.

7. Skibiński, “The Gdańsk Builder Bartel Ranisch (1648–1710?)”, 20.



2 After Bartel Ranisch, vaults of St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzic* (Danzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

Ranisch's publication is distinguished by the large number of illustrations, including views and plans of entire churches and vault construction diagrams with

markings related to the design process. A list of these, together with the authors of each illustration, is provided in the Table 1. It indicates that Ranisch was the designer of all the illustrations, with the possible exception of the title page, a conclusion further supported by a fragment of the book's description placed on this very title page, which reads: "Verfasset und gezeichnet durch Bartel Ranisch." His role is defined by the use of two terms – the abbreviation "delin." (*delineavit* – "he drew") and the word *fecit* ("he made"). The former usually meant the designer; the term *fecit* is more ambiguous, as it could refer to either the designer or the engraver (the two sometimes being the same person). Indeed, in Gdańsk there was a tradition of specialist book illustrations being made by the authors themselves, such as the astronomer Johannes Hevelius and the physician and naturalist Christoph Gottwald.⁸ However, as the terms "delineavit" and "fecit" were used interchangeably by Ranisch, the latter probably also indicated the design. For the most part, the word *fecit* was used in the illustrations related to the construction of the vaults, perhaps to present Ranisch as the (re)creator of the construction method (Fig. 2). In contrast, the word *delineavit* was typically used for plans and elevations of churches, except for the view of the Royal Chapel, which is marked with *fecit*.

The authorship of a professional builder is evident in the level of architectural understanding and the manner in which the buildings are rendered, both of which reflect the author's extensive practical experience.⁹ This impression is further supported by the fact that, starting from the time he became a master in the Guild of Masons, Stonemasons and Sculptors in 1673, Ranisch consistently received commissions related to church construction. Over the course of his career, he engaged in building medieval-type vaults, including those at the pilgrimage church in Piaseczno (German: Pehsken; fig. 3) and the Carmelite monastery in Gdańsk. Equally

8. Kazimierz von Różycki, *Die Kupferstecher Danzigs. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kupferstichs* (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1893), 21–22, 24; Nowak, "Gdańsk jako ośrodek drukarski i wydawniczy do końca XVIII wieku", 144; Katarzyna Pękacka-Falkowska, "The Anatomical-Surgical and Engraving Instruments of the Danzig Physician Christoph Gottwald", *Klio* 55 (2020): 279–306; Anna Sobocka, *Obrazowanie natury w nowożytnym Gdańsku. O kulturze kolekcjonerskiej miasta* (Gdańsk: słowo/ obraz terytoria, 2021), 252–274.

9. The vault design method presented in the book has so far been discussed by Helene C. Kaplan, *The Danzig Churches: A study in late Gothic vault development*, PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, Dept. of Art and Art History 1974, 122–141, as well as Kaplan, "Bartel Ranisch i sklepienia gdańskie", 180–186, and Kulig, "Wirtualne rekonstrukcje sklepień gwiazdzistych wykonane na podstawie analizy dzieła Bartla Ranischa". This topic will be further analysed within the framework of the monograph on Bartel Ranisch, which is being prepared as part of an OPUS grant implemented at the Faculty of Arts and Cultural Sciences of the University of Warsaw (planned year of publication: 2027).

Page no.	Subject	delin. (designer)	fecit	sculp. (printmaker)
	Frontispiece		Charles de la Haye	
1.	Plan of the church of St Mary	Bartel Ranisch		Johann Michael Gockheller
5.	Vault of the church of St Mary		Bartel Ranisch	
11.	Vault of the church of St Mary		Bartel Ranisch	
13.	Vault of the church of St Mary		Bartel Ranisch	
15.	Vault of the church of St Mary		Bartel Ranisch	
16.	View of the church of St Mary	Bartel Ranisch		Johann Bensheimer
18.	View and plan of the Royal Chapel		Bartel Ranisch	
21.	Plan of St John's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
22.	Vault of St John's Church		Bartel Ranisch	
24.	Vault of St John's Church		Bartel Ranisch	
27.	View of St John's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
28.	Plan of St Nicolas' Church and monastery	Bartel Ranisch		
32.	Vault of St Nicolas Church	Bartel Ranisch		
35.	Vault of St Nicolas Church		Bartel Ranisch	
35. (sic!)	View of St Nicolas Church	Bartel Ranisch		Johann Bensheimer
37.	Plan of the Holy Trinity Church and former monastery	Bartel Ranisch		
44.	Vault of the Holy Trinity Church and monastery		Bartel Ranisch	
48.	Vault of the Holy Trinity Church and monastery		Bartel Ranisch	
48. (sic!)	Vault of the Holy Trinity Church and monastery		Bartel Ranisch	
50.	View of the Holy Trinity Church	Bartel Ranisch		Johann Bensheimer
51.	Plan of St Catherine's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
52.	Vault of St Catharine's Church		Bartel Ranisch	
53.	Vault of St Catharine's Church		Bartel Ranisch	
55.	View of St Catharine's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
56.	Plan of St Bridget Church and monastery	Bartel Ranisch		Johann Bensheimer Iun.
58.	Vault of St Bridget Church		Bartel Ranisch	
60.	View of St Bridget Church	Bartel Ranisch		
60. (sic!)	Plan of the Carmelite church and monastery	Bartel Ranisch		
62.	View of the Carmelite church	Bartel Ranisch		
63.	Plan of the Sts Peter and Paul's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
64.	Vault of the Sts Peter and Paul's Church		Bartel Ranisch	
67.	View of the Sts Peter and Paul's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
68.	Plan of St Bartholomew's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
69.	View of St Bartholomew's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
69.	Plan of St Barbara's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
70.	View of St Barbara's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
70. (sic!)	Plan of St Elisabeth's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
71.	View of St Elisabeth's Church	Bartel Ranisch		
71. (sic!)	Plan of St James' Church	Bartel Ranisch		
72.	View of St James' Church	Bartel Ranisch		
73.	Plan of the Holy Spirit Church	Bartel Ranisch		
73. (sic!)	View of the Holy Spirit Church	Bartel Ranisch		

Table 1. List of illustrations published in *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* by Bartel Ranisch



3 Bartel Ranisch, vault in the church in Piaseczno with the monogram of King John III Sobieski and signature of Bartel Ranisch, 1675–1676. Photo by Jakub Adamski

important was his involvement in the repair works carried out in the great Gothic churches in Gdańsk, including the church of St Mary.

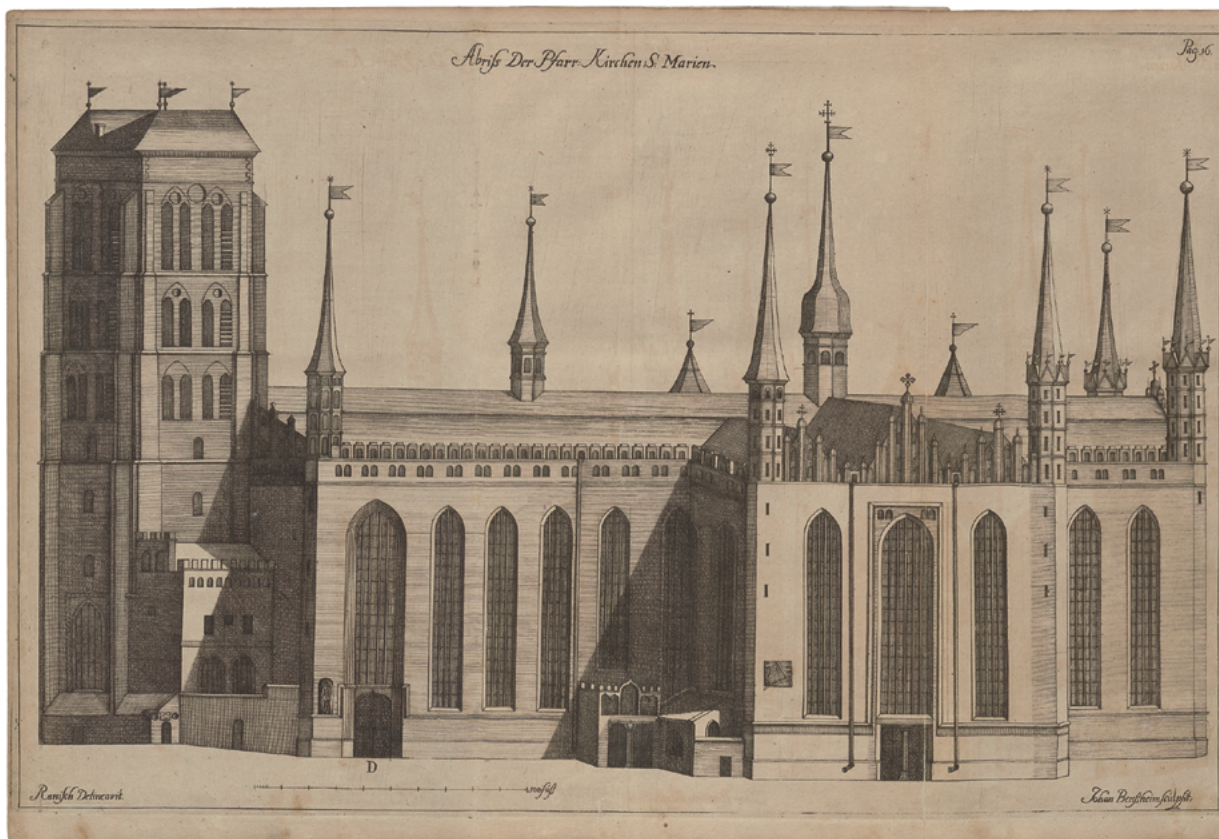
Architectural plates are executed with clarity and precision, supplemented by basic measurements, and are comparable to the drawings included in the album of Jacob Ingber, a professional builder who carried out masonry work for the city after Ranisch's death (Fig. 4).¹⁰ To appreciate the professional character of these illustrations, it is also worth comparing them with the views of Gdańsk churches included in *Der Stadt Dantzick historische Beschreibung* by Reinhold Curicke (1687).¹¹ This book, written by the well-informed city secretary and published in 1687 in Amsterdam and Gdańsk by Johannes and Gillis Janssonius van Waesberghe, was the most comprehensive attempt to describe the city, its history and its polity to date.

Curicke's book features numerous illustrations, including depictions of Gdańsk's most prominent municipal buildings and churches. In these images, many of the buildings are shown in perspective, accompanied by their surroundings and staffage, in a pictorial manner typical of cityscapes in paintings or in prints, thus differing significantly from the measured architectural renderings published by Ranisch (Fig. 5).

Only the plan and façade of the Royal Chapel, built by Ranisch himself between 1678 and 1681, differ markedly in composition from the other illustrations (Fig. 6). In this case, Ranisch most likely did not create a reproduction of the existing structure specifically for the book, but instead incorporated a pre-existing design drawing originally produced during the building's construction. The one-page composition, bearing a title that highlights royal patronage, is dated 1685, ten

10. Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, henceforth: PAN BG), MS 2283.

11. Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung* (Amsterdam und Danzig: Johann und Gillis Janssons von Waesberge, 1687). The illustrations in both publications were cross-referenced for example by the pastor and collector Johann Jacob Haselau, see Teresa Tylicka and Jacek Tylicki, *Dawny Gdańsk w rycinach z kolekcji pastora Johanna Jacoba Haselau* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2022), 49–50.



4 Johann Bensheimer after Bartel Ranisch, view of St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (Dantzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

years before the book's publication, and appears to have functioned as an independent print commemorating the completion of this Catholic church. Its earlier date, distinct layout, and commemorative character suggest that it was not conceived as part of the original series of illustrations, but was later integrated into the publication as a ready-made, exceptional image.

This suggests that Ranisch collected material for his book over the course of many years, drawing both on

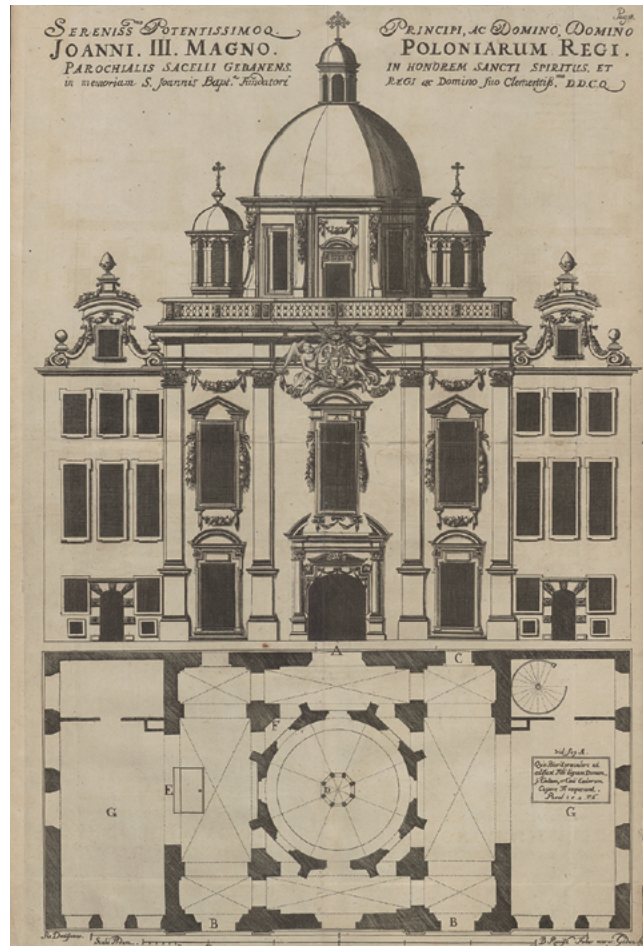
his professional experience and on earlier design work.¹² Architectural views appear to have been part of his practice from an early stage in his career. One such example is the view of the monastery complex in Kartuzy (German: Karthaus), located approximately 30 kilometres west of Gdańsk. Commissioned by the prior Johann Bilstein and engraved by Isaack Saal, the print was completed in 1678¹³ (Fig. 7). However, this schematic representation of the monastery, set within a generic landscape, differs

12. Ranisch may have also consulted local archives when producing his church views, though this seems unlikely, as he did not typically refer to church archives. On St Mary's Church, see the inventory by August Bertling (PAN BG, Ms. 1019a), which includes architectural drawings. I thank Prof. Marcin Grulkowski for this reference.

13. Kazimierz Raepke, *Kościół dawnej kartuzji kaszubskiej w Kartuzach. Zarys historii* (Wejherowo: Oddział Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego i Muzeum Piśmiennictwa i Muzyki Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej w Wejherowie, 1992), 69; Krzysztof Nierzwicki, *Biblioteki kartuzji kaszubskiej oraz jej konwentów filialnych w Berezie Kartuskiej i Gidlach* (Pelplin: Bernardinum, 2001), 37–38, 78–79; Jolanta Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce. Funkcje, ośrodki, artyści, dzieła* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2011), no. 20, 355. For the original prints, see Archives of the Pelplin Diocese (Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie, henceforth: ADP), Monastica, Kartuzy, sign. 6, Apparatus ad annales Cartusiae Paradisi BMV prope Dantiscum, Tomus. II ab anno 1521 ad annum 1582, collectus a F[ratre] G[eorgio] S[chwengel] priore, 84, and sign. 7, Documenta de alienatione et restitutione Cartusiae Gedanen., on the reverse of the title



5 View of St Barbara's Church in Gdańsk, in: Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzick historische Beschreibung* (Amsterdam–Danzig 1687). Photo by Franciszek Skibiński



6 View of the Royal Chapel in Gdańsk, 1685, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzick* (Danzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

noticeably from the more precise depictions of Gdańsk churches that appear in his later work. The earliest dated image included in the book is from 1684: a plan of St Mary's Church, engraved by Johann Michael Gockheller after a drawing by Ranisch.

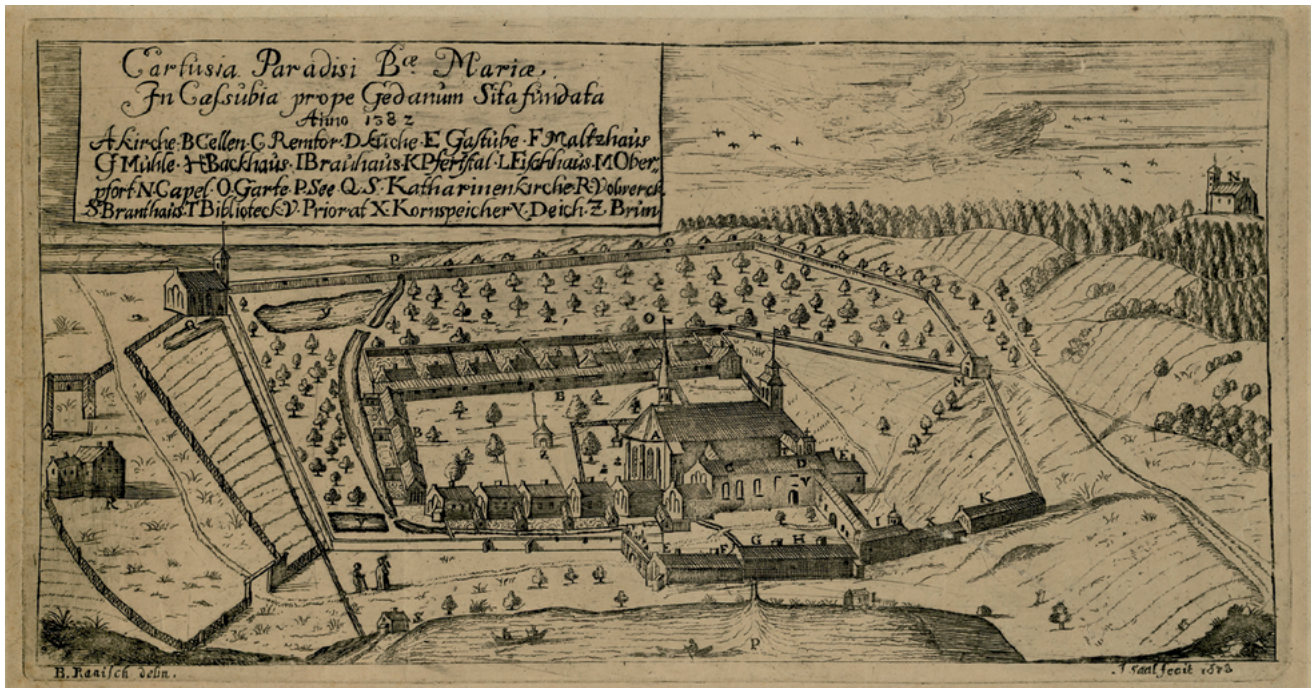
Architectural drawings made by Ranisch were then turned into book illustrations by several printmakers.

The book's frontispiece was created by Charles de la Haye, a printmaker of French origin active in Rome as well as in Gdańsk and Warsaw.¹⁴ The frontispiece is thematically related to the content of the book and was most probably created according to Ranisch's instructions.¹⁵ The figures of the putti in particular allude to the method of vault design discussed in the book,

page (for providing the copy I kindly thank the Rev. Prof. Jan Walkusz). The original plate and a later print (made by Maria Muttray) are in the collection of the National Museum in Gdańsk (MNG/SD/4086/G and MNG/SD/3476/G; I would like to thank Alicja Andrzejewska-Zajac for the information).

14. Jolanta Talbierska, "Charles de la Haye – francuski rytownik w Gdańsku i Warszawie", in: *Francusko-polskie relacje artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, eds. Andrzej Pieńkos and Agnieszka Rosales Rodriguez (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010), 33–47; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 179–186.

15. On the frontispieces of architectural books see, for instance, Daniele Fulco, "The Architectural Folios of Jeremias Wolff", in: *Gateways to the Book. Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gitta Bertram, Nils Büttner and Claus Zittel (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2021), 527–555.



7 Isaack Saal after Bartel Ranisch, view of the monastery complex in Kartuzy, 1678, (early 20th-century print by Maria Muttray made from the original plate), Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku / National Museum in Gdańsk, SD/3476/G. Photo by National Museum in Gdańsk

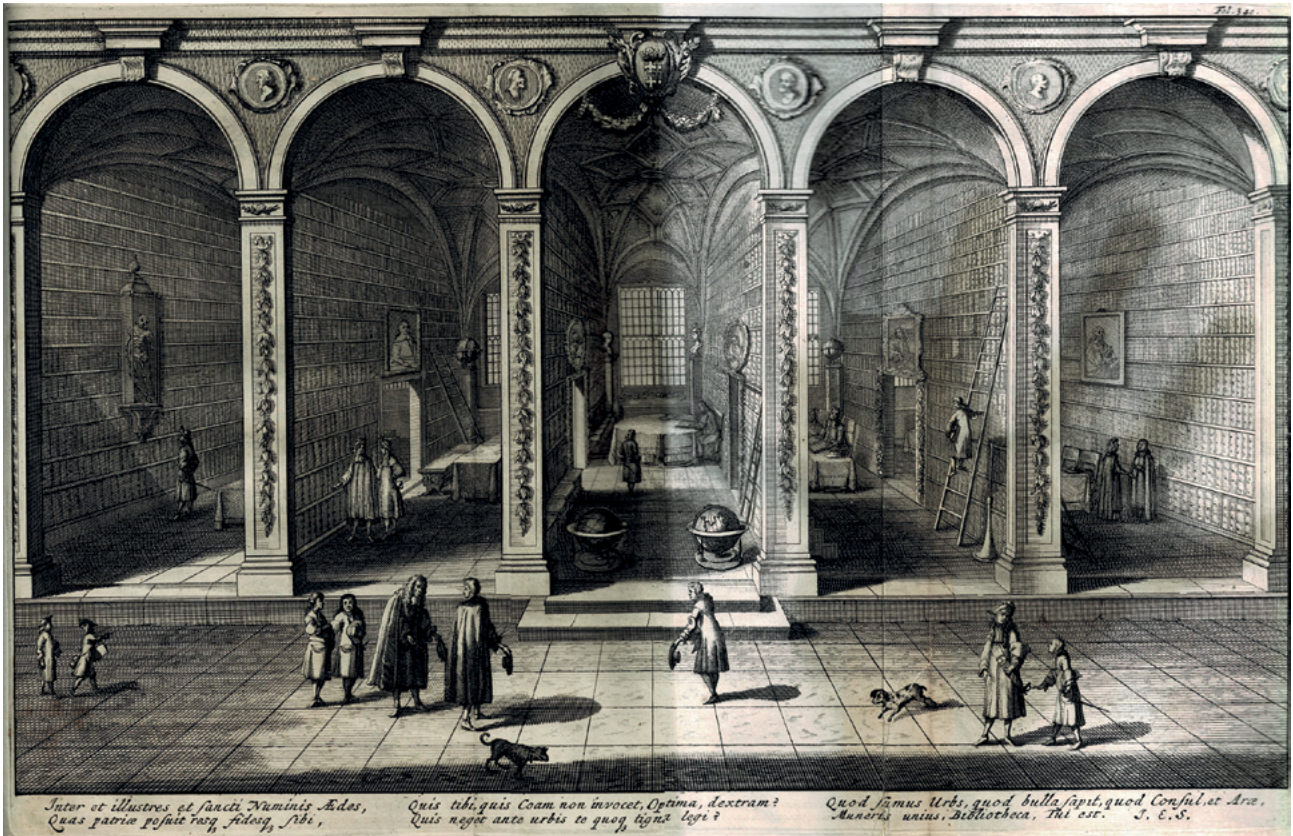
based on deriving the curvature of the ribs from their plan with the help of compasses. The first figure holds a measuring staff and presents a plan of a three-nave church of the Gothic type, while the second holds compasses and presents a drawing of an eight-pointed star vault. The images of building tools could refer to the concept of experience (*experientia*) or practice, considered alongside theory or science (*scientia*) as the basis of architectural work, and may have emphasised the author's competence as a professional builder, reaffirmed throughout the text by mentioning of his personal involvement in construction works at various churches

described in the book. Experience had a considerable weight in theory, going all the way back to Vitruvius, and even greater immediate importance as a proof of professional competence before the introduction of systemised training for architects.¹⁶

The Gdańsk origin of the frontispiece's design is further supported by its compositional similarity to the view of the Library of the Gdańsk Senate included in Curicke's book, commissioned from Andreas Stech by the administrators of the library during the book's preparation for publication¹⁷ (Fig. 8). In both images, the space is organised around a classical arcade,

16. Werner Oechslin has written extensively on this subject; see, for example, his introductory essays in *Architekturtheorie im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum 1486–1648*, eds. Werner Oechslin, Tobias Büchi and Martin Pozsgai (Einsiedeln–Basel: Colmena Verlag, 2018). For Vitruvius, see John Oksanish, *Vitruvian Man. Rome under Construction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 10–25, 126.

17. Ernst Blech, "Curickes Danziger Prospekte", *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 2, no. 2 (1903): 33–34; Krystyna Jackowska, "Rytowany widok wnętrza *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* z 1687 roku jako przyczynek do dyskusji o początkach Biblioteki Gdańskiej", *Libri Gedanenses*, vol. 35 (2018): 147–167. Jackowska attributed the view of the Gdańsk library to Charles de la Haye, though she did not mention the frontispiece of Ranisch's book in this context, see Jackowska, "Rytowany widok wnętrza *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* z 1687 roku", 156. Another view of the library interior mentioned by Blech, probably one of the drawn proposals not approved by the library administrators, is preserved in PAN BG, Ms. 906, dok. 3 (Jackowska, "Rytowany widok wnętrza *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* z 1687 roku", 166, Fig. 6).



8 View of the Library of the Gdańsk Senate, after Andreas Stech (?), in: Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzick historische Beschreibung* (Amsterdam–Danzig 1687). Photo by Franciszek Skibiński

repeated five times in the depiction of the library, which opens onto an interior covered by a ribbed vault. The inclusion of such vaults was not accidental: the library, founded in 1596 following the donation of Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio d’Oria’s book collection to the city, was housed in a former Franciscan monastery, then serving as the seat of the Gymnasium, which featured

exceptionally rich late Gothic vaults.¹⁸ These, too, were included in Ranisch’s book.

The other printmakers involved were Johann Bensheimer and Johann (Hans) Michael Gockheller. Bensheimer was a professional printmaker, for many years associated with Gdańsk.¹⁹ He is best known for his illustrations made for ephemeral prints as well as

18. In an assessment of the former monastery by the architect Julius Albert Licht preceding its conversion to a museum and school in 1867–1872, the vaults of this section of the building were described as original, see Katarzyna Wojtczak, “‘Ostoja oświaty i azyl dla sztuki’ – dziewiętnastowieczna przebudowa klasztoru pofranciszkańskiego w Gdańsku na zespół szkół i Muzeum Miejskie”, in: *Stare Przedmieście*, 292, Fig. 90.

19. See, for instance, W. Seidel, [Ernst] A.[ugust] Hagen, “Nachrichten über Danziger Kupferstecher”, *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter* 3 (1847): 172, 177–178; Różycki, *Die Kupferstecher Danzigs*, 9–10; Alicja Kurkowa, *Grafika ilustracyjna gdańskich druków okolicznościowych XVII wieku* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979) 46–49, 93–98; Teresa Sulerzyska, “Księgarnia Försterów – ‘Bibliopolium Forsterianum’ 1617–1668”, *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 27 (2002): 131–169; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 77–79, 324–326; Sobocka, *Obrazowanie natury w nowożytnym Gdańsku*, 84–85. Kazimierz von Różycki suggested that Bensheimer may also have been responsible for the other illustrations, see Różycki, *Die Kupferstecher Danzigs*, 9. The tendency to employ local printmakers is indicated by the supplication of Stolle, the printer of Ranisch’s book, see State Archive in Gdańsk (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, henceforth: APG), 300, 36/37, 15.

book illustrations, for instance for Jacob Breyne's *Centuria*.²⁰ In the context of his involvement with Ranisch's book, however, most relevant are his topographical views, such as those of the Wejherowo Calvary and of the siege of the Jasna Góra monastery by the Swedes in 1655, on which Bensheimer collaborated with the Gdańsk painter Adolf Boy.²¹ A view of the monastery in Czerna, in the south of Poland, similar to Ranisch's view of Kartuzy, also belongs to this group.²²

Quite different was the position of Gockheller, who made the plan of the church of St Mary (Fig. 9).²³ Unlike Bensheimer, Gockheller was a sculptor and stonemason

by training. His father, the sculptor Hans Caspar Gockheller, had already made architectural drawings, such as a view of the Długouliczna Gate (German: Langgasser Thor), engraved by Jeremias Falck (1649), and a plan of the Great Armoury (1668), likely made for Elector of Brandenburg Frederick William.²⁴ While this issue requires further research, it is possible that, considering printmaking as a useful complement to his profession as a sculptor, his father made an effort to ensure that young Johann Michael learnt a skill that offered additional opportunities, especially since printmaking was not covered by the guild monopoly in Gdańsk.²⁵

20. For instance PAN BG, sygn. Oe 7 2° adl. 82, 84 (crossed), 85; Alicja Kurkowa, "Gdański botanik Jakub Breyne i szata graficzna jego dzieł", *Rocznik Gdański* 45 (1985), no. 1: 75–94; Nowak, "Gdańsk jako ośrodek drukarski i wydawniczy do końca XVIII wieku", 144; Karolina Targosz, "Ilustracje botaniczne do dzieł Jacoba Breyniusa i jego współpraca z artystami", *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 9 (2009): 133–141; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 158–169; Sobiecka, *Obrazowanie natury w nowożytnym Gdańsku*, 168–176, 244–252.

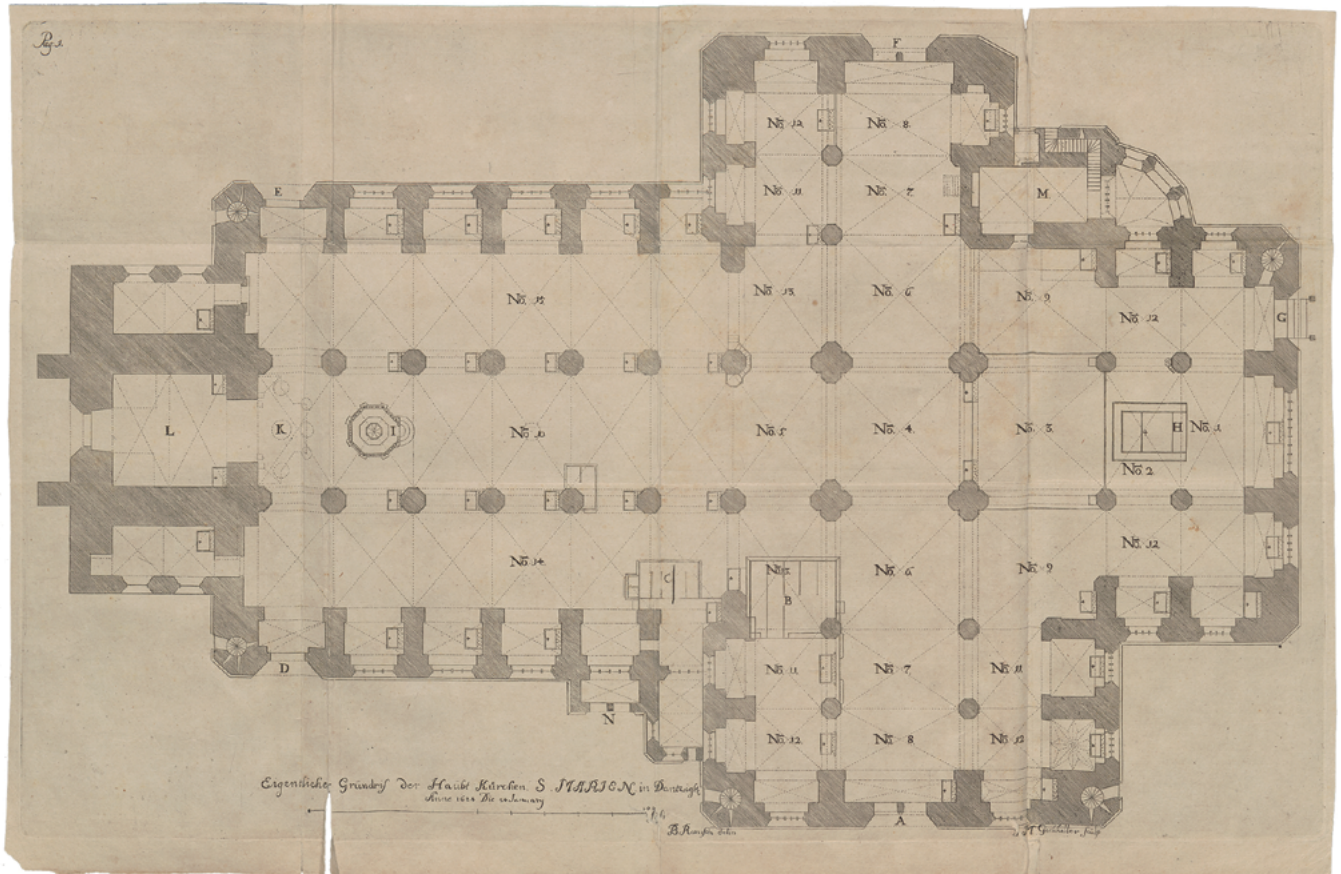
21. Hanna Widacka, "Ikonografia Częstochowy w grafice XVII i XVIII w.", *Studia Claramontana* 4 (1983): 301–303, fig. 4; Sulerzyska, "Księgarnia Försterów – 'Bibliopolium Forsterianum' 1617–1668", 161; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 78–79, no. 4, 324, and no. 17, 325. He also made a series referring to the Swedish War (1655–1660) and the Peace of Oliva (1660), see Krystyna Jackowska, "Seria czterech rycin związanych z wojną polsko-szwedzką, 1655–1660", in: *Orzeł i Trzy Korony. Sąsiedztwo polsko-szwedzkie nad Bałtykiem w epoce nowożytnej (XVI–XVIII w.)*, ed. Katarzyna Połajun (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski, 2002), no. III 70, 249–253; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 78, no. 16, 325; Krystyna Jackowska, "Johanna Bensheimera seria symbolicznych rycin związanych z wojną ze Szwedami w latach 1655–1660. Przyczynek do typologii ilustracji gdańskich druków okolicznościowych XVII wieku", in: *Verba volant scripta manent. Księga pamiątkowa poświęcona Janowi Michałowi Krzemińskiemu (1943–2010)*, ed. Aleksander Baliński (Gdańsk: Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, 2014), 205–229.

22. Maria Brykowska, "Pustelnia w Czernej", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 43, no. 2 (1981): 151–179; Sulerzyska, "Księgarnia Försterów – 'Bibliopolium Forsterianum' 1617–1668", 161–162; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 78 and no. 1, 324.

23. Anna Gosieniecka, "Gockheller (Gock) Hans Michael", in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. 2, ed. Andrzej Ryszkiewicz (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, 1975), 376; Janusz Pałubicki, "Rzeźbiarz gdański Hans Caspar Gockheller", *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne* 2 (1978): 121–140; id., *Malarze gdańscy. Malarze, szklarze, rysownicy i rytownicy w okresie nowożytnym w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*, vol. 1: *Środowisko artystyczne w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych*; vol. 2: *Słownik malarzy, szklarzy, rytowników i rysowników* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2009), vol. 1, fig. 115, vol. 2, 619, and Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce*, 176; see also Seidel, Hagen, "Nachrichten über Danziger Kupferstecher", 178.

24. Pałubicki, "Rzeźbiarz gdański Hans Caspar Gockheller", 122. Regarding the plan of the Great Armoury in the Berlin archives, Pałubicki refers to Cornelius Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1891), 61. Falck's view of the Langgasser Gate is preserved in PAN BG, Graphic Collections, 6453; see also Julius Caesar Block, *Jeremias Falck. Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Danzig: Carl Hinstorff's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), 135, no. 183.

25. Other prints signed by the younger Gockheller became a subject of controversy, see Gosieniecka, "Gockheller (Gock) Hans Michael"; Pałubicki, "Rzeźbiarz gdański Hans Caspar Gockheller", 124–125; Krystyna Jackowska, "Widok gdańskiego fajerwerku z okazji koronacji Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego 29 września 1669 roku", in: *Król jedzie! Wizyty władców polskich w Gdańsku XV–XVIII w.*, vol. 2: *Katalog*, ed. Jacek Kriegseisen (Gdańsk: Muzeum Gdańska, 2018), no. 63, 150–151.



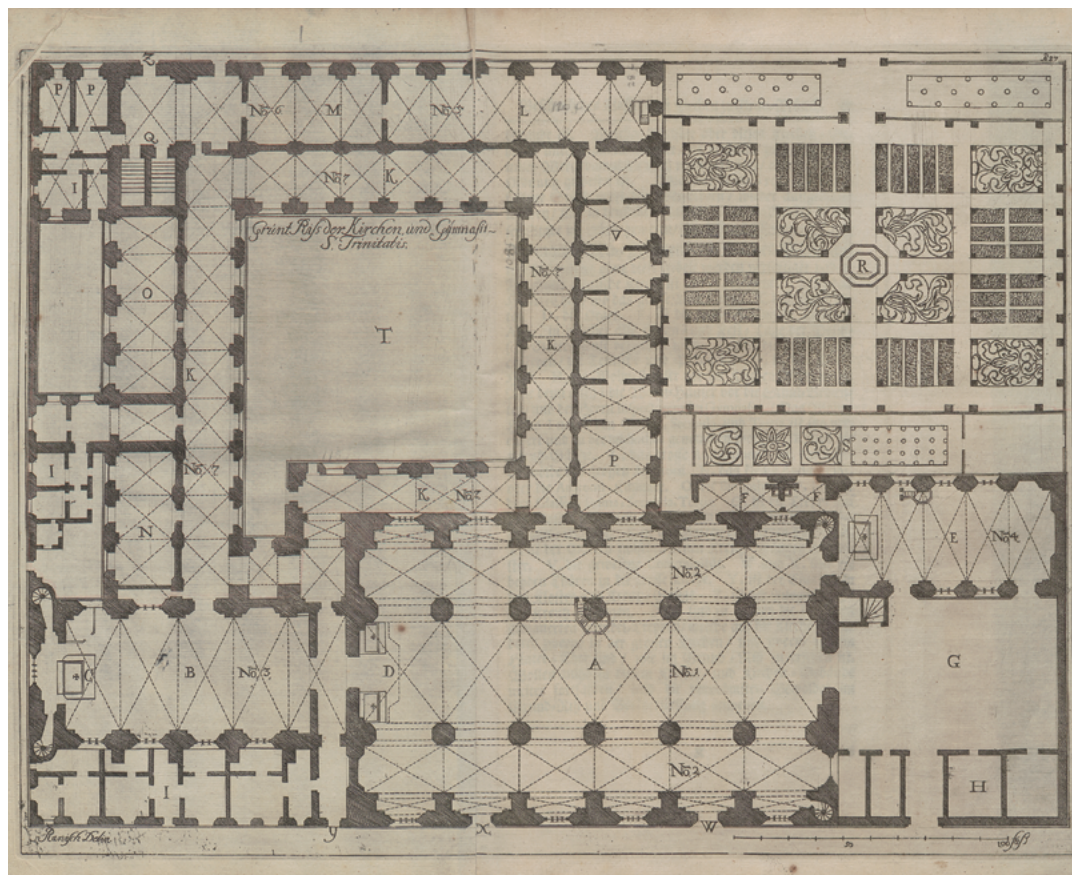
9 Johann Michael Gockheller after Bartel Ranisch, plan of St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, 1684, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (Dantzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

The aforementioned ground plan of St Mary's Church engraved by Gockheller was produced at a time when work was being carried out on the publication of Reinhold Curicke's description of Gdańsk. However, no evidence survives to indicate that the two undertakings were connected. Although the manuscript was completed as early as the 1640s, due to the City Council's objection to passages concerning religious disputes between Lutherans and Calvinists, it was only printed in 1687 on the initiative of the author's son, Georg Reinhold Curicke. According to Albrecht Rosenberg, an eighteenth-century Gdańsk syndic, councilor and scholar, Georg Reinhold Curicke approached the city

authorities to obtain the images necessary to illustrate his father's work. In response, the City Council commissioned the builder Peter Willer to produce the required designs.²⁶ However, the brief account provided by Rosenberg should not be understood as evidence that Willer executed all the illustrations himself or that no other individuals were involved in preparing the engravings for the book. One particularly notable connection between Curicke and Ranisch books is the appearance of a detailed ground plan of Holy Trinity church and the adjoining monastery in both books (Fig. 10). Differences in the dimensions of the impressions taken from the copperplate in the works of Curicke and Ranisch

26. Albrecht von Rosenberg, *Anmerkungen zu Reinhold Curicken [...] Beschreibung der Stadt Danzig [...]*, PAN BG, Ms. 50, 4; his notes were referred to by Blech, "Curickes Danziger Prospekte". On Peter Willer, see also Horst Penner, "Peter Willer. Ein mennonitischer Baumeister und Kupferstecher in Danzig des 17. Jahrhundert", *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*. N. F. 27, no. 22 (1970): 50–54. The author of this article is currently working on a more comprehensive profile of this versatile builder and engineer.

10 After Bartel Ranisch, plan of the Holy Trinity Church and former monastery in Gdańsk, in: Bartel Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude der Stadt Dantzig* (Dantzig 1695), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Od 1643 2°. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences



indicate however that these were two separate plans of the church and the monastery.²⁷ It seems that the measurement published in the former treatise, unfortunately unsigned, has been meticulously redrawn by Ranisch (hence the signature: Ranisch delin.), albeit with some changes.

In any case, Curicke's 1687 book provides an important context for Ranisch's work. While Curicke's manuscript circulated in numerous copies, its publication and the resulting interest in the history of the city may have been an important stimulus for Ranisch.²⁸ Although Curicke paid attention to Gdańsk's churches, he was interested mainly in their history, largely ignoring their architectural form; this approach was typical for

contemporaneous publications of this kind. This gap has been filled by Ranisch's book, which was, in turn, fully innovative, even for European standards.

THE READERSHIP OF THE BOOK

The numerous copies of Ranisch's book found in libraries almost immediately after its publication indicate that the subject matter appealed to readers. A better understanding of the readership of the various categories of books dealing with architecture is among the key research goals identified by Francesco Russo.²⁹ In the case of Ranisch's book, we are lucky to have enough sources to explore this topic, especially in the local context. These include above all Gdańsk library and

27. Blech considered Ranisch the creator of the original plan (Blech, "Curickes Danziger Prospekte", 32–33), while Jackowska attributed it to Peter Willer (Jackowska, "Rytowany widok wnętrza *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* z 1687 roku", 148).

28. The popularity of manuscripts of Curicke's work is evidenced by library and auction catalogues, as well as copies in use even after the book's publication (see, among others, Zbigniew Nowak, "Reinhold Curicke i jego dzieło na tle historiografii gdańskiej XIV–XVII wieku", in: *Dyament w Koronie / The Diamond in the Crown / Der Diamant in der Krone*, eds. Maria Babnis, Jerzy Kukliński, Zbigniew Nowak and Jan Kazimierz Sawicki (Gdańsk: Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, 1997), 318.

29. Russo, "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 120.

Date	Owner	Locations	Source
1696–1699	Library of the Senate	Gdańsk	PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 1, 562; PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 6, 1011
after 1707	Library of Johann Ernst Schmieden	Gdańsk	Post mortem inventory PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 44, 13, no. 305
1713	Unidentified private library	Gdańsk	<i>Catalogus Von allerhand ausserlesenen deutschen Büchen</i> [...] (Danzig: Johann Zacharias Stolle, 1713), no. 30 (https://polona.pl/item-view/9bf5beaf-4050-4b1c-95e1-17e84c33dddc?page=0)
1716	Library of Samuel Verchius	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 2, 18, no. 458
1719	Library of Carl Blankenhagen	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 10, Appendix, 2, no. 30
1720	Library of the Von Bodeck family	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 1, 28, no. 730
1725	Library of the Linderhausen family	Toruń	Auction catalogue Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, sign. 36 A. 54/8, 4, no. 40
1727	Library of Friedrich Fabricius	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG, Ms accession 5000-Z-2007, 69 no. 1061
1729	Library of Peter Ehlert	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG Od 20047 8°, adl. 1, 22, no. 411
1732	Library of Jacob Bilwernitz	Malbork	Auction catalogue (Iwona Imańska, “Biblioteka Jakuba Bliwernitza (1667–1731), burmistrza Malborka”, <i>Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne</i> 6, no. 2 (2013): 25, https://doi.org/10.12775/TSB.2013.019)
1732	Library of K. E. Nimsgart	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 45, 19, no. 230
1764	Library of Johann Benjamin Schmidt	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 62, 165, no. 47
1765	Library of Johann Fidalcke	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG, Od 20059 8°, part II, 137, no. 365
1782	Library of Johann Friedrich Schumann	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN, Cat. Bibl. 52, 8, no. 444
1791	Unidentified private library	Gdańsk	Sales catalogue PAN BG, Od 20695 8°, adl. 10, 3, no. 36
1795	Library of Heinrich Wilhelm Rosenberg	Gdańsk	Auction catalogue PAN BG Od 20189 8°, part III, 21, no. 332
18 th century	Library of Adrian and Arnold Dilgen	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 43, 4, no. 43
18 th century	Library of Joachim Gottlieb Berthold	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN, Cat. Bibl. 47, 14, no. 224
18 th century	Unidentified private library	Gdańsk	Inventory PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 53, 6, nos. 392, 393

Table 2. Copies of Bartel Ranisch's book recorded in book collections in Royal Prussia until 1800

auction catalogues.³⁰ A list of copies of the book found so far in book collections in Gdańsk and elsewhere in Prussia up to the end of the 18th century is presented in the Table 2. Although the list is certainly not exhaustive, it allows for some generalisations. Most of the book collections included in the table above were owned by members of the social and intellectual elite of Gdańsk, as well as of Toruń (German: Thorn) and Malbork (German: Marienburg). These were representatives of the learned patriciate, often referred to as “scholars” (*Gelehrten, litterati*), such as the burgomaster and proto-librarian Johann Ernst Schmieden, the councilor Friedrich Fabricius, a member of the well-established patrician family Johann Friedrich Schumann, or Heinrich Wilhelm Rosenberg, the city secretary and director of the Societas Physicae Experimentalis (est. 1742).³¹ They also included learned pastors, such as the preacher at St Catherine’s Church Samuel Verch, known as Verchius, or Johann Fidalcke, the preacher at St Bartholomew’s Church and a professor of the local Academic Gymnasium. Notably, absent from that list are the builders.³² The only known catalogue of a library owned by a specialist in military architecture and engineering, General-Major Jacob von Eggers (1771), systematically divided into sections on mathematics, defensive and civil architecture, hydraulics, artillery,

the art of war, descriptions of campaigns and sieges, and military law, containing books printed in several languages, included various editions of the works by Vitruvius, Alberti, Vignola, Cataneo, Serlio, Palladio and Scamozzi, but not by Ranisch.³³

Gdańsk libraries contained numerous books on architecture and prints with architectural drawings. These reached the city in many ways. Jean le Pautre’s printed designs, for example, were obtained by Johannes Hevelius through Hamburg with the help of the printmaker Jeremias Falck.³⁴ One of the most extensive collections of architectural books and prints was included in the combined libraries of the naturalist Jacob Theodor Klein and the learned burgomaster and bibliophile Daniel Galath, parts of which were auctioned in 1772. The catalogue included Vitruvius in the 1511 edition of Fra Giocondo, already a bibliophile’s rarity at the time, and the erudite Elzevir edition of 1649, as well as the five books of Serlio (Basel, 1608/1609), Philibert De l’Orme’s *Architectura* (Rouen, 1648), an edition of Palladio’s treatise of 1650, and, of more recent publications, Scamozzi’s treatise edited by Charles d’Aviler (Paris, 1685), Sturm’s edition of Nicolas Goldman’s *Civil Baukunst* (Leipzig, 1708), a study of perspective by Andrea Pozzo (1708), and François Blondel’s *Cours d’architecture* (Paris–Amsterdam,

30. On book auctions in Gdańsk see, among others, Przemysław Szafran, “Katalog aukcyjny i aukcja biblioteki Fryderyka Fabriciusa w 1727 roku na tle aukcji bibliofilskich w Gdańsku do końca XVIII wieku”, *Libri Gedanenses*, vol. 1 (1967): 55–106, and Iwona Imańska, *Obieg książki w Prusach Królewskich w XVIII wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993), 100–117, 152–156. The data contained in the catalogues can be supplemented with information based on ownership marks. The oldest one dates back to 1698 and belongs to a certain Puttnitz (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, sign. 3234; I would like to thank Beata Madejska for the information). The copy in the Elbląg Library (Biblioteka Elbląska, sign. Pol.7.III.890) was donated to the library of the Academic Gymnasium in Elbląg in 1751 by a student of the school, Heinrich Jacob Bernhard Jarnack, grandson of Bartel Ranisch (<https://dlibra.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/dlibra/publication/49846/edition/44763/content>; I would like to thank dr. Ewa Chlebus for the information).

31. On the contemporaneous use of the term “scholars”, see Edmund Kizik, “Gdański medal jubileuszowy z okazji trzechsetlecia inkorporacji Prus do Polski w 1754 roku”, *Zapiski Historyczne* 77, no. 2 (2012): 81.

32. This is mainly due to the nature of the available sources, see Franciszek Skibiński, “Książka i grafika o tematyce architektonicznej w nowożytnym Gdańsku. Wprowadzenie i nowe ustalenia”, in: *O miejsce książki w historii sztuki*, ed. Agnieszka Groniek (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum 2015), 213–226.

33. PAN BG, Od 20045 8°.

34. Johannes Voigt, “Beitrag zur Geschichte der Danziger Kupferstecher” [completed by W. Seidel and E.A. Hagen], *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter* 4 (1847): 9–11. Some of these prints may later have been owned by Ernst August Hagen himself.

1698).³⁵ Their library also included several publications on military architecture,³⁶ and, in addition, an album of 157 architectural views and designs for fireplaces and portals by Daniel Marot, Jean Barbet and others.³⁷ Another collection of books on architecture was that of the pastor Samuel Verchius.³⁸ These included the first edition of Scamozzi, as well as Vitruvius by Claude Perrault, in the second edition of 1684.³⁹ At the second auction of this library, in 1716, several illustrated publications were offered, including two volumes of Philips Vingboons' designs (1688), Hubertus Quellinus' plates with Artus Quellinus' decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall, published in 1655, and the book on the Amsterdam Town Hall by its architect, Jacob van Campen (1661).⁴⁰ Books on architecture were also present in collections in other cities of Royal Prussia. At an auction held in Toruń in 1726, works by Vignola (Amsterdam, 1642), Hans Vredeman de Vries (Amsterdam, 1688), Joseph Furttenbach (Ulm, 1635) and Rutger Kasemann (Cologne, 1630/1631), as well as maps and mathematical and astronomical instruments, were offered.⁴¹

The aforementioned catalogue of the combined libraries of Klein and Gralath sheds some light on how

publications on architecture might have been classified. Here, they were categorised as “Libri Philosophici et Mathematici”, alongside books on philosophy and mathematics as well as astronomy, including the works of Kepler, Hevelius and Tycho Brahe. This is hardly surprising in the case of publications devoted to architecture, where much attention was paid to matters of geometry.

A survey of Gdańsk library and auction catalogues indicates, however, that Ranisch's book, with its systematised presentation of over a dozen churches, was first and foremost considered a publication on local history. It also represented a broader trend of illustrated descriptions of towns, which developed in the 17th century.⁴² The most important evidence is the catalogue of the Library of the Senate, begun in 1659 by Adrian Engelcke and continued by his successors. A copy of Ranisch's book, acquired by the library between 1696 and 1699, was entered in the “Historici in folio” section⁴³ (Fig. 11). That Ranisch's publication was considered a useful source of information on the history of Gdańsk is further evidenced by its inclusion in the advised readings recommended in the *Versuch einer Geschichte Danzigs* by Daniel Gralath II (1789, 1791),

35. PAN BG, Aa 14421 8°, adl. 2, 110, no. 1, 110, no. 4, 111, no. 9, 116, no. 68, 117, no. 80, 117, no. 82, 118, no. 83, 118, no. 84, 118, no. 85; Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, “Les éditions des traités de Philibert De L'Orme au XVIIe siècle”, in: *Les traités d'architecture à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1988), 355–365. The 1511 edition of Vitruvius was already recorded in Gdańsk in the Von Bodeck library, PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 1b, no. 260, 9.

36. PAN BG, Aa 14421 8°, adl. 2, 110, nos. 6–7, 116–117, nos. 69–78.

37. PAN BG, Aa 14421 8°, adl. 2, 118, no. 86. Such prints, marked “Ex bibliotheca Gralathiana”, are also mentioned in Voigt, “Beitrag zur Geschichte der Danziger Kupferstecher”, 10.

38. *Bibliotheca Verchiana sive Apparatus insignium in quavis facultate librorum quem magno studio ac sumtu collegit admodum reverendus atque doctissimus dn. Samuel Verchius [...] Partem Priorem auctione publica anno 1715 [...]* (Gedani: typis Israelis Mulleri, 1715) (https://digital-beta.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN720544106&PHYSID=-PHYS_0001&view=picture-download); *Bibliothecae Verchianae, pars posterior Sistens Novum Apparatum insignium in Quavis Facultate Librorum [...]* (Gedani: typis Israelis Mulleri, 1716).

39. Bibliotheca Verchiana 1715, 10, nos. 334, 336.

40. PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 2, 18, nos 464, 465.

41. Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, sign. 37 A. 54/9, 1-2, nos. 4, 18, 20, 21, 42. Vredeman's 1688 edition probably referred to the publication of his *Architectura* by Frederik de Wit (d. 1706), usually mentioned in literature as undated.

42. Such as the description of Dresden, Anton Wecke, *Der Chur-Fürstlichen Sächsischen weitberuffenen Residentz- und Haupt-Vestung Dresden Beschreib: und Vorstellung* (Nürnberg: Johann Hoffmann, 1680). For the general context, see Tomas Besing, “Produktion und Publikum – Aspekte der Herstellung, Verbreitung und Rezeption frühneuzeitlicher Stadtdarstellungen”, in: *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400–1800*, eds. Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck (München: C.H. Beck, 1999), 94–100.

43. PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 6, 1011, no. 436; regarding the date of acquisition, see PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 1, 562.

relating to Poland and Prussia were present in this section as well, as Ranisch's description of churches was adjacent to Curicke's book and the collection of the Chełmno Law.⁴⁷

While the holdings of Gdańsk private libraries are best documented, copies of Ranisch's book found their way to other places as well. The book was included in the auction catalogue of the Linderhausen collection in Toruń in 1725.⁴⁸ His illustrations were also mentioned by the Toruń pastor Johann Jacob Haselau, an avid collector and one of the subscribers to the aforementioned work by Daniel Gralath.⁴⁹ Jacob Bilwernitz, the burgomaster of Malbork, also had a copy of Ranisch's book.⁵⁰ As in the case of the Gdańsk elite, Bilwernitz owned numerous publications on Prussian history, including works by Hartknoch, Curicke, Gottfried Lengnich and Jacob Heinrich Zerneck, and published his own historical writings in the journal *Erleutertes Preussen*.

THE CONTEXTS OF THE BOOK

The various ways in which books on architecture were classified in the collections of the Gdańsk elite points to the heterogeneity of the genre. This, in turn, invites a question about the place of Ranisch's book among contemporaneous writings on the subject. After all, it was published after more than two centuries of the development of the genre, and during one of the most important peaks of Early Modern medievalism.⁵¹ Hence, its potential contexts, both locally and on the pan-European scale, are complex, and include various categories of historical writings.

As a result of the humanist interest in relics of the past, rising antiquarianism, and the necessity to verify

facts in the denominational disputes in the post-Tridentine era, historical studies were increasingly considered as mediated by textual and other sources.⁵² With regard to historic churches, this worked both ways – their history was to an ever increasing degree discovered through written sources, while their fabric was gradually becoming a source in its own right. When William Dugdale's history of St Paul's Cathedral was published in London in 1658, an emphasis was put on the fact that it was based on a variety of original documents.⁵³ At the same time, Dugdale commissioned Wenceslaus Hollar to produce detailed prints of the cathedral's interior and exterior, which served not only as illustrations for his groundbreaking publication but also as a way of compensating for the lack of architectural description in the text. Similarly, when writing about the history of the church of the Virgin Mary in Dresden, Christian August Freyberg stressed that he had drawn information from reliable, and partly hitherto unpublished records ("glaubwürdigen, und zum theil ungedruckten Nachrichten und Documenten"), and that he wanted to complement knowledge of the church's history with information drawn from letters, sources and manuscripts ("Brieffen, Urkunden und Manuscripten").⁵⁴ Growing scholarly interest in churches as monuments of the past is also evident in 17th-century Royal Prussia. Their histories feature prominently in the works of Christoph Hartknoch and, especially, Reinhold Curicke. Influenced by the humanist interest in epigraphic sources, considerable attention was also paid to the various inscriptions found in churches, as evidenced by the published collections. In Ranisch's time, this interest spread also to Royal

47. PAN BG, Cat. Bibl. 44, 13, no. 305.

48. Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, sign. 36 A. 54/8, 4, no. 40

49. Tylicka and Tylicki, *Dawny Gdańsk w rycinach z kolekcji pastora Johanna Jacoba Haselaua*, 50.

50. Imańska, "Biblioteka Jakuba Bliwernitza (1667–1731), burmistrza Malborka", 25.

51. Russo, "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 155.

52. Krzysztof Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiedzy* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2010).

53. William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, From its Foundation untill these Times: Extracted out of Originall Charters, Records, Leiger books, and other Manuscripts [...]* (London: Printed by Tho. Warren, 1658).

54. Christian August Freyberg, *Historie Der Frauen-Kirche in Neu-Dreßden: Wie auch Lebens-Geschichte Der Herren Stadt- und Mittags-Prediger bey diesem Gottes-Hause* (Dresden: bey Moritz Bodenehrn, 1728).

Page no.	Source quoted	Information on
1	Curicke, Lib. IV, Cap. VII, 311 Curicke, Lib. IV, Cap. VII, 312	Founding of St Mary's Church Furnishings of St Mary's Church
2	Chronica, oder Handbüchlein ("Königsbergisches Handbüchlein"), 85	Construction of the vaults in St Mary's Church
20	Curicke, Lib. IV, 321	Building of St John's Church
36	Henneberger, 92	Founding of the Holy Trinity Church
36	Curicke, 333	Collapse of the Holy Trinity Church
51	Hartknoch, T. 2, Cap. III, 429-430	Founding of St Catharine's Church
51	Curicke, Lib. 4, 326	History of St Catharine's Church
51	Henneberger, 66	History of St Catharine's Church
56	Curicke, Lib. IV, 332	Fire in St Bridget's Church in 1587
63	Hartknoch, T. 2, Cap. III, 433	Founding of Sts Peter and Paul's Church
68	Hartknoch, T. 2, Cap. III, 434	History of St Bartholomew's Church
68	Curicke, Lib. IV, 329	History of St Bartholomew's Church
68	Grunau, Tract. 17, Cap. 4	Rebuilding of St Bartholomew's Church
71	Grunau, Tract. 14, Cap. 2	History of St Elisabeth's Church
72	Curicke, Lib. IV, 330	History of St James' Church
72	Henneberger, 75	History of St James' Church
74	Curicke, Cap. VII, 14	Mention of other churches in the conclusions
74	Hartknoch, T. 2, Cap. III, 433	Mention of other churches in the conclusions
75	Curicke, 344	History of the Hospital Church

Table 3. Literature quoted by Bartel Ranisch

Prussia, as proved by Curicke and a number of other collections, both published and manuscript.⁵⁵

Echoes of this kind of interest are discernible in Ranisch's book, although his historical apparatus was of course limited as compared to much better educated historiographers, be they scholars, lawyers or clerics. His sources were local and mostly easily accessible

works. In recounting the history of individual churches, he referred to the recently published historical works by Curicke and Hartknoch, as well as older chronicles, including Caspar Henneberger's *Erklärung der Preussischen grössern Landtaffel* (1595), the popular *Chronica, oder Handbüchlein* published in Königsberg (1579) and Gdańsk (1594) which combined various kinds of

55. Gregorius Frisch, *Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirchen in Dantzig. Inwendige Abriss*, ed. Katarzyna Cieślak, transl. Camilla Badstübner-Kizik, in cooperation with Katarzyna Cieślak and Hanna Nogossek (Gdańsk: Officina Ferberiana, 1999); "Opis Torunia z początku XVIII wieku, tzw. Memoranda Jana Baumgartena", ed. Marek Farbiszewski, in: *Miscellanea źródłowe do historii kultury i sztuki Torunia*, eds. Bogusław Dybaś and Marek Farbiszewski (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1989), 111-161; Ephraim Praetorius, *Epitaphia und Inscriptiones – Epitaphia und Inscriptiones zu Thorn in der S. Marien Kirche*, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, Ms 130, 681-721; Jacob Heinrich Zerneck, "Continuirte Nachricht Von den vornehmsten Epithaphiis in der St. Marien-Kirche allhier", *Continuirtes Gelehrtes Preußen Oder Vierteljähriger Auszug aus allerhand Preussischen Büchern nebst der Gelehrten Männer Leben und MSC. Anmerckungen von Preussischen Denckwürdigkeiten*, vol. 3 (Thorn: druckts und verlegt Joh. Nicolai, E. Edl. Hochw. Raths und Gymnasii Buchdrucker, 1725), 149-169; Johann Heinrich Dewitz, *Epitaphia und Inscriptiones aller Kirchen der Städte Elbing und deren Territorii* [1393-1746], Rękopisy niurzędowe, APG, sygn. 492/317. In some other regions of Central Europe, such as Silesia, such collections had already been created earlier in the century, see Adam Górski, "Wprowadzenie", in: *Inskrypcje kościoła św. Elżbiety we Wrocławiu w świetle rękopisu z 1649 roku*, eds. Janusz Gołaszewski and Adam Górski (Wrocław: Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, 2016), 17-23.

information ranging from biblical to local, and Simon Grunau's *Preussische Chronik* (before 1530), the only manuscript referred to by Ranisch (Table 3).⁵⁶

Ranisch usually retold the information given by earlier authors, sometimes compiling it, as in the history of St Bartholomew's Church. He wrote about its reconstruction within the Gdańsk's Old Town (Altstadt) on the basis of Curicke and Hartknoch, but when referring to the demolition of the previous church, located in the Young Town (Jungstadt), he referred to information provided by Simon Grunau.⁵⁷ Also, he omitted some of the information, such as the one given by Curicke that the founder of St Mary's Church, the Teutonic Grand Master Ludolf König, sent the builder Ulrich Ritter from Strasbourg to Constantinople to study the architecture of the Hagia Sophia and to take its measurements.⁵⁸

Sometimes, however, Ranisch attempted to expand the information derived from earlier authors.

An example is the construction of vaults in St Mary's Church, an issue of central importance for his revivalist aims. Judging by the general nature of his account, he most probably relied on published material rather than the detailed description of the construction of the vaults contained in the manuscript by Eberhard Bötticher.⁵⁹ Apparently, Ranisch was unaware of the information given therein that the vaults were at least partly constructed by the master Henrich Hetzel, described as the "town mason" (*Stadmewrer*).⁶⁰ Instead, he repeated the general account of Curicke, reaching back at least to Bernt Stegmann's chronicle (completed in 1528) and the *Chronica* of 1579/1594, replicating the general information contained therein that the vaults were built in 1498–1502.⁶¹

Nonetheless, Ranisch made an effort to complement the information provided in existing literature by finding out who built the vaults. For that purpose he reached out to guild documents which were not

56. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung*; Christoph Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neues Preussen Oder Preussischer Historien Zwey Theile* [...] (Frankfurt–Leipzig: In Verlegung Martin Hallervorden, 1684); Caspar Henneberger, *Erklärung der Preussischen grössern Landtaffel oder Mappen* [...] (Königsberg: bey Georgen Osterbergern, 1595); *Chronica, oder Handbüchlein un[d] gedechtnis vieler wirdiger Geschichten / von anbegin der Welt / biß auff das Jar 1593* [...] (Danzig: durch Jacobum Rhodum, 1594). As for the latter, I used a copy at PAN BG, De 681 8°; I would like to thank Prof. Edmund Kizik for advice. On Grunau see Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, vol. 1–3, eds. Max Perlbach, Rudolf Philippi and Paul Wagner (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876–1896); see also Sławomir Zonenberg, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2009).

57. Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude Der Stadt Dantzig*, 68; Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*. 2, Tractat 15–22, eds. Max Perlbach, Rudolf Philippi and Paul Wagner (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1889), 208–209. More on the early history of the church in Piotr Samól, *Młode miasto Gdańsk (1380–1455) i jego patrymonium* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2018), 166–178.

58. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung*, 311.

59. *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig. Das „Historische Kirchen Register“ von Eberhard Bötticher (1616). Transkription und Auswertung*, eds. Christofer Herrmann and Edmund Kizik (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 384–388. Although the chronicle remained in manuscript, it circulated in a number of copies.

60. *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig*, 385–387. For more on builders in Gdańsk in this period, see Elżbieta Pilecka, "Charakter hanzeatyckiej sztuki miast pruskich późnego średniowiecza na przykładzie sakralnej architektury Gdańska", in: *Sztuka Prus XIII–XVIII wieku*, ed. Michał Woźniak (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1994), 39–69.

61. On Stegmann's chronicle, see *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 5, ed. Theodor Hirsch (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1874), 501; *Gdańska kronika Bernta Stegmannna (1528)*, ed. Julia Możdżeń in cooperation with Kristina Stöbener and Marcin Sumowski (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2019), 188–189; with regard to Curicke, see Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung*, 311–312; see also Julia Możdżeń, *Przedstawianie świata przez kronikarzy gdańskich na przełomie XV i XVI wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2016), 201, and Julia Możdżeń, "Gdańszczanin Bernt Stegmann i jego umoralniająca kompilacja z 1528 roku", *Libri Gedanenses* 34 (2017): 57–89.

used by any of the earlier authors, including Curicke.⁶² Ranisch had easy access to guild archives, as he had been the guild's elder for many years.⁶³ Thus, he was able to point out several guild masters active in that period and therefore possibly involved in the construction of the vaults. Ranisch used the guild documents at other occasions as well, for instance when trying to identify the builders who erected the new St Bartholomew's Church around 1500 and extended its nave in 1647.⁶⁴

Although Ranisch was unable to establish the actual maker of the vaults, turning to guild documents to expand on information drawn from earlier publications was his personal contribution to the historiography of Gdańsk architecture. It also fits in with the rising interest in history among guild members across Central and North-Eastern Europe, although their emphasis was mainly on corporate identity, often in relation to local history.⁶⁵ Notably, in Ranisch's time some of the Gdańsk guilds attempted a rearrangement of their archives. One example is the so-called Great Book of the Masters of the Painters' Guild, compiled from earlier guild documents from 1707 onwards by the guild master Christian Friedrich von Falckenberck.⁶⁶ While it is unclear whether Ranisch's interest in guild documents stemmed from a broader project, it attests to a growing awareness of the guild archives, both for pragmatic

purposes related to guild activities and for broader historical interests.

Another point of interest is Ranisch's approach towards creed-related issues. Denominational disputes, both those between the dominant Protestants and the Catholics supported by the Polish kings, and those between followers of various Protestant creeds, were of great importance in the history of Gdańsk, having a direct impact on the current situation in the city. Indeed, these conflicts may have personally affected Ranisch, who often did construction work for Catholic patrons. However, the issue is of wider significance, as denominational disputes had a direct impact on interest in the history of medieval churches in Europe. The late 16th century witnessed the development of scholarly interest in the history of Christianity on the part of both Protestants and Catholics, who pursued the *erudizione sacra* championed by Cesare Baronio.⁶⁷ Within this current, an interest was developing in the history of individual churches and their fabric, increasingly considered a primary source, exemplified by the works of Onofrio Panvinio and Giovanni Severano, inspired by Filippo Neri.⁶⁸ Roman churches were of particular interest. The work of Girolamo Franzini, the first to combine textual descriptions and views of individual medieval churches, appeared in 1572,⁶⁹ followed by monographic works,

62. On Curicke's sources, see Przemysław Szafran, "Warsztat historyczny Reinholda Curicke, dziejopisarza Gdańska XVII wieku w świetle jego księgozbioru (Z dziejów księgozbiorów prywatnych w Gdańsku w XVII i XVIII w.)", *Libri Gedanenses*, vol. 2–3 (1968–1969): 87–128, and Nowak, "Reinhold Curicke i jego dzieło na tle historiografii gdańskiej XIV–XVII wieku".

63. Skibiński, "The Gdańsk Builder Bartel Ranisch (1648–1710?)", 16.

64. Ranisch, *Beschreibung Aller Kirchen-Gebäude Der Stadt Dantzig*, 68.

65. See Patrick Schmidt, *Wandelbare Traditionen – tradierter Wandel. Zünfische Erinnerungskulturen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag 2009), 257–338.

66. Jacek Tylicki, "Wielka księga mistrzów cechu malarskiego w Gdańsku", in: *Wspólnoty pracy i wiary. Cechy w miastach Prus Królewskich*, vol. 2: *Katalog*, ed. Franciszek Skibiński (Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2024), 337.

67. Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiedzy*, 97–106. On Baronius, see Piotr Krasny, *Visibilia signa ad pietatem excitantes. Teoria sztuki sakralnej w pismach pisarzy kościelnych epoki nowożytnej* (Kraków: Universitas, 2010), 87–113.

68. Russo "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 137. See especially Onofrio Panvinio, *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctoribusque basilicis, quas Septem ecclesias vulgo vocant, liber* (Romae: Apud Haeredes Antonii Bladii, 1570; also Cologne 1584) and Giovanni Severano, *Memorie Sacre delle Sette Chiese di Roma [...]* (Roma: Giacomo Mascardi, 1630). On these authors, see Stefan Bauer, *The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), Chiara Cecalupo, "Padre Giovanni Severano tra la Congregazione e l'archeologia", *Annales Oratorii* 17 (2019): 11–26, and Krasny, *Visibilia signa ad pietatem excitantes*, 30–34, while for a broader perspective, see Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

69. Russo, "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 128–129.

such as the books on the churches of Santa Maria del Popolo (1600), Santa Maria Maggiore (1621) and San Silvestro (1629), as well as on St Peter's Basilica, starting with the unpublished work by Giacomo Grimaldi.⁷⁰

Also important were the publications produced north of the Alps, especially in the German-speaking lands, where the conflict between Catholics and Protestants was ever present. Polemical aim of history writing was pointed out by Albert Hunger in his introduction to the 1582 edition of Wigulius Hund's *Metropolis Salisburgensis*, where he wrote that "sacred antiquity" was the opposite of the godless innovations of Luther and Calvin ("sanctam antiquitatem contra vero profana Lutheri vel Calvinii novellitatem").⁷¹ The book itself presented care of sacred buildings among the achievements of individual prelates, as in the case of Bishop Leo von Tundorf, who started rebuilding the Regensburg Cathedral after the fires of 1272–1273. Similar in their tone were the works of the Cologne Jesuit Hermann Crombach, who described the architecture of Cologne Cathedral in great detail. For him, the history of churches was closely linked to the history of piety and underpinned the fundamental theme of his writings, which was the history and cult of the relics of

the Three Kings and St Ursula. Protestants also wrote on the history of churches, such as the aforementioned Christian August Freyberg in Dresden, who also paid much attention to successive pastors.

Noteworthy, therefore, is Ranisch's avoidance of any polemical tone. Despite the importance of denominational disputes in Gdańsk, he addressed neither the division between the Catholics and the Protestants nor intra-Protestant disputes. This approach differs also from local authors, such as Konrad Graser the Elder, a scholar and pastor settled in Toruń. In his *Ultima verba* (1614), set in the millenarian mindset characteristic of many Central European Protestants in the years leading to the Thirty Years War, Graser presented medieval churches in northern Europe as symbols of a decline of the Church that had departed from its original purity and embraced idolatrous practices.⁷² In Ranisch's time, however, the situation was already different. In the mid-17th century, the Gdańsk authorities took measures to quell denominational conflicts, as exemplified by the publication ban imposed on Reinhold Curicke spurred by a part of his manuscript, which dealt with denominational disputes. The censorship efforts of the city authorities may have been further motivated

70. Giacomo Alberici, *Compendio Delle Grandezze Dell'Illustre, Et Devotissima Chiesa Di Santa Maria Del Populo Di Roma* (Roma: Appresso gli Stampatori Camerali 1600); Paolo de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Vrbe a Liberio Papa I. vsque ad Pavlum V. Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio* (Romae: ex Typographia Bartholomæi Zannetti, 1621); Giovanni Giacchetti Serrano, *Historia Della Venerabile Chiesa, Et Monastero Di S. Silvestro De Capite Di Roma* (Roma: Appresso Giacomo Mascardi, 1629); Petrus de Mallio, *Basilicae Veteris Vaticanae Descriptio Avctore Romano eiusdem Basilicae Canonico* (Roma: Typis Bernardini Tani, 1646); Carlo Fontana, *Il Tempio Vaticano E Sua Origine Con gl'Edifitii più cospicui antichi, e moderni fatti dentro, e fuori di Esso* (Roma: Nella Stamparia di Gio: Francesco Buagni, 1694). On Grimaldi see Russo, "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 143–144.

71. Wigulius Hund, *Metropolis Salisburgensis continens primordia Christianae religionis per Boiariam et loca quaedam vicina* (Ingolstadii: ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, 1582). For the conceptual apparatus specific to denominational disputes, see Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Art: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1993), Christian Hecht, *Katolische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock. Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabrielle Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997), Ulrich Schlegelmilch, *Descriptio templi. Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2003), and Krasny, *Visibilia signa ad pietatem excitantes*. On the subject of art in denominationally divided Gdańsk, see in particular Katarzyna Cieślak, *Między Rzymem, Wittenbergą a Genewą. Sztuka Gdańska jako miasta podzielonego wyznaniowo* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000).

72. Konrad Graser, *Ultima Verba Conradi Graseri Regiomontani Franci, Ministri Ecclesiae Thoruniensis [...]* (Thorunii Borussorum: typis Augustini Ferberi Senioris, 1614), 340; Franciszek Skibiński, "Johann Regius i Konrad Graser Starszy o kulcie obrazów. Przyczynek do dziejów sztuki w nowożytnym Toruniu", *Zapiski Historyczne* 76, no. 2 (2011): 77–86.

Marienwerder / Die Churfürstliche Grangstadt an Pommerellen.



17. Als nach Eroberung des Culmischen Landes der Orden in das Land Pomesan ziehen wolte / beschah sich der Landmeister auff der Weiffel mit etlichen Schiffen und zu Erbauung eines Schlosses fertigen Materialien hin auff und koman die Insel Quaidzino, welche unweit von dem heutigen Marienwerder ligt / und den Nahmen von des Pomecons Tochter Maui / so Quaidzino soll geheissen haben / bekennen. Dieselbe nahm der Landmeister ein / bauete ein Schloss / und nannte es Marienwerder. Dieses soll geschehen seyn Anno 1233. aber es kan nicht seyn. Dann in dem Culmischen Privilegio, welches An. 1233. 5. Kalend. Jan. gegeben ist / hat sich schon unterschrieben Ludovicus in Quaidzin Provisor. Mus also diese Schloss schon An. 1232. gebauet seyn. Weil aber auß diesem Ort und der darauff erbaueten Westung den alten Preussen kein sonderlicher Abbruch geschehen kunte / hat Burckhard Burggraaf von Magdeburg / der dahin mit zimlicher Anzahl Volckes dem Orden zu Hilff antommen war / auff seine Lasten das Schloss verlegt auff den Ort / wo es jetziger Zeit siehet / nehmlich eine Meil wegs von der Weiffel / da es eben den Nahmen behalten / so das es noch heutiges Tages von den Teutschen Marienwerder / von den Pohlen aber Quaidzin genennet wird / ob es gleich auß dem Weider des Quaidzini schon nicht lieget. Die Versteigung ist An. 1233. oder 1234. geschehen seyn. Dann gedacht Burckhard von Magdeburg hat das A. 1233. gegebene Culm. Privilegium mit unterschrieben / und

Quaidzin hat nicht erst Weiffelburg geheißen.

Das Schloss war an dem Ort verlegt.

und ist nur ein Jahr in Preussen geblieben / wo nun die Versteigung vor seiner Abreise geschehen / wie es dann auch nicht anders seyn kan / so muß es / wie gesaget ist / weder noch in dem drey und dreißigsten / oder außs höchste in dem Anfang des vier und dreißigsten Jahres geschehen seyn. Nicht lange darnach / als unterkönigliche Fürsten / nemlich Conrad Herzog in der Masau / Mielzko Herzog in der Geda / Heinrich mit dem Hart Herzog in Cracau und Breslau / Odo was Herzog in Gnesen / Swantepol Herzog in Pommen / und andere / dem Orden zu Hilff in Preussen antommen waren / haben sie bey dem Schloß Marienwerder eine Stadt erbauet / und das Schloß besser befestiget. Auff diese Weise erachtet den ganzen Verlauf dieser Sade Petrus von Dusburg (24) und andere / die sich hierin folgen. Allen ich wolde vielleicht nicht irrren / wann ich so sprechen solte / das dieser Ort nicht alsbald bey der ersten Fundat. den Nahmen Marienwerder bekommen / sondern das er genennet sey Weiffelburg. Dann es hat Hamberger auß einem Aufsatze zu Marienwerder angezeichnet / das in dem Marienwerderischen Weider vorzeiten eine Stadt erbauet gewesen / die den Nahmen Weiffelburg gehabt / dieselbe sey betruach geschehen / das man zu der Zeit selten einen Stein alda gesehen. Weil ich nun von dieser Stadt Weiffelburg sonst nicht das allergeringste in den Preussischen Historien gefunden / und dennoch solche Überbleibsel von einer Westung auch heutiges Tages unweit von dem heutigen Marienwerder verhanden / von welchen die Einwohner der Stadt Marienwerder beständig sagen / das derselbe Ort vorzeiten Weiffelburg genennet worden / so bin ich auß diese Gedanken gerathen / das dieses das alte Quaidzin gewesen / insonderheit weil man von dem alten Marienwerder / davon Dusburg geschrieben / ganz und gar keine Nachrichten an irgend einem andern Ort findet. Und dieses sey nun geredet von der ersten Stiftung dieser Stadt. Jetzt wollen wir weiter eine und das ander melden / was nach der Zeit dazu kommen. Die Kirche darinnen ist sonder zweiffel als bald bey der Erbauung der Stadt angelegt / nach aber / als das Land Preussen in vier Bischoffthümern Anno 1247. getheilet / und die Stadt Marienwerder dem Pomejanischen Bischoff übergeben worden / hat er gedachte Kirche zu seines Stiffts Hauptkirche erwehlet / und sie so statlich auffgeführt / das außser der großen Pfarrkirche in Danzig keine Kirche in Preussen zu finden / die die Größe derselben sey. In was die Länge betrifft / gehet sie auch der jetzt gedachten Kirche in Danzig vor. Dann es ist endlich gegen Osten die Pohlische Kirche / wo der Chor des Anfangs gewesen. In der mitten ist die rechte Teutsche Kirche / und zuletzt gegen Westen / wo die Kirche an das Schloß lieget / ist in dem vorigen Seculo die Pohlische Kirche gewesen. Dann aber / und von welchem Bischoff dieses geschehen / habe ich nicht finden können. Doch muß dieser prächtige Bau noch in dem XIII. Seculo geschehen seyn / weil darin Sigfrid von Zudowangen An. 1311. Werner von Ursin An. 1330. und Ludolf König von Branck An. 1344. begraben worden. Im Jahr Christi 1346. hat der Stadt Bertholdus Bischoff in Pomesan das erste Privilegium gegeben / welches nur fast diese Gedanken genuehet / das / ob gleich der Bischoff seine Hauptkirche darin gehabt / dennoch die Stadt nicht ohne sondern den Pohlentenen selbst zugestanden / deswegen sie sich auch darin begraben lassen / bey etwa umh das 1346. Jahr ihm die Stadt übergeben / da er gleich bald darauß mit einem Privilegio versehen. Doch will ich hier nichts gewisses setzen. Als nur der Zeit das alte Privilegium Bertholdi verlesen worden / hat sich Jobas Bischoff in Pomesan Anno 1505. erwehlet. Im Jahr Christi 1584. ist die erwehnte Hauptkirche mit Gängen und umlaufenden Wehren befestiget / damit man auß dem Dache für den Feinden / insonderheit für den Litauern / die dasummaffen vielfältig in Preussen stricken / sicher seyn könte. Das prächtige Schloß / hat mit viel hohen

Quaidzin hat nicht erst Weiffelburg geheißen.

Das erste Privilegium der Stadt.

(24) Petrus de Dusburg Part. 7. cap. 9. & 10.

12 View of the cathedral and castle in Kwidzyn (Marienwerder), in: Christoph Hartknoch, Alt- und Neues Preussen (Frankfurt–Leipzig 1684). Photo by Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

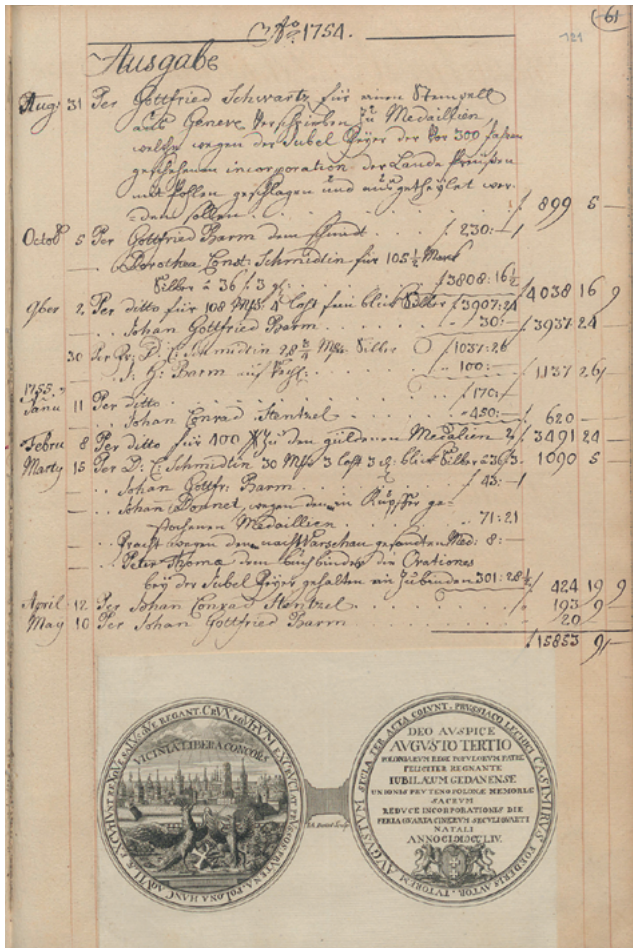
by the threat of interventions by the Catholic kings of Poland, especially Jan III Sobieski.⁷³ Regardless of the Gdańsk politics, Ranisch's own self-interest may have also played a role in overlooking denominational disputes: for a long time, Ranisch worked mainly for Catholics and may have intentionally avoided antagonising potential clients or patrons with whom he had established relationships on earlier projects.

Instead of conflict, Ranisch emphasised the continuity of Christianity from its beginnings in Prussia, which he linked to the arrival of the Teutonic Knights. Probably following earlier historiography, including the

16th-century chronicles of Bernt Stegmann and Simon Grunau, he linked the urban and architectural development of Prussia, including the foundation of towns and the construction of brick castles and churches, to the activities of the Teutonic Knights, as well as burghers.⁷⁴ This, by the way, is noteworthy in view of the traditional enmity of the elites of the great Prussian cities towards the Teutonic Order, against which they rebelled in 1454 and accepted the authority of the Polish kings; this enmity was expressed by, for instance, Curicke. Ranisch put an emphasis on continuity and presented architectural monuments as a lasting component of

73. Edmund Cieślak, *Walki społeczno-polityczne w Gdańsku w drugiej połowie XVII wieku. Interwencja Jana III Sobieskiego* (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1962). I would like to thank prof. Marcin Grulkowski for pointing out this context.

74. Możdzeń, *Przedstawianie świata przez kronikarzy gdańskich na przelomie XV i XVI wieku*, 174–175.



13 Johann Donnet, design for a medal celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Gdańsk into the Polish Crown, 1754, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku / State Archive in Gdańsk, 300, 12/168, 121. Photo by State Archive in Gdańsk

urban identity and an evidence of the importance of the city, the achievements of its inhabitants and the skills of its builders.

In Ranisch's time, an appreciation of medieval architecture was developing in Prussia, where local identity was negotiated throughout the Early Modern period, in terms of both politics and culture.⁷⁵ Indeed, the identification of churches with the history of their towns was so strong that the date of a town's foundation was sometimes considered to be the date when the first foundation stone was laid for its main parish church.⁷⁶ References to medieval castles and churches appear in some of the most important publications on the regional history, such as Christoph Hartknoch *Alt- und Neues Preussen* (1684) (Fig. 12). When writing about the town of Chełmża (German: Culmsee), Hartknoch described its cathedral as one of the most beautiful churches "in these lands". Similarly, he presented the Teutonic castle in Elbląg (German: Elbing), which no longer existed at the time, as one of the most beautiful in Prussia, with the exception of the Grand Master's seat at Malbork.⁷⁷ In Gdańsk, the numerous images of medieval churches towering over the city suggest that they were an urban landmark and a component of local identity. The city's image found its most significant expression in the central painting of the ceiling of the Summer Chamber of the Council in the Main Town Hall, which presented an interpretation of its political situation and religious identity.⁷⁸ Further examples are provided by numerous printed works – such as the frontispiece of Hevelius' *Selenographia* (1647), where the city's skyline is dominated by soaring church towers – as

75. The complex process of the incorporation of Prussia is presented in Robert Frost, *The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 381–402; on Gdańsk in particular, see Marcin Grulkowski, *Privilegia Casimiriana. Przywileje króla Kazimierza IV Jagiellończyka dla Gdańska z okresu wojny trzynastoletniej* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Gdańska, 2023). On the transformation of the local identity in Prussia, see Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia. Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

76. As discussed by Peter Krüger, author of the calendar for 1618, see *Den Edlen / Gestrengen / Ehrenvesten / Namhaftten Hoch und Wolweisen Herren Bürgermeistern und Raht der Königlichen Stadt Dantzick / Meinen Hochgünstigen Herren*, in P. Krüger, *Newer und Alter Schreibealender auff das Jahr nach der gnaden reichen Geburt unsers Herren Jesu Christi M. DC. XVIII...*, Dantzick [1617], fol. [Av]–[A2r]; I would like to thank Dr. Piotr Paluchowski for pointing out this information. On the dating of Gdańsk churches in the Early Modern historiography, see Jarosław Wenta, "Datacje kościołów św. Katarzyny i NP Marii w historiografii gdańskiej XVI–XVIII wieku", *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 37 (1983): 85–88.

77. Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neues*, 378, 381.

78. Marcin Kaleciński, *Mity Gdańska. Antyk w publicznej sztuce protestanckiej res publiki* (Gdańsk: słowo/ obraz terytoria, 2011), 173–201; see there for further reading.

well as by medals created for various occasions.⁷⁹ The medal designed by Johann Donnet for the three-hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Gdańsk and Prussia into the Polish Crown (1754) featured the urban landscape dominated by church towers (Fig. 13).⁸⁰ The construction of church towers may have indeed been linked to the political emancipation of Gdańsk after the fall of the Teutonic rule and its incorporation into the Kingdom of Poland.⁸¹

The appreciation of medieval architecture was a much broader phenomenon and an important feature of Early Modern culture across Europe. Along with “historia sacra”, a sense of urban identity and pride were among the most important factors allowing for the development of Early Modern medievalism and challenging the negative assessment of Gothic architecture disseminated by the Italian writings of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁸² Especially in the politically fragmented landscape of the Empire, where allegiance was focused on individual cities and small territorial states, great Gothic churches served as powerful visual anchors of civic identity, historical continuity, and local prestige.

The prime example are the writings on the Strasbourg Cathedral. As a consequence of Strasbourg’s becoming a free imperial city in the 13th century, the church became the focal point of urban identity.⁸³ In the following centuries, its exceptional architecture attracted the attention of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, as well as Jakob Wimpfeling, Daniel Specklin and Oseas Schad (Schadeus). Taking the Strasbourg Cathedral as a reference, Wimpfeling integrated architecture into the “negotatio Germaniae”, a discourse on supra-local Germanic history and identity.⁸⁴ Referring to Piccolomini, he wrote that the Germans were superior to other peoples in terms of architectural skill, the pinnacle of which was the Strasbourg Cathedral, unmatched in terms of artistry and engineering expertise. At the beginning of the 17th century, the writings of Piccolomini and Wimpfeling were referred to by Oseas Schad, who dedicated his work to city officials who were the “guardians of the church fabric” and explicitly pointed to his ties to Strasbourg as a homeland (“vielgeliebten Vatterland”).⁸⁵

The interest in architecture and works of art in late-17th century Gdańsk was also linked to the growing

79. Their value in allowing a better understanding of urban self-presentation is well illustrated by a catalogue of Nuremberg medals, see Dieter Fischer, Hermann Maué, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen auf Ereignisse in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1521–1806* (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2014).

80. APG, 300, 12/168, 121; Kizik, “Gdański medal jubileuszowy z okazji trzechsetlecia inkorporacji Prus do Polski w 1754 roku”.

81. Olaf Asendorf, “Zur Bedeutung der Danziger Kirchtürme”, in: *Kościół i sztuka pobraża Bałtyku*, ed. Michał Woźniak (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), 103–122, and Możdżeń, *Przedstawianie świata przez kronikarzy gdańskich na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, 194, 204.

82. Marcus Brandis, *La maniera tedesca. Eine Studie zum historischen Verständnis der Gotik im Italien der Renaissance in Geschichtsschreibung, Kunsttheorie und Baupraxis* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2002); see also Paul Frankl, *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 237–284; Russo, “The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe”, 120, 123, 137, and Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 3–5, 156–158, 226.

83. Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 42–43.

84. Jakob Wimpfeling, *Epitoma rerum Germanicarum usque ad nostra tempora* (Argentinae: J. Prüss, 1505). I have used a later edition: Hanoviae: apud Guiljelmum Antonium, 1594, 198–199. On the *negotatio Germaniae*, see Christopher B. Krebs, *Negotatio Germaniae. Tacitus’ Germania und Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), as well as Ulrich Paul, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewußtseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Berlin: Matthiesen Verlag, 1936), Frank L. Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore–London: The John Hopkins Press, 1971), and Peter Schaeffer, “The Emergence of the Concept ‘Medieval’ in Central European Humanism”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 7, no. 2 (1976): 21–30.

85. Oseas Schadaeus, *Summum Argentoratensium Templum: Das ist: Außführliche vn Eigentliche Beschreibung deß viel Künstlichen, sehr Kostbaren, vnd in aller Welt berühmten Münsters zu Strassburg* (Straßburg: in Verlegung Lazari Zetzners Seligen Erben, 1617); Frankl, *Gothic*, 329–331.



14 View of St Nicolas Church in Elbląg, 18th century(?), Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku / State Archive in Gdańsk, 492/265, 17. Photo by State Archive in Gdańsk

attention from visitors. According to a contract concluded in 1679 with the sacristan at the church of St Mary, Gregorius Frisch, his tasks included showing visitors around the church and opening for them the main altar and the Last Judgement triptych (now attributed to Hans Memling).⁸⁶ It is likely, therefore, that the list of inscriptions he drew up, and especially his description of the Last Judgement triptych, resulted

from his work as a guide. This would not have been unusual, as many published guides to famous churches were available in Europe at that time, presenting architecture as well as tombs and works of art. Already in 1575, Abbé Bertrand published a guidebook on the Abbey of Saint-Denis.⁸⁷ Westminster Abbey was another such place, frequented by residents of the British Isles and visitors from abroad.⁸⁸ The status of the Abbey of

86. Frisch, *Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirchen in Dantzic*, X–XI; Christofer Herrmann, “Zur Zier geputzett und rein gemacht’ Das Verhältnis der Kirchenväter zu den Kunstwerken der Marienkirche”, in *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig*, 206.

87. Abbé Bertrand, *Antiquitez et Singularitez de l’Abbaye de St Denys* (Paris: 1575).

88. Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 340–347. Plan of the church was published by Daniel King in 1672 (see *ibid*, 346, Fig. 216).

Saint-Denis and of the Westminster Abbey, mausoleums of kings, fuelled by the developing antiquarian interest in both countries, was of course different from that of the churches of Gdańsk. Nevertheless, Gdańsk also produced prints aimed primarily at visitors. Such was probably the purpose of the sheet that included a view of St Mary's Church by Samuel Donnet (active ca. 1699–1734), together with a description of its history, architecture and furnishings.⁸⁹ While the church's history was based on Curicke, the anonymous author drew on other sources as well. Ranisch's book was likely one of them, as it was probably from it that he derived the belief that the construction of the vaults was carried out by local guild masters who "already enjoyed a good reputation." Similar to Donnet's sheet is a view of St Nicholas' Church in Elbląg, also accompanied by a brief description of its history, architecture and furnishings (Fig. 14).⁹⁰

An analysis of the readership of Ranisch's book indicates that was viewed primarily in the context of local history. In contrast, writing about architecture among professionals at the time was dominated by the classicist discourse. Compared to *all'antica* architecture,

references to medieval architecture were rare. The late 15th century saw the publication of the "Werkmeisterbücher" by the experienced builder Matthäus Roriczer (Roritzer), the *Dombaumeister* in Regensburg in 1477–1495, and the lesser-known Hans Schuttermayer, which presented late Gothic details and associated design methods.⁹¹ In the following century, references to design methods associated with late Gothic architecture appeared in the works by Cesare Cesariano, Albrecht Dürer and Walter Rivius, among others.⁹² Since the mid-16th century, however, this design practice was overshadowed by treatises and pattern books presenting classical architectural forms and their design methods, combined with the inherent theoretical apparatus, which attracted particular attention of the European elite.⁹³ Among the few exceptions was the description of the construction of vaults published by Philibert De l'Orme. He was undoubtedly inspired by the new illustrated architectural treatises, especially Serlio's. However, showing a particular interest in the practical aspects of architecture and moving with equal ease within the antique and the medieval modus, De l'Orme expanded the scope of his publication by

89. Published in Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung. Faksimile-Druck nach der Originalausgabe Amsterdam und Dantzig 1687, mit einer Einführung von Ernst Bahr, herausgegeben von Siegfried Rosenberg. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen und Faltkarten* (Hamburg: Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft Paul Rosenberg, 1979).

90. A copy preserved in APG, 492/265, 17.

91. Frankl, *Gothic*, 321–322, 325–326; Russo, "The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe", 121–123. On the "Werkmeisterbücher", see Hubertus Günther, Renate Klinnert, Sabine Böhrer, "Die Fialenbüchlein der Spätgotik", in: *Deutsche Architekturtheorie zwischen Gotik und Renaissance*, ed. Hubertus Günther (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988), 31–38, Ulrich Coenen, *Die spätgotischen Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland als Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Architekturtheorie. Untersuchung und Edition der Lehrschriften für Entwurf und Ausführung von Sakralbauten* (München: Scaneg Verlag, 1990), and Lothar Schmit, "Matthias Roritzer" and "Hans Schuttermayer", in: *Architekturtheorie im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum 1486–1648*, 155–160. On Roritzer himself see Peter Morsbach, *Die Erbauer des Domes. Die Geschichte der Regensburger Dommeisterfamilie Roriczer-Engel* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2009), 99–122.

92. On Cesariano, see recently Werner Oechslin, *Audacia. Cesare Cesarianos Wagemut. Die in eine „Theorica Figura“ gefasste „Idea Geometricae Architectonicae“* (Basel–Einsiedeln: Colmena Verlag, Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, 2022).

93. On the difference between the "Werkmeisterbücher" and the treatises on classical architecture and the reasons for the failure of the former, see Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 186–189. See also Werner Oechslin, "Bildwelten, Säulenlehren und dergleichen: italienische Invasionen", in: *Architekturtheorie im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum 1486–1648*, 103–123. Regarding the adoption of the classicising modus of architecture by the elite, see Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 151–410, as well as Frankl, *Gothic*, 289–290 and *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relationships between the Southern and Northern Low Countries (1530–1700)*, eds. Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 15–161. For the broader context, see also Thomas James Dandele, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

referencing the French architectural tradition, which included vault construction.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, later publications that dealt to some extent with construction were theoretical in nature and had little practical effect; a case in point is Abraham Bosse and Girard Desargues' book on stereotomy of 1643.⁹⁵

Therefore, analogies to the vault construction method published by Ranisch should rather be sought in evidence related to construction practice. Although this topic was omitted in most of the published works, the skill was preserved among the builders due to the continuity of craft tradition and education. 17th-century construction models from Nuremberg illustrate the continued use of Gothic vaulting techniques in the early modern period. The strong local workshop tradition preserved medieval practices well beyond the Middle Ages. Notably, guild regulations introduced in 1507, requiring a masterwork project that included

a ribbed vault design, remained in effect until the late 17th century at least.⁹⁶ Several preserved models, such as the one created by Hans Hei in 1659 as part of his masterpiece, serves as direct evidence of the persistence of Gothic construction methods within the evolving context of early modern architecture.⁹⁷ This also applied to Gdask, where throughout the late 16th and early 17th century, complex rib vaults were built, and stonecutters made vault elements as part of their mastership evaluation (Fig. 15)⁹⁸. Jacob Ingber, who succeeded Bartel Ranisch as the mason entrusted with municipal building commissions in Gdask, was also familiar with this tradition. An album of his drawings still extant in the the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdask includes three sheets signed and dated 1703, depicting a Gothic-style church, including a diagram of the arch construction and a plan of the building with a three-sided termination covered by a complex vault

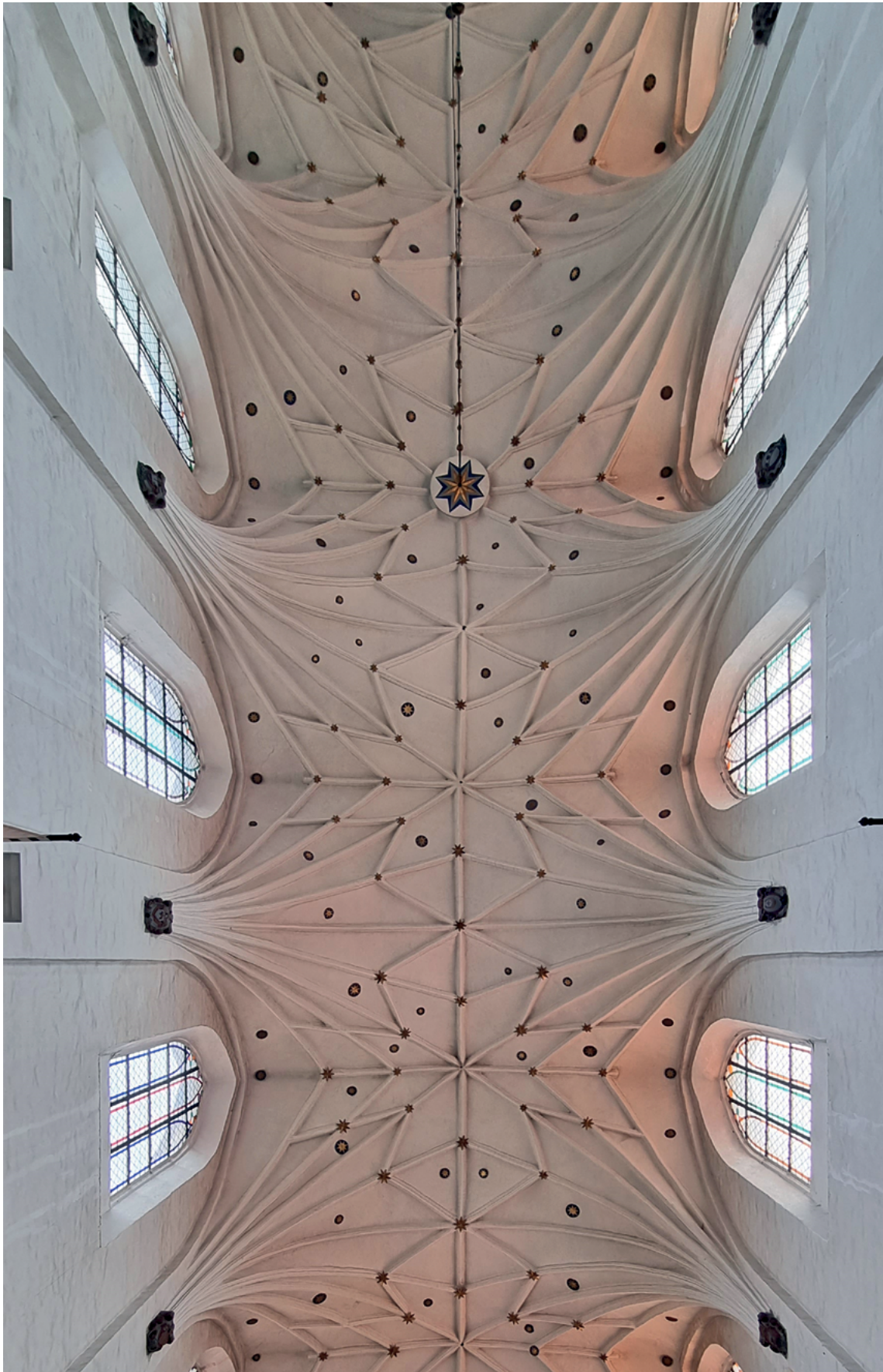
94. Frankl, *Gothic*, 295–299; Russo, “The Printed Illustration of Medieval Architecture in Pre-Enlightenment Europe”, 124–127; Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 334–336. On De l’Orme, see Philippe Potié, *Philibert De l’Orme. Figures de la pensée constructive* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 1996), Jean Guillaume, “On Philibert del’Orme. A Treatise Transcending the Rules”, in: *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1998), 219–231, and Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Philibert De l’Orme. Architecte du roi (1514–1570)* (Paris: Mengès, 2000).

95. *La pratique du trait a preuves, de Mr Desargues Lyonnais [...] Par A. Bosse [...]* (Paris: Pierre Des Hayes, 1643). On stereotomy, see Werner Müller, “Architektur und Mathematik”, in: *Architekt und Ingenieur. Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden*, ed. Ulrich Schütte (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek 1984), 95–96. Desargues’ book was nonetheless present in the collections of the Von Bodeck family and pastor Verchius in Gdask, in its original edition of 1643 and German translation of 1699, see PAN BG, Od 19973 8°, adl. 1b, 92, no. 385 and adl. 2, 102, no. 1097.

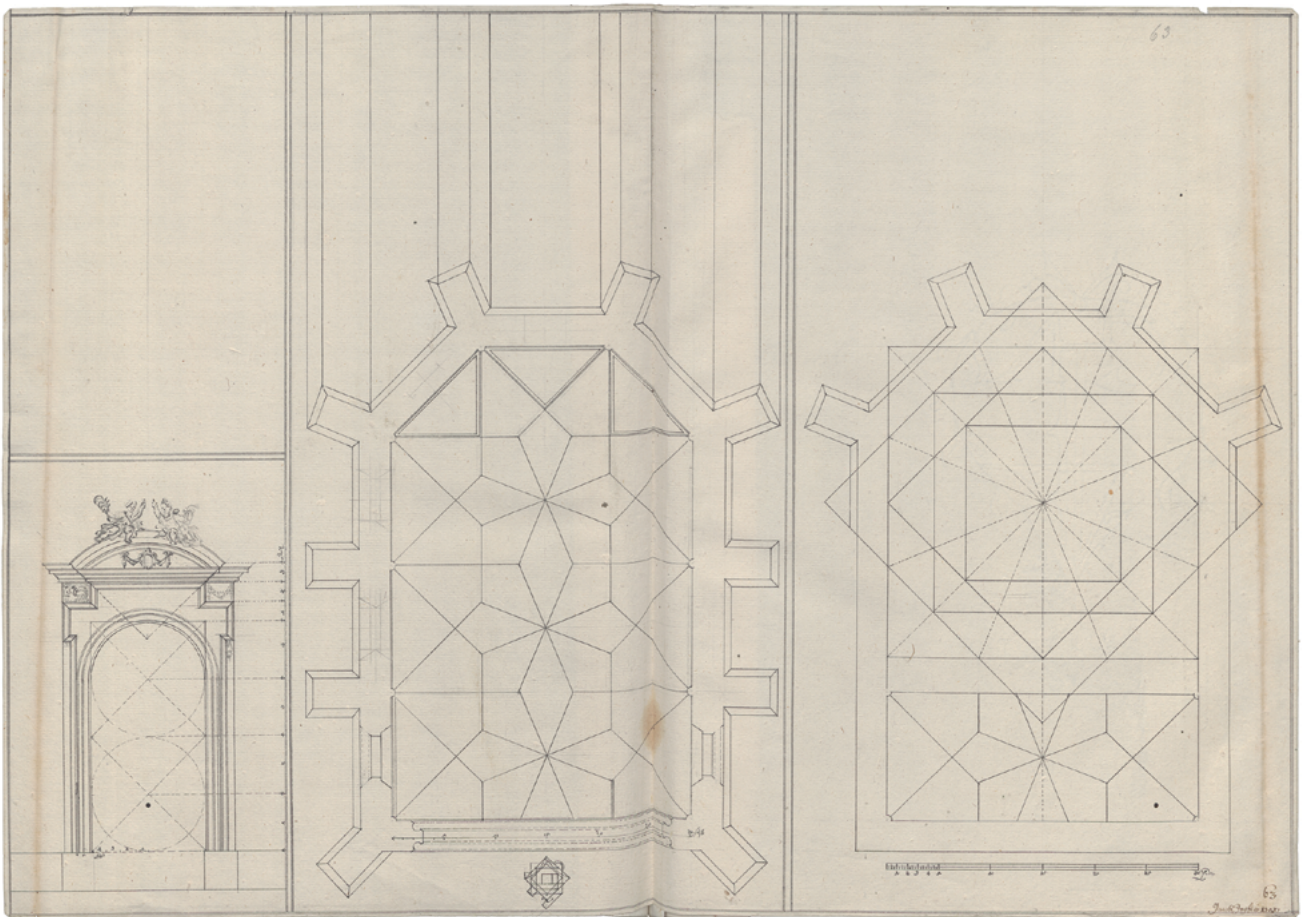
96. Peter Fleischmann, *Das Bauhandwerk in Nürnberg vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv, 1985), 198–200. See also Hermann Hipp, *Studien zur „Nachgotik“ des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Böhmen, Österreich und der Schweiz* (Tübingen, Univ., Fachbereich Altertums- u. Kulturwiss., Diss., 1979), 577–578, 221–237.

97. August Essenwein listed several such models; see August Essenwein, *Katalog der im germanischen Museum befindlichen Bautheile und Baumaterialien aus älterer Zeit* (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1868), 11–12. The signed masterwork by Hans Hei, catalogued by Essenwein as A110, is currently held in the collection of the Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität München in Munich (<http://mediatum.ub.tum.de?id=1122472>; accessed 14 October 2025). A similar model is on show in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (listed as A111 both by Essenwein and in the current catalogue; <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wiski/navigate/72690/view>; accessed 13 October 2025). I would like to thank Prof. Jakub Adamski for correctly identifying the model in the Munich collection.

98. On master trials, see Dariusz Kaczor, “Przepisy dotyczące majstersztyków w cechach rzemios artystycznych wielkich miast Prus Królewskich od XVI do końca XVIII w.”, in: *Klejnot w koronie Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka zdobnicza Prus Królewskich*, vol. 1: *Eseje*, ed. Czesawa Betlejewska (Gdask: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdasku, 2006), 33–34, and Franciszek Skibiski, “Cechy murarskie i rzebiarskie w miastach Prus Królewskich,” in: *Wspólnoty pracy i wiary. Cechy w miastach Prus Królewskich*, 1: *Eseje*, ed. Franciszek Skibiski (Gdask: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdasku, 2024), 83.



15 Bartel Piper (?), vault in the Cistercian Church in Oliwa, c. 1581/1582 (?).
Photo by Jakub Adamski



16 Jacob Ingber, design for a church, 1703, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska / Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Ms. 2283, 63. Photo by Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

(Fig. 16).⁹⁹ The drawings were produced in Nuremberg, which Ingber visited in 1703 as a journeyman, and they follow the requirements of the mastership examination in that city.¹⁰⁰ They indicate not only Ingber's interest in Gothic architecture but also his high level of competence in this field. The continuous skill in vault-building in the German-speaking lands is further illustrated by extant drawings, such as representations of ribbed vaults included in Georg Jacob Wolff's *Reißbuch* from 1622. Although the album, probably intended for publication, included mainly motifs typical for the so-called

"Säulenbücher", it also contains images of ribbed vaults, similarly to Ranisch's (Fig. 17).¹⁰¹ Another example is the album of Hans Heinrich Stadler, who originated in an environment in which, similarly to Prussia, late medieval architectural forms were used in the late 16th and the early 17th century.¹⁰² A comparison of Ranisch's illustrations with the drawings by Wolff, Stadler and Ingber suggests that both his design process and its presentation originated in workshop tradition, which remained on the margin of contemporaneous writing, but lived on in architectural practice.

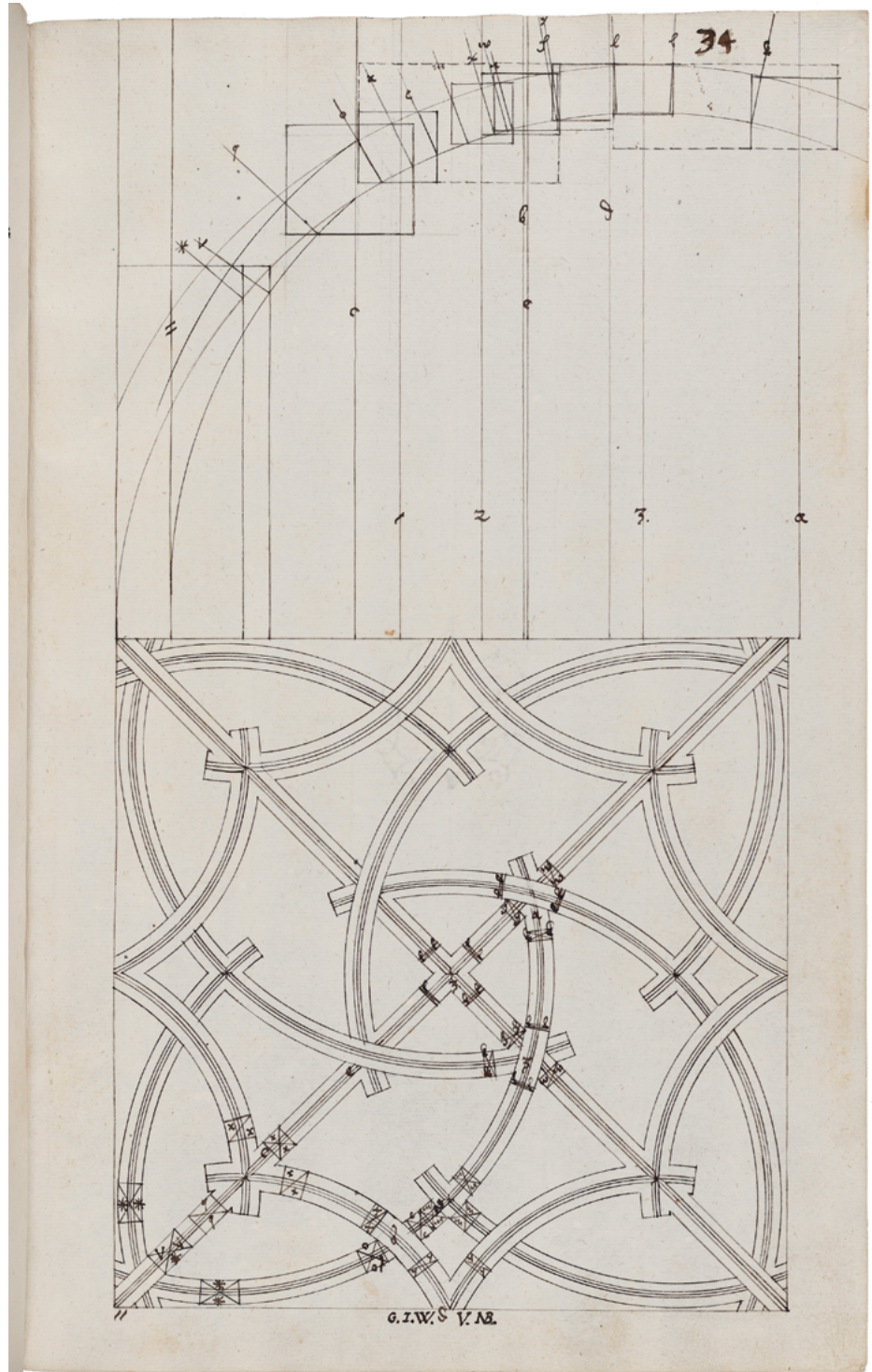
99. PAN BG, Ms 2283, 60, 61, 63.

100. His visit to Nuremberg is confirmed by other drawings (PAN BG, Ms. 2283, 68, 89). Ingber completed his apprenticeship in Gdańsk in 1693 and began his master training there in 1706 (APG, 300, C/2075, 302-303; APG, 300, C/2060, 154, 178). I am grateful to prof. Jakub Adamski for pointing out the parallels with the Nuremberg masterpieces.

101. Sebastian Fitzner, *Architekturzeichnungen der deutschen Renaissance. Funktion und Bildlichkeit zeichnerischer Produktion 1500–1650* (Köln: Modern Academic Publishing, 2015), 252–274.

102. Adolf Reinle, *Italienische und deutsche Architekturzeichnungen 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Die Plansammlungen von Hans Heinrich Stadler (1603–1660), Johann Ardüser (1585–1685) und ihre gebauten Gegenstücke* (Basel: Wiese Verlag, 1994), 51–69.

17 Georg Jacob Wolff, *Reißbuch*, 1622, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart. 761, fol. 34r. Photo by Forschungsbibliothek Gotha



CONCLUSION

The book, created by a professional builder, combined constructional analysis and precepts with an interest in local history and a call for a “revival” of Gdańsk architecture based on historical local forms. Work on the book took a long time and was closely related to Ranisch’s professional experience. As a result, the method of vault construction presented in the book is closer to

building practice than to the dominant architectural discourse. At the same time, the book presents churches as significant urban landmarks, an approach shared with major local historiographers such as Reinhold Curricke and Christoph Hartknoch. Avoiding sectarian conflicts, Ranisch, emphasised continuity, including with Teutonic times. He linked the building of the

churches to the activities of the burghers, appealing to their pride and presenting them as part of the local history, a tradition known from various other places such as Strasbourg, where large medieval churches were considered symbols of local identity and a source of pride. The book was regarded as a historical publication by its readers, primarily members of the social and intellectual elites of Prussian cities, especially Gdańsk, particularly for its treatment of local church history.

Bartel Ranisch and his readers perceived the architectural legacy of Gdańsk from a peculiar local perspective. In the Protestant city, the Gothic modus of church architecture was not confronted with the new, classicising style, in the lands of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania often disseminated through Counter-Reformation models. There was also no court to stimulate the development of the classicising modus as an element of power display, although *all'antica* forms found their way into municipal and private architecture, first shortly after the mid-16th century, as one of the first places in the Baltic region, and then at the beginning of the 17th century, as part of the ongoing transformation of urban space. Nonetheless, Gothic forms were still prominent also in municipal architecture, for instance in the vaulted interior of the Arthus

Court, completed in 1481 and serving the urban community throughout the Early Modern period. Thus, medieval architecture was not replaced, but slowly died out when new large churches were no longer needed and funds were committed to other projects, including the construction of fortifications. New churches were built based on earlier architecture, but much smaller and modest in terms of architectural forms and technical solutions. Tellingly, the Royal Chapel, the only significant ecclesiastical building in Gdańsk built in classical forms, was the result of Catholic patronage from outside the city – the royal and episcopal one. Having been involved in the construction of many of these buildings, including the Royal Chapel, Ranisch must have been aware of the continuity, but at the same time he certainly noted the smaller scale, simpler forms and less architectural sophistication of the new structures. It is through the prism of this continuity that his vision of recreating the ability and potential for building such magnificent churches as those created in the past should be understood. As such, it fits into the model of the continuation of Gothic forms, described by Robert Bork as the “conservative survival of local and vernacular traditions [...] essentially retrospective afterlife of the style”.¹⁰³

103. Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*, 14. On the importance of continuity in Ranisch's work, see Zygmunt Kruszelnicki, *Historiografia sztuki Gdańska i Pomorza* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1980), 20–21.

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