

The von der Heyde Chapel at Legnica in Silesia and the Early Phase of the French Flamboyant Style

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Abstract

This paper is devoted to the case—hitherto virtually unknown—of an anonymous French master mason from St.-Denis, active around 1416–30 in the wealthy town of Legnica in Silesia. Invited to Central Europe in the turbulent times of the Hundred Years' War by the local duke Louis II, in Legnica he executed several works, foremost among them the von der Heyde Chapel at the parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, featuring an impressive stellar vault with a hanging boss. Attributed to the French master on stylistic grounds, it constitutes a unique example of a remarkably mature design from the early phase of Flamboyant architecture, in some respects predating its geographically distant yet stylistically proximate parallels in France itself. This article reconstructs the master's oeuvre, discusses the chapel's artistic origin in the Île-de-France of the early fifteenth century, and shows its surprising importance in the history of French late medieval architecture. In this context, the Silesian monument is all the more important because so little architecture survives from the Parisian milieu of the early fifteenth century. The works of the French master active in Legnica analyzed here should be considered as representative examples of the rapid stylistic development that occurred within the initial phase of Flamboyant architecture in France.

It would be an understatement to state that France played a decisive role in the formation and dissemination of Gothic architecture in Europe. Indeed, the creative output of many generations of architects and master masons from the northern French regions—Île-de-France, Picardy, Champagne, and Burgundy—laid the foundations for the spectacular rise of Gothic architecture, and guided the main track of its continental development from the time of Abbot Suger at least until the end of the reign of St. Louis.¹ In many European countries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, plans to undertake a prestigious building project often required hiring French architects, which, in many cases, meant the introduction of the new architectural style from the Île-de-France. Let us recall two famous examples—William of Sens, who in 1174 began to rebuild the destroyed eastern arm of Canterbury Cathedral,² and Étienne de Bonneuil, employed with a team of French masons in 1287 to carry out the construction of the principal Swedish cathedral, in Uppsala, begun about ten years earlier by another anonymous French master.³ Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Burkhard von Hall (d. 1300), chronicler of the monastery of St. Peter in Wimpfen im Tal in Swabia, used the term *opus francigenum* to describe the style and man-

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1. See, above all, Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, rev. by Paul Crossley (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000); Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, California Studies in the History of Art 20 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1983); Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich, 1130–1270* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985); and Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, Studies in Architecture 3 (London: Zwemmer, 1960); and idem, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, Studies in Architecture 12 (London: Zwemmer, 1965).

2. See, among others, Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London/Boston/Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 87–130; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004); and Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006).

3. Carl R. Ugglas, "Notes sur Étienne de Bonneuil et la colonie des sculpteurs français à la cathédrale d'Uppsala," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 63 (1913): 217–29; Rudolf Zeitler, "Die Baugeschichte des Doms zu Uppsala," in *Aspekte zur Kunstgeschichte von Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Karl Heinz Clasen zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Müller and Gudrun Hahn (Weimar: Böhlau, 1971), 359–85; Teresa Grace Frisch, *Gothic Art, 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 56–57; and Christian Lovén, "La neige, les briques et l'architecte français. La cathédrale d'Uppsala 1272–," in *Regards sur la France du Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Gunnel Engwall à l'occasion de son départ*

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ner of construction of his abbey's new church, erected by a "very experienced architect who had recently come from the city of Paris in France."⁴ As late as 1344, the year when Prague was elevated to the rank of archbishopric, the king of Bohemia, John of Luxembourg, and his son Charles relied on the competence of a Frenchman, Matthias of Arras, whom they hired—after meeting him at the papal court in Avignon—to build a great cathedral *à la française* on the Prague Castle Hill.⁵

In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the situation became radically different. By that time, France had lost its previous international authority as the leading center of Gothic church architecture.⁶ This role had been taken up by master masons from other European lands, most notably from the Holy Roman Empire, especially since the ascent of the famous Parler family, active in southern Germany and

Bohemia.⁷ The experience of German masters in constructing huge towers with openwork steeples, as well as their innovations in figurative vault design, brought them international recognition and esteem as the best architects and engineers in late medieval Europe.⁸ Most significant in this context is the case of the famous debate on the construction of Milan Cathedral, founded in 1386. Although the Milanese invited two French masters, Nicolas de Bonaventure (1389–90) and Jean Mignot (1399–1401), the Frenchmen were outnumbered in this dispute by German architects—Johann of Freiburg, Heinrich Parler of Ulm, and the highly regarded Ulrich von Ensingen.⁹

There were many reasons for this reorientation in later Gothic architecture on the Continent. The majority of the great cathedrals in France had been begun by the end of the thirteenth century, which—combined with a strong attachment of French church investors and architects to the principles of the Rayonnant style—did not leave much space for groundbreaking innovations in the field of sacred architecture aside from decoration and general stylistic appearance.¹⁰ Further-

à la retraite, ed. Olle Ferm, Per Förmegård, and Hugues Engel, *Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta Minora 18* (Stockholm: Centre d'études médiévales, 2009), 3–33.

4. Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 55–57. It is questionable, however, if the master of Wimpfen came to Swabia from Paris, as his design shows no direct knowledge of the fashionable architecture of the Parisian milieu of ca. 1250–70; see especially Peter Kurmann, "Opus francigenum. Überlegungen zur Rezeption französischer Vorbilder in der deutschen Architektur und Skulptur des 13. Jahrhunderts anhand des Beispiels von Wimpfen im Tal," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 32, nos. 3–4 (1981): 1–5; idem, "Erwin de Steinbach au service d'une réforme ecclésiastique? La collégiale Saint-Pierre de Wimpfen, ses antécédents lorrains et ses rapports avec la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 30 (2012): 41–60; and Marc Carel Schurr, *Gotische Architektur im mittleren Europa, 1220–1340. Von Metz bis Wien* (Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 165–73; and idem, "L'opus francigenum de Wimpfen im Tal. Transfert technologique ou artistique?" in *Les transferts artistiques dans l'Europe gothique. Repenser la circulation des artistes, des œuvres, des thèmes et des savoir-faire (XIIe–XVIe siècle)*, ed. Jacques Dubois, Jean-Marie Guillouët, and Benoît Van den Bossche (Paris: Picard, 2014), 45–55.

5. Pierre Héliot and Václav Mencl, "Mathieu d'Arras et les sources méridionales et nordiques de son œuvre à la cathédrale de Prague," in *La naissance et l'essor du gothique méridional au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 9, ed. Édouard Privat (Toulouse: Privat Éditeur, 1974), 103–25; Klára Benešová, "La postérité de Mathieu d'Arras dans le Royaume de Bohême," *Revue de l'art* 166, no. 4 (2009): 53–64; Milena Bartlová, "The Choir Triforium of Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond," in *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 32, ed. Zoë Opačić (Leeds: Maney, 2009), 81–100, at 95; and Yves Gallet, "Matthieu d'Arras et l'Alsace. Les relations architecturales entre les cathédrales de Strasbourg et Prague avant Peter Parler," *Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 30 (2012): 19–40.

6. Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 219.

7. See especially *Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350–1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern. Ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln*, exh. cat., ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1978); Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, trans. Scott Kleager (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000), 111–218; Marc Carel Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers. Der Prager Veitsdom, das Heiligschreinmünster in Schwäbisch Gmünd und die Bartholomäuskirche zu Kolin im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und Geschichte* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); and *Parlerbauten Architektur, Skulptur, Restaurierung. Internationales Parler-Symposium, Schwäbisch Gmünd, 17.–19. Juli 2001*, ed. Richard Strobel, Annette Siefert, and Klaus Jürgen Herrmann (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004).

8. See Norbert Nussbaum and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe. Eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999), 216–313; Nussbaum, *German Gothic*, 142–218; Robert Bork, *Great Spires: Skyscrapers of the New Jerusalem* (Cologne: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität zu Köln, 2003); and Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe, 1470–1540* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2012).

9. Frankl, *The Gothic*, 62–83; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 351–52; Paolo Sanvito, *Il tardogotico del duomo di Milano. Architettura e decorazione intorno all'anno 1400* (Münster/Hamburg/London: Lit, 2002); and Giulia Ceriani Sebregondi and Richard Schofield, "First Principles: Gabriele Stornaloco and Milan Cathedral," *Architectural History* 59 (2016): 63–122.

10. This does not mean that Late Gothic architecture in France features no structural and spatial experiments or departures from the tradition of the Rayonnant at all; for discussion of some of them, see Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530* (London/New York: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 248–57; Linda Elaine Neagley, "Elegant Simplicity: The Late Gothic Plan Design of St.-Maclou in Rouen," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 3 (1992): 395–422; Stephen Murray, "Flamboyant Style," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, vol. 11 (New York: Grove, 1996), 153–56; and Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 352.

more, the first signs of an economic downturn had already begun to appear in France before St. Louis died in 1270.¹¹ In the following century not only did fiscal problems quickly arise,¹² but soon the overall conditions for constructing monumental architecture deteriorated even more, caused by the calamities of the Hundred Years' War, troubling France in the years 1337–1453.¹³ As a result, conducting ambitious architectural projects in that period became much more troublesome. It is hard to resist the impression that slow, ongoing, interrupted work on many unfinished cathedrals and abbey churches accounts for the gradual decline of the importance of French architecture during that time, at least when we perceive it from the perspective of Gothic's "heroic" phase of about 1140–1270.¹⁴

11. Jean Favier, "Les finances de Saint Louis," in *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis. Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21–27 mai 1970)*, ed. Louis Carolus-Barré (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1976), 133–40.

12. Joseph R. Strayer, "Economic Conditions in Upper Normandy at the End of the Reign of Philip the Fair," in *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Édouard Perroy* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973), 283–96; idem, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 186–91, 420–23; Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, 459–64; and Jean Favier, "Philippe le Bel et ses fils," in *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*, exh. cat., Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17 mars–29 juin 1998, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998), 13–21.

13. For more recent research, see Robin Neillands, *The Hundred Years War*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1990); *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. Denise Nowakowski Baker (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years' War, 1337–1453* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002); *La France et les arts en 1400: les princes des fleurs de lis*, ed. Françoise Autrand et al. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004); and John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006).

14. See Lisa Schürenberg, *Die Kirchliche Baukunst in Frankreich zwischen 1270 und 1380* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1934); Christian Freigang, *Imitare ecclesias nobiles. Die Kathedralen von Narbonne, Toulouse und Rodez und die nordfranzösische Rayonnantgotik im Languedoc* (Worms: Wernersche, 1992); Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 248–57; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 216–58; Markus Schlicht, *La cathédrale de Rouen vers 1300. Un chantier majeur de la fin du Moyen Âge. Portail des Libraires, portail de la Calende, chapelle de la Vierge* (Caen: Société des antiquaires de Normandie, 2005); Peter Kurmann, "Architektur der Spätgotik in Frankreich und den Niederlanden," in *Gotik. Architektur–Skulptur–Malerei*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne: Ullmann & Könemann, 2007), 156–75; Michael T. Davis, "The Visual Logic of French Rayonnant Architecture," in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, *Architectura Medii Aevi* 1, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 17–28; Yves Gallet, "French Gothic, 1250–1350, and the Paradigm of Motet," in *ibid.*, 29–38; and idem, *La cathédrale d'Évreux et l'architecture gothique rayonnante, XIIIe–XIVe siècles* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2014), 307–31.

It is equally significant that by the second half of the fourteenth century most Western and Central European countries could already boast of many experienced architects and therefore of established local traditions of Gothic architecture, which quite markedly reduced the need to hire expensive master masons from abroad. Even when we hear about such cases in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they often concern the international careers of builders from the Holy Roman Empire, including the Netherlands. For instance, Gierlach of Cologne and Adam van Dürén worked on Linköping and Lund Cathedrals on the Scandinavian peninsula,¹⁵ while the well-regarded master from Cologne—Juan (Johann) de Colonia, followed by his Spanish-born son Simón—was famous in Spain for his spectacular work at Burgos Cathedral.¹⁶ Joosken of Utrecht, in turn, designed the south spire of León Cathedral.¹⁷

All the aforementioned factors caused French Late Gothic architecture, with its peculiar stylistic and structural features, to remain primarily a "local" phenomenon, limited geographically to Francophone lands, including the westernmost regions of the Holy Roman Empire—most notably Lorraine, Franche-Comté (County of Burgundy), and Savoy. Following the nineteenth-century historiographic tradition, this period of French architecture, beginning about 1380–90 and lasting well into the middle of the sixteenth century, is universally described in the literature with the conventional label Flamboyant, deriving from the "flaming" appearance of curvilinear window tracery, filled with a dynamic mesh of dagger-like motifs called *mouchettes* and *soufflets*, or *falchions*.¹⁸ Traditionally, many scholars, relying on the authoritative periodization of

15. Bengt Cnattingius, "Den sengotiska koret," in *Linköpings domkyrka*, vol. 1, *Kyrkobyggnaden*, Sveriges Kyrkor, Konsthistoriskt Inventarium 200 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987), 347–53; and Jan Svanberg, "Adam Van Duren. A German Stone Mason in Scandinavia in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art*, vol. 4, *Le Pays du Nord et l'Europe. Art et architecture au XVIe siècle: VIIe colloque international, Copenhague, 1–6 septembre 1975* (Copenhagen: Institute of Art History, 1976), 125–39.

16. See José Fernando González Romero, *El gótico alemán en España y la dinastía de los Colonias. La cristalización de las torres ca-ladas: Friburgo, Burgos y Oviedo* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2016); and Nicolás Menéndez González, *Studien zum empirischen Konstruieren Juan de Colonias (†1476/78). Form- und Herstellungswissen im Protostadium einer Ära des Architekturtraktats*, 2 vols., *Kölner Architekturstudien* 96 (Cologne: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität zu Köln, Abteilung Architekturgeschichte, 2017).

17. Bork, *Great Spires*, 344–45. Joosken (Josquin) may, however, have been born in Spain to Flemish immigrant parents.

18. For a general survey, see Robert de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique*. Ouvrage posthume, publié par les soins de Marcel Aubert, vol. 2 (Paris: Picard, 1927), 21–68; Roland Sanfaçon, *L'architecture flamboyante en France* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971); Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Ar-*

French medieval architecture, which is itself based on an archaeological typology of window masonry, used the term Flamboyant to describe Late Gothic buildings, especially those containing curvilinear flowing tracery, in various parts of the Continent.¹⁹ Such usage, however—as stressed recently by Ethan Matt Kavaler—is generally unsatisfactory.²⁰ First of all, various compositions of flame-like window tracery were common throughout late medieval Europe, and it should not be forgotten that such patterns in French Late Gothic were largely inspired by their English Decorated predecessors, which exhibited full-blown curvilinear design by about 1310.²¹ Secondly, the nineteenth-century archaeological periodization of Gothic architecture, although still convenient in general surveys, is in itself problematic.²² The introduction of new forms of window tracery was not always immediately followed by groundbreaking changes in the current architecture's stylistic properties. In the case of French Gothic, the first curvilinear tracery containing *mouchettes* and *soufflets* appeared around 1380 within frames of more traditional Rayonnant design, best exemplified by the Sainte-Chapelle at the royal château in Vincennes near Paris (Fig. 19).²³ Soon afterward, stylistic

changes in architectural composition, detailing, and ornament appeared in French architecture.²⁴ In the aggregate, these tendencies can be described as manifesting the general notion of “Late Gothic.”²⁵ In sum, the variety of long-established regional traditions in various parts of Europe, as well as both common and distinctive stylistic features of architecture from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century in most European

chitecture, 216–19, 231–33; and Kurmann, “Architektur der Spätgotik,” 156–75.

19. For instance, Jürgen Wiener, “Flamboyant in der italienischen Architektur,” in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang*, ed. Joachim Poeschke (Munich: Hirmer, 1993), 41–65; Amalia María Yuste Galán, “La introducción del arte flamígero en Castilla. Pedro Jalopa, maestro de los Luna,” *Archivo español de arte* 77, no. 307 (2004): 291–300. See also Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 122.

20. Cf. Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 115.

21. See Camille Enlart, “Origine anglaise du style flamboyant,” *Bulletin monumental* 70 (1906): 38–81; Anthyme Saint-Paul, “Les origines du gothique flamboyant en France,” *Bulletin monumental* 70 (1906): 483–510; de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse*, 33–68; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 216–17; Stephen Hart, *Medieval Church Window Tracery in England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 76–114; Philippe Plagnieux, “Les débuts de l'architecture flamboyante dans le milieu parisien,” in *La France et les arts en 1400: les princes des fleurs de lis*, ed. Autrand et al., 83–95; Kurmann, “Architektur der Spätgotik,” 171; and Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290–1350* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014), 245–79.

22. For exemplary discussions of this problem, see Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 319; Bruno Klein and Bruno Boerner, eds., *Stilfragen zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Reimer, 2006), especially Robert Suckale, “Stilgeschichte zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Probleme und Möglichkeiten,” 271–81.

23. Ulrike Heinrichs-Schreiber, *Vincennes und die höfische Skulptur. Die Bildhauerkunst in Paris, 1360–1420* (Berlin: Reimer, 1997), 28–44, 147–65; Odette Chapelot, Jean Chapelot, and Jean-Pascal Foucher, “Un chantier et son maître d'œuvre: Raymond Du Temple et la Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes en 1395–1396,” in *Du projet au chantier: maîtres d'ouvrage et maîtres d'œuvre aux XIVe–XVIe siècles*.

Actes du colloque organisé les 1er, 2 et 3 octobre 1998 à Vincennes, ed. Odette Chapelot (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2001), 433–88; Clémence Raynaud, “Guy de Dampmartin et la genèse du gothique flamboyant en France,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 50 (2002): 185–200; and Florian Meunier, “Parties flamboyantes de la Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes,” in *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI*, exh. cat., ed. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004), 82.

24. On the mature phase of the Flamboyant after the end of the Hundred Years' War, see Stephen Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987); Linda Elaine Neagley, “The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 4 (1988): 374–96; eadem, *Disciplined Exuberance: The Parish Church of Saint-Maclou and Late Gothic Architecture in Rouen* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 248–57; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 231–33; *Du gothique à la Renaissance: architecture et décor en France, 1470–1550. Actes du colloque de Viviers, 20–23 septembre 2001*, ed. Yves Esquieu (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2003); Agnès Bos, *Les églises flamboyantes de Paris, XVe–XVIe siècles* (Paris: Picard, 2003); Isabelle Isnard, *L'abbatiale de la Trinité de Vendôme* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007); Étienne Hamon, *Un chantier flamboyant et son rayonnement. Gisors et les églises du Vexin français*, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 834 (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2008); idem, *Une capitale flamboyante. La création monumentale à Paris autour de 1500* (Paris: Picard, 2011); *La Picardie flamboyante: arts et reconstruction entre 1450 et 1550. Actes du colloque tenu à Amiens, du 21 au 23 novembre 2012*, ed. Étienne Hamon, Dominique Paris-Poulain, and Julie Aycard (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015); and Florian Meunier, *Martin et Pierre Chambiges: architectes des cathédrales flamboyantes* (Paris: Picard, 2015).

25. The concept of Late Gothic in European architecture should be understood here traditionally as the last stylistically distinctive phase of its medieval development, starting in different countries at various moments during the fourteenth century; space does not allow for full treatment of this subject here. The best account of the notion of Late Gothic and its historiographic connotations remains Jan Białostocki, “Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 29, no. 1 (1966): 76–105. See also idem, *L'Art du XVe siècle des Parler à Dürer* (Paris: Éditions du Livre de Poche, 1993). For the discussions on architecture, see Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 189–91; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 187–260; Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*; and, most recently, Robert O. Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture: Its Evolution, Extinction, and Reception*, *Architectura Medii Aevi* 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

lands, lead to the conclusion that the label Flamboyant, if used at all, should remain limited to its traditional narrow sense and can serve only as a useful synonym for Late Gothic architectural creation in France from the end of the fourteenth century onward. Such geographic limitation is usually justified by the fact that French master masons of that period rarely found employment beyond their native artistic milieu.²⁶

Early Flamboyant Style Beyond France

Only a few isolated cases can be identified of late medieval French architects inflexibly applying the distinctive stylistic conventions of the Flamboyant outside their homeland, especially prior to the gradual revival of architectural activity in France after the end of the Hundred Years' War.²⁷ As observed by Paul Frankl, "All early works of the Flamboyant are small, and in most cases additions to older buildings,"²⁸ not to mention that few exist overall. Taken together, these factors have caused the early phase of Flamboyant architecture in France not to be fully treated in the historiography of medieval art to date.²⁹

Among the few French expatriate builders in fifteenth-century Europe, perhaps the best-known are those who found attractive employment opportunities in then-flourishing Spain, contributing to the rapid development of Late Gothic architecture on the Iberian Peninsula. These include Charles Gauter (Carles Galtés, mestre Carlí; 1378–1448) of Rouen, who worked on Barcelona, Lérida, and Seville Cathedrals;³⁰ Pierre (Pedro) Jalopa (born ca. 1386/91) and Jehan Isambart (born before

1399), active in the Kingdom of Aragon;³¹ and the renowned Jean (Juan) Guas (1430/33–96) of Saint-Pol-de-Léon in Bretagne, who was the master of works at the cathedral of Toledo beginning in 1471, and designed the famous Toledan church of San Juan de los Reyes in 1477.³²

Of great importance for our understanding of European Late Gothic, and of French Flamboyant architecture in particular, is the hitherto virtually unknown case of an anonymous French master mason active around 1416–30 far from France and Spain, in the wealthy town of Legnica (German *Liegnitz*), one of the principal ducal cities of Silesia,³³ a Polish region which after 1348 formed a part of the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia and thus of the Holy Roman Empire. The following discussion, devoted specifically to the reconstruction of his remarkably French architectural oeuvre in Legnica, relies on surviving archival records and careful stylistic analysis. In fact, the von der Heyde Chapel at Legnica's parish church of Saints Peter and Paul is the most important

26. Therefore, since the term Flamboyant is deeply rooted in international historiography, I will still use it for the purpose of my argument—but only conventionally as a traditional periodization device, bearing in mind that it should not obscure the diversified and heterogeneous historical reality standing behind it.

27. See the previous note.

28. Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 219.

29. Cf. Étienne Hamon, "L'architecture flamboyante en France aujourd'hui: entre fragile réhabilitation et promesses d'une vision synthétique," in *Architecture et sculpture gothiques: renouvellement des méthodes et des regards. Actes du IIe colloque international de Noyon, 19–20 juin 2009*, ed. Stéphanie Diane Daussy and Arnaud Timbert (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 47–63.

30. Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni José i Pitarch, *Història de l'art català*, vol. 3, *L'art gòtic, segles XIV–XV* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1984), 62; Joan Bassegoda i Nonell, "Mestre Carlí. Projecte per a la façana principal de la catedral de Barcelona," in *Thesaurus/estudis. L'Art als Bisbats de Catalunya, 1000–1800*, exh. cat., ed. Jaume Barchina Navarro (Barcelona: Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1986), 172–73; and Àngel Fàbrega i Grau, "Mestre Carlí (Carles Galtés de Ruan). Projecte del Portal Major de la Catedral de Barcelona," in *Millenium: història i art de l'església catalana. Edifici de la Pia Almoïna, Saló del Tinell, Capella de Santa Àgata. Barcelona, del 3 de maig al 25 de juny de 1989* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1989), 407.

31. Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jesús Criado Mainar, "El maestro Isambart en Aragón: la capilla de los Corporales de Daroca y sus intervenciones en la catedral de la Seo de Zaragoza," in *La piedra postrera. V Centenario de la conclusión de la Catedral de Sevilla*, ed. Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Seville: Tvrris Fortissima, 2007), 75–113; Javier Ibáñez Fernández, "Seguendo il corso del sole: Isambart, Pedro Jalopa e il rinnovamento dell'ultimo Gotico nella penisola iberica durante la prima metà del XV secolo," *Lexicon: Storia e architettura in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo* 13 (2011): 27–44; idem, *La capilla del palacio arzobispal de Zaragoza en el contexto de la renovación del Gótico final en la Península Ibérica*, Papeles del Mudiz 2 (Saragossa: Museo Diocesano de Zaragoza, 2012); and idem, "The Northern Roots of Late Gothic Renovation in the Iberian Peninsula," in *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Konrad Ottenheim (Mantua: Il Rio Arte, 2014), 15–27.

32. José María Azcárate y Ristori, "La obra toledana de Juan Guas," *Archivo Español de Arte* 29, no. 113 (1956): 9–42; Sergio Sanabria, "A Late Gothic Drawing of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo at the Prado Museum in Madrid," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51, no. 2 (1992): 161–73; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 239–40; María López Díez, "Juan Guas en la catedral de Segovia," *Archivo Español de Arte* 79, no. 315 (2006): 299–306; José Carlos Palacios, "Les voûtes en croisée d'ogives chez Juan Guas," in *Édifice et artifice. Histories constructives. Recueil de textes issus du premier Congrès francophone d'histoire de la construction, Paris, 19–21 juin 2008*, ed. Robert Carvais et al. (Paris: Picard, 2010), 691–98; and Miguel Sobrino González, Pedro P. Pérez, and Elena Saúco, "La portada occidental de la catedral de Ávila. Novedades acerca de la primera 'obra maestra' de Juan Guas," in *1514: arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada*, ed. Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), 525–37.

33. On the history of Legnica, see Theodor Schönborn, ed., *Liegnitz: 700 Jahre. Eine Stadt deutschen Rechts* (Breslau: Bauverlag "NS" Schlesien, 1942); and especially Antoni Czacharowski, ed., *Legnica. Atlas historyczny miast polskich* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2009).

surviving work of the aforementioned French master mason. It constitutes a unique example of mature Flamboyant design from the early phase of the Flamboyant style, and some aspects of the chapel predate the analogous structures built in France. The professional activity of this French master in Legnica is all the more surprising as Silesia (and Poland in general) is not counted among the lands that cultivated direct artistic contact with France during the Gothic period, even though it was wealthy, multicultural, and extremely well-connected, especially in the fourteenth century.³⁴ Indeed, no other medieval French master worked in this particular region of Central Europe,³⁵ despite the fact that it could boast a flourishing town culture, cultivated by German-speaking burghers, local nobility of mostly Polish descent, and the ruling Piast dynasty, related directly to Polish, Bohemian, and German kings and dukes.³⁶

The Master of Louis II

Our knowledge of the architectural activity of the master in question is based solely on two archival records, and the monuments themselves. His journey to Silesia proved to be a “side effect” of a great escapade of the whimsical and extravagant duke of Legnica, Louis II of the Piast dynasty (ca. 1385–

34. For a recent survey of thirteenth–fifteenth century Gothic architecture in Silesia and its international connections, reaching the southwestern lands of the German Empire, see Jakub Adamski, *Gotycka architektura sakralna na Śląsku w latach, 1200–1420*. Główne kierunki rozwoju (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2017). See also idem, “Entre Strasbourg et Bratislavie. Sur les origines alsaciennes de la ‘nouvelle’ architecture en Silésie en XIVe siècle,” *Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 31 (2014): 15–52; and idem, “Böhmische Einflüsse in der schlesischen Kirchenbaukunst des mittleren 14. Jahrhunderts. Der Fall Schweidnitz und Striegau,” *Umění/Art* 65, no. 4 (2017): 330–46.

35. Nevertheless, two isolated cases of French architects who were hired in fourteenth-century Bohemia, which borders Silesia from the south, should be remembered. Of the two, certainly the more renowned was Matthew of Arras, who, in 1344, began the construction of Prague Cathedral (see note 5 above), although by the 1330s, upon returning from Avignon to Bohemia, the bishop of Prague, John of Dražice, had already employed a team of French builders led by Master William to execute some major architectural undertakings at his castle in Dražice and in the town of Roudnice on the Elbe; see Václav Mendl, “Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic v dějinách české architektury,” *Umění* 13, no. 1 (1940–41): 101–22; and Klára Benešová, “Hlava druhá, 1310–1420,” in *Velké dějiny země Koruny české. Tematická řada. Architektura*, ed. Peter Kratochvíl et al. (Litomyšl/Prague: Artefactum, 2009), 125–31.

36. On the history of medieval Silesia, see, among others, Otfried Pustejovsky, “Schlesien und Polen—Ausgleich und Gleichgewicht,” in *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, exh. cat., ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 173–82; and *Geschichte Schlesiens*, vol. 1, *Von der Urzeit bis zum Jahre 1526*, ed. Ludwig Petry, Josef Joachim Menzel, and Winfried Irgang (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000).

1436), who in 1414–18 traveled all over Europe and England in the retinue of the king of Germany and Hungary, Sigismund of Luxembourg.³⁷ In a letter dated 25 March 1416 in St.-Denis near Paris, before he left for England, Louis informed the town council of Legnica that he was sending a master mason there in order to execute work on the crowning cornice (*zemys*) of the ducal castle’s tower (*senden wir euch eyn steynmeczzen czu dem torme*) with a certain amount of money (*hundirt cron*) and some ready designs (*entworffen, wie vnser meynunge ist, das der torm vfkomen sulle*).³⁸ The duke asked the burgomaster and the councilmen to provide accommodation in Legnica for the French architect, as well as supplying him with all the necessary stone, transport, and workers. The ducal master carpenter Reweschener was specifically asked to cooperate with the Frenchman, who, unfortunately, was not mentioned by name in the letter. A second letter of Louis II, sent on the same day to the burgrave of Legnica Castle, Alcenaw (Alzenau), and containing similar information, likewise omits the architect’s name and does not specify when and where the duke met him.³⁹ Henceforth, I will call him “the Master of Louis II.”

There are no further extant written sources confirming that the master mason arrived in 1416 in Legnica, but the preserved crown of the huge main (or St. Peter’s) tower of the ducal castle (Fig. 1) proves that the work was carried out according to the original wish of the impetuous duke. Louis stated that he wanted to have the cornice installed on the tower the very same summer (*das der zemys yo desin somyr vf komen mochte*).⁴⁰ This particular demand, however, might have been unrealistic—initial work on the upper part of the tower had be-

37. About the duke, see Franciszek Szafranski, *Ludwik II brzesko-legnicki feudal śląski z doby późnego średniowiecza*, Monografie śląskie Ossolineum 22 (Wrocław et al.: Ossolineum, 1972); Romuald Kaczmarek, “Kartuzja legnicka. Podłoże kulturowe fundacji i problematyka artystyczna,” in *Wielkopolska—Polska—Europa. Studia dedykowanie pamięci Alicji Karłowskiej-Kamzowej*, ed. Jacek Wiesiołowski and Jacek Kowalski (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2006), 213–27; and Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy* (Cracow: Avalon, 2007), 196–97.

38. All quotations after Friedrich Wilhelm Schirrmacher, ed., *Urkunden-Buch der Stadt Liegnitz und ihres Weichbildes bis zum Jahre 1455* (Legnica: Krumbhaar, 1866), 305–6 (document no. 488). See also Appendix 1.

39. *Ibid.*, 306–7 (document no. 489). See also Appendix 2.

40. Quotation after *ibid.*, 307 (document no. 488). See also Hans Lutsch, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, vol. 3, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Landkreise des Reg.-Bezirks Liegnitz* (Wrocław: Korn, 1891), 230; Jacek Witkowski, “Zamek legnicki w średniowieczu,” in *Kultura artystyczna dawnej Legnicy*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1991), 27–40, at 35; and Jerzy Rozpędowski, “Zamek w Legnicy,” in Czacharowski, ed., *Legnica. Atlas*, 33–41, at 38.



Figure 1. Legnica, ducal castle, upper part of St. Peter's tower, after 1416 (photo: author). See the electronic edition of *Gesta* for color versions of most images.

gun only one year earlier,⁴¹ and the architect's journey from St.-Denis to Legnica must have taken at least a dozen or so weeks. This means that the Master of Louis II probably arrived in Silesia in the middle of construction season, which lasted until the feast of St. Gall (16 October).⁴² No doubt the execution of the huge, richly molded sandstone cornice and openwork tracery balustrade of the tower's octagon took much time and effort, particularly since the first months of the Frenchman's professional activity in an unfamiliar cultural and artistic milieu could have been difficult.

In this first commission in Legnica, the Master of Louis II unequivocally demonstrated his French origin and considerable design skills. Even though the walls of the upper story of the tower were constructed mostly in brick, thus harmonizing with the rest of the much older, early thirteenth-century castle, the high and strongly protruding cornice, as well as the counterpointed chain of rotating *mouchette* wheels in

the tracery parapet at the top, bestow a distinctively French flavor on the tower's crown. In this respect, it has no stylistic counterpart in all of Central Europe.⁴³ The protuberance of the cornice and the fluid sequence of its rolls, hollows, and chamfers originate in the opulent plastic moldings serving as consoles for the corner turrets, oriels, and passageways of countless castles and residences erected in France from the time of Charles V, starting with the donjons of the châteaux of Vincennes (ca. 1360–70) and Septmonts (ca. 1360–70), and the Louvre (ca. 1364–80).⁴⁴ Such decorative treatment of purely

43. The tracery design of the balustrade of Legnica's St. Peter's tower may be reminiscent of, among others, the parapets crowning the subsequent stories of the west facade of Strasbourg Minster, finished by 1365; see Schurr, *Gotische Architektur*, 360–61; and Jean-Sébastien Sauvé, *Notre-Dame de Strasbourg. Les façades gothiques* (Korb: Didymos, 2012), 268–69.

44. Jean Mesqui, *Île-de-France gothique*, vol. 2, *Les demeures seigneuriales*, Les Monuments de la France gothique (Paris: Picard, 1988), 262–68, 300–304, 332–61; and Jean Chapelot, "Charles V maître d'ouvrage: à propos de la construction du donjon de Vincennes et de quelques chantiers contemporains," in *Du projet au chantier*, 339–403.

41. Lutsch, *Verzeichnis*, 230.

42. Günther Binding, *Baubetrieb im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), 137.

structural elements shaped like a big corbel or protruding cornice remained a peculiar feature of Late Gothic civic architecture in northern France until the very end of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵

There are many reasons to believe that the other, lower tower of the ducal castle in Legnica, named after St. Hedwig, patron saint of the Silesian ruling dynasty, was also remodeled by the Master of Louis II (Fig. 2). This likely took place around 1420, after he had finished work on the tower of St. Peter.⁴⁶ The St. Hedwig tower's cylindrical base was crowned with a crenellated platform supported with richly molded consoles; a new upper story in the form of a slender octagon with a pyramidal roof was also constructed. The silhouette of the tower's upper half, with its strong accent provided by the cylindrical terrace and the dense placement of its corbels, again stems directly from French castle architecture, and recalls the most famous examples of the Louvre of Charles V and the château in Pierrefonds (1396–1407) of Louis I d'Orléans.⁴⁷ That the reconstruction of the tower of St. Hedwig in Legnica was commissioned by Duke Louis II and executed by his French architect finds additional corroboration in the fact that the ruler expressed to the burgrave his wish to have “the old house of St. Hedwig” at the castle—its oldest residential section from the early thirteenth century—remodeled and refurbished (*das alde haws sinte Hedwigen wedir bawen sullen*).⁴⁸ This was probably a part of the duke's broader plan to reinforce the dynastic character of the cult of Hedwig, his venerated ancestor and the holy grandmother of the Silesian Piasts.⁴⁹



Figure 2. Legnica, ducal castle, general view from the south with St. Hedwig's tower in the foreground (photo: author).

Among the few surviving early fifteenth-century works in Legnica, certainly the one of greatest interest to scholars of the Gothic is a side chapel of the von der Heyde family at the town's main parish church of Saints Peter and Paul. This brilliant oratory can be attributed to the Master of Louis II on numerous stylistic grounds. Square in plan, it is adjacent to the second western bay of the south aisle of this spacious pseudo-basilica, which was finished around 1390.⁵⁰ The chapel is significantly lower than the other side annexes of the church, between which it was inserted (Fig. 3). Most likely this was a deliberate choice by the architect and his commissioners, who wished to accentuate the most precious element of the oratory—its magnificent stellar vault with a hanging boss, which was thus easily perceptible from the floor (Figs. 4–7).

The chapel's ceiling, which is quite flat as its section is based on a depressed (four-centered) arch, was designed in a most sophisticated manner and masterfully executed in sandstone. The vault's forceful, yet sublime, aesthetic impact relies on two devices that were equally structural and stylistic. First, the diagonals, formerets, and the entrance arcade are decorated with openwork tracery “combs” consisting of semicircular cusped arches with drilled foliate endings, which bestow an impression of decorativeness and precious fragility on the structure. Second, the diagonal and lierne ribs converging in the

45. See Mesqui, *Île-de-France*, passim; Florian Meunier, “Le renouveau de l'architecture civile sous Charles V, de Bicêtre à l'hôtel de Bourbon,” in *La création artistique en France autour de 1400. Actes du colloque international*, ed. Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, Rencontres de l'École du Louvre 19 (Paris: École du Louvre, 2006), 219–46; and Hamon, *Une capitale*, 132–55, esp. 151–52.

46. Lutsch, *Verzeichnis*, 230; and Rozpędowski, “Zamek w Legnicy,” 38.

47. Jean Mesqui and Claude Ribéra-Pervillé, “Les châteaux de Louis d'Orléans et leurs architectes (1391–1407),” *Bulletin monumental* 138, no. 1 (1980): 293–345; Mesqui, *Île-de-France*, 281–93; idem, “Le château de Pierrefonds. Une nouvelle vision du monument,” *Bulletin monumental* 166, no. 3 (2008): 197–245; and Arnaud Alexandre, “Château de Pierrefonds,” in *Paris 1400*, ed. Taburet-Delahaye, 131.

48. See Appendix 2.

49. See Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski, “Reliquien und Reliquiare. Ausprägungen des Hedwigs-Kultes,” in *Heilige und Heiligenverehrung in Schlesien. Verhandlungen des IX. Symposiums in Würzburg vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1991*, ed. Joachim Köhler and Gundolf Keil (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), 147–70; Ewald Walter, “Anmerkungen zu Leben und Verehrung der hl. Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien,” in *Heilige und Heiligenverehrung*, 69–112; and Jacqueline E. Jung, “The Boots of Saint Hedwig: Thoughts on the Lim-

its of the Agency of Things,” in *The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art: Materials, Power and Manipulation*, ed. Grażyna Jurkowlanec, Ika Matyjaszkiewicz, and Zuzanna Sarnecka (New York/London: Routledge, 2018), 173–96.

50. Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, 489–99.



Figure 3. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, view from the south with Popplau, von der Heyde, and Schobircza Chapels (from left to right), 1420s (photo: author).

middle point of the vault form a stalactite-like overhang with a low-hanging foliate boss of openwork form. Compositional priority is given to the diagonals not only by means of their tracery decoration, but also by the clearly secondary treatment of tiercerons and liernes, which are comparatively slender and seemingly disappear between the hanging sections of the diagonals (Figs. 6–7). The triangular fields of the vault are not neglected, however: crossing points of the subordinated tri-radials are hidden under magnificent openwork bosses, consisting of rosettes embraced with triple ogee arches adorned with small, riddled leaves.

The opening arcade and the window tracery underscore the opulence and the sophistication of the chapel's architecture. The former, broad and richly molded, contains a stripe filled with naturalistic sculptural decoration in the form of grapevines, while the keystone of the arcade arch is emphasized from outside of the chapel by the small half-figure of an angel supporting an escutcheon bearing the painted arms of the Duchy of Silesia (and simultaneously of the dukes of Legnica). In the corresponding location on the opposite side of the arcade is a second shield featuring the arms of the orig-

inal owners of the oratory (Figs. 5, 7). The entire span of the chapel's external wall is occupied by a window framed with broad, molded jambs, crowned with a depressed arch and filled with a five-light reticulated tracery, consisting of a regular sequence of *soufflets* with inscribed rounded and ogee lobes (Fig. 8A).⁵¹

51. Unfortunately, the chapel's original interior furnishings are not preserved. Even worse, the intimate character of its interior was wretchedly altered—in fact, destroyed—during the invasive Neogothic “restoration” which the church underwent in 1892–94 using plans by the architect Johannes Otzen from Berlin. In that campaign, the majority of the side chapels were divided into two stories by the insertion of solid galleries with balconies reaching into the aisles. In the case of the von der Heyde Chapel this was impossible due to the limited height of the interior; instead, an obtrusive staircase leading to the gallery level was inserted in the chapel's east end, which required drilling a passageway in the solid east wall. See Ferdinand Bahlow, “Der große Umbau 1892–1894,” in *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz. Pastorenbilder aus vier Jahrhunderten*, ed. Ferdinand Bahlow, Otto Rudnick, and Franz Pfeiffer (Lorch im Württemberg: Weber, 1972), 147–54.



Figure 4. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, von der Heyde Chapel, 1420s, seen from the south aisle (photo: author).

The authorship of the von der Heyde Chapel is not attested by any preserved written sources. Yet, it was already clear to Hans Lutsch, a nineteenth-century conservator and catalogue of Silesian monuments, that such an astounding piece of architecture, so entirely different from any other Late Gothic building in Central Europe, and clearly distinct from the local artistic tradition, must have been designed and executed by a master mason from abroad—obviously identical with the Frenchman who was sent to Legnica in 1416.⁵² In this context,

52. Lutsch, *Verzeichnis*, 210. Lutsch's assertion was accepted by various Polish authors, but no one has tried to analyze this question in depth; cf. Mieczysław Zlat, "Sztuki śląskiej drogi od gotyku," in *Późny gotyk. Studia nad sztuką przełomu, średniowiecza i czasów*

it is instructive to compare the daring vault of the von der Heyde oratory to the internal covering of the Holy Trinity Chapel (now St. Anne's; Fig. 9), erected probably in the 1390s for the wealthy canon Johannes Schwarze at the cathedral of Wrocław (German *Breslau*),⁵³ the capital of Silesia. Both structures share obvious similarities, which, to a great extent, result from the general tendencies of Late Gothic design throughout continental Europe and England; both feature a four-armed stellar pattern, hanging bosses, and openwork tracery "combs" on the ribs. It is possible that the designer of the Legnica vault knew the slightly older oratory at the principal church of the Silesian capital, located only some 40 miles to the east of Legnica. In the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Holy Trinity Chapel in Wrocław could boast of perhaps the most ambitious and innovative rib vault in all of Silesia, and thus was of interest to a wide range of local and foreign architects. Yet, upon closer examination, the differences between both structures are hard to overlook and point to the completely different origins of their architects. The Wrocław vault, designed by an anonymous master mason educated most probably in the cathedral workshop of Peter Parler in Prague, exhibits a far greater degree of sloping in its pointed cross-section, which causes the central boss to hang much lower. The rib tracery in Wrocław, more prominent than that in Legnica, is finished exclusively with conventional fleurs-de-lys, a favorite motif of fashionable Parlerian architecture, used for finishing cusped arches and tracery "combs." Furthermore, in Wrocław the circular bosses are solid, following the local tradition.⁵⁴

nowych, *Materiały Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 141–226, at 211–14; Małgorzata Niemczyk, "Kaplice mieszczańskie na Śląsku w okresie późnego gotyku," *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej* 13 (1983): 9–66, at 36–38; Romuald Kaczmarek, "Gotycka rzeźba w Legnicy," in *Kultura artystyczna*, ed. Harasimowicz, 41–54, at 52; idem, "Sztuka w księstwach śląskich a sztuka w Czechach i mecenat luksemburski. Między trudnym sąsiedztwem a pełną akceptacją?," in *Śląsk. Perła w Koronie Czeskiej. Historia–kultura–sztuka*, ed. Mateusz Kapustka et al. (Prague/Legnica: Národní Galerie v Praze, 2007), 115–46, at 145–46; Bogusław Czechowicz, *Książęcy mecenat artystyczny na Śląsku u schyłku średniowiecza* (Warsaw: DiG, 2005), 165–67; and Agata Rusnak-Kozłowska, "Między sacrum a profanum. O gotyckich kaplicach przy kościele św. św. Piotra i Pawła w Legnicy słów kilka," in *Katedra, ratusz, dwór. Wielkie miasta a władza świecka i kościelna w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy, materiały XXXIII Seminarium Mediewistycznego im. Alicji Karłowskiej-Kamzowej, 29 listopada–1 grudnia 2012 w Poznaniu*, ed. Jacek Kowalski and Tomasz Ratajczak (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2014), 335–57, at 341–48. Surprisingly enough, Zlat and Rusnak-Kozłowska believed that the von der Heyde Chapel represents forms of English Gothic because it features depressed ("Tudor") arches.

53. See Adamski, *Gotycka architektura*, 653–55.

54. See Romuald Kaczmarek, *Rzeźba architektoniczna XIV wieku we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999).



Figure 5. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, vault of the von der Heyde Chapel, 1420s (photo: author).

The von der Heyde Chapel features no motifs of purely Central European origin. Comparative analysis of the building's design and sandstone detailing reveals an unmistakably Western European origin, belonging to the stylistic world of the early phase of Flamboyant architecture. Comparisons between the elaborate vault of the Legnica oratory and those in the chapels of Jacques Coeur in his palace and at the cathedral of Bourges (both ca. 1445–51, master Colin Le Picart; Fig. 10),⁵⁵ and in two side annexes at the cathedral of Nevers

(mid-fifteenth century; Fig. 11) speak for themselves.⁵⁶ Legnica's vault shares with the Bourges examples the less pointed vaulting shells, peculiar foliate rosettes, and drilled leaves on the rib tracery, and similar treatment of "vanishing" liernes or ridge ribs in the hanging middle parts of the vaults. Equally significant is the immense popularity of fragile open-work bosses consisting of ogees and other tracery motifs, which remained one of the most widely disseminated inventions of Flamboyant architecture.⁵⁷ In addition, the thin rolls in the external window moldings and the tracery mullions of the von der Heyde Chapel are based on polygonal plinths

55. Jean Favière, *L'hôtel de Jacques Coeur à Bourges* (Paris: Picard, 1992); Georges Buisson, *Le palais Jacques-Coeur* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2011); and Philippe Lorentz, "Out with the New and In with the Old. Jacques Coeur's Annunciation Window and Its Reception in Bourges Cathedral," in *Arts of the Medieval Cathedrals: Studies on Architecture, Stained Glass and Sculpture in Honor of Anne Prache*, ed. Kathleen Nolan and Dany Sandron (New York: Routledge, 2015), 135–49, at 139–40.

56. Louis Serbat, "Nevers," *Congrès archéologique de France. LXXXe session, 1913: à Moulins et à Nevers* (Paris/Caen: Picard and Delesque, 1916), 300–373, at 321, 327–28.

57. Neagley, *Disciplined Exuberance*, 82–83; Norbert Nussbaum and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe. Eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 288–92; and Bos, *Les églises flamboyantes*, 111–13.



Figure 6. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, detail of the vault of the von der Heyde Chapel, 1420s (photo: author).

characterized by their bulged section (Fig. 12). Such treatment of detail is otherwise unknown in Gothic architecture in Central Europe; in France, however, this type of plinth (*plinthe renflée*) remained a “compulsory” element of virtually every architectural design from the last quarter of the thirteenth century until the very end of Middle Ages.⁵⁸ These observations lead inevitably to the conclusion that the von der Heyde Chapel in Legnica must have been designed by a master mason from France. Now, taking into account the peculiar historical context of its construction, namely, that Silesia was not counted in the Middle Ages among the lands frequented by French artists, a rhetorical question seems justified: who else could have been responsible for designing this oratory if not the Master of Louis II, sent to Legnica in 1416?

In this context, it is crucial to determine the chapel’s dating; fortunately, this is quite easy to do. There are no pre-

58. See Schlicht, *La Cathédrale de Rouen*, 48–49, 130–32.



Figure 7. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, detail of the vault of the von der Heyde Chapel, 1420s (photo: author).

served archival records concerning this particular annex of the church, except for a notice from 1875 that at that time it still contained a shattered tombstone naming Paul von der Heyde (died 1446) as the founder of this shrine.⁵⁹ Luckily enough, the surviving written sources offer dates for the adjacent taller chapels, whose walls served as frames for the subsequent insertion of the von der Heyde oratory. The one to the east, the broadest and tallest of those on the south aisle, was founded and constructed in 1420 by the patrician Francis Schobircza, as recorded in a contemporaneous commemorative plaque placed inside on the chapel’s west wall.⁶⁰ The westernmost oratory, in turn, was constructed before 1428, the year in which its founder Nicolas Popplau died, as we are informed by an inscription once found on his now-lost tombstone inside the chapel.⁶¹ This means that the oratory of Paul von der Heyde, posterior to the Schobircza and Popplau Chapels, must have been constructed after 1420, and after the Popplau Chapel was finished, some time before 1428. I believe that it occurred around 1430 at the latest, but probably still in the 1420s.

59. Hermann Luchs, “Liegnitz,” *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift. Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Museum schlesischer Altertümer* 2 (1875): 138–46, at 143. See also Heinrich Ziegler, *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz nach ihrer Geschichte und nach ihrem heutigen Bestande. Ein Festgruß an die Gemeinde zur Feier des 500 jährigen Bestehens ihres Gotteshauses* (Legnica: Krumbhaar, 1878), 27, 180.

60. “Ista capella est fundata et edificata p[er] honestu[m] viru[m] Fra[n]ciscu[m] Schobircza[m], civem legnicense[m] a[nn]o d[omi]ni m’ cccc’ xx” [author’s transcription]. See also Ziegler, *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz*, 179.

61. “A[nn]o D[omi]n[i] MCCCCXXVIII nona die Oct[obris] obit honestus vir Nicol[aus] Popplaw, civis legnicensis, fundator huius capelle.” Quotation after Ziegler, *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz*, 180.

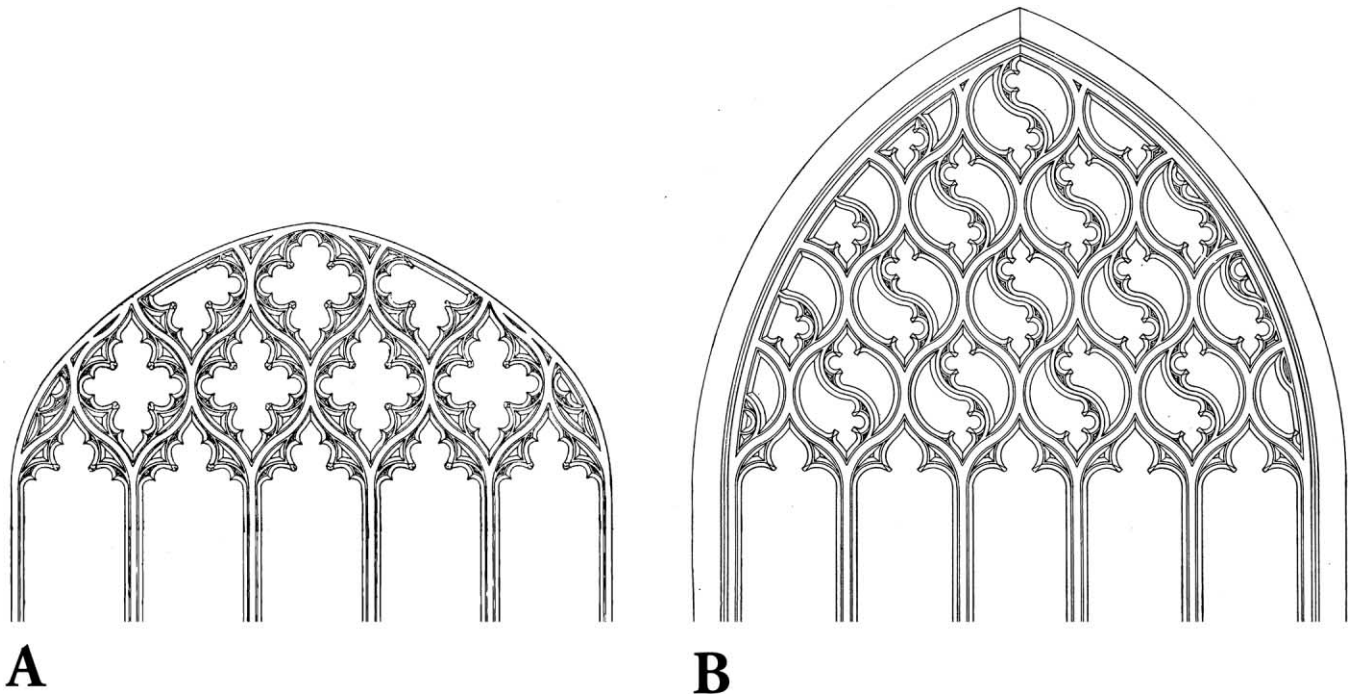


Figure 8. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, window traceries of the von der Heyde (A) and Popplau (B) Chapels, 1420s (drawings after Hans Lutsch, *Bilderwerk Schlesischer Kunstdenkmäler* [Breslau: Kuratorium des Schlesischen Museums der Bildenden Künste, 1903], pl. 39).

The window of the Popplau oratory features magnificent reticulated tracery with four rows of identical *mouchettes* (Figs. 3, 8B). Such a design—again—is unknown to the local tradition of Central European architecture, and thus is easily recognizable as the next work of the French master. This attribution is further corroborated by the very flattened profile of the chapel’s stellar vault (another feature not usually found in Late Gothic architecture in this part of the Continent), as well as by its central boss in the form of a stylized rosette and the bulged plinths of the tracery mullions, identical to those in the von der Heyde oratory. Furthermore, the latter has an almost literal counterpart on the north side of the church—the Holy Trinity Chapel, which once possessed an inscription reading that it was founded by Paul Thamme and consecrated in 1426, the year in which he died.⁶² This oratory is not only equal in height to the von der Heyde Chapel, being much lower than the remaining north annexes of the building, but also features an almost flat stellar vault and identical reticulated tracery with *soufflets* and bulged plinths (Fig. 13). This architectural design and the secure dating allow us to identify the Thamme

62. “Anno Dom[ini] 1426 fer[ia] IV post fest[um] Epiphanie obiit honestus vir Paulus Tamme, civis legnicensis, fundator hujus capelle et altaris et consecrate in honore sancte et individue Trinitatis.” Quotation after Ziegler, *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz*, 180.

oratory as the third work of the Master of Louis II at the parish church of Saints Peter and Paul.

All three chapels were commissioned in the early 1420s by the wealthiest and most influential patrician families of Legnica and of all Silesia—von der Heyde, Popplau, and Thamme,⁶³ apparently after the French master mason had finished working for the duke. That the aforementioned clans must have succeeded in acquiring this architect for their services comes as no surprise—Louis II maintained good relations and cooperation with the town council, evidenced by the friendly tone of the letter sent from St.-Denis in 1416.⁶⁴ Among the patrician elites of Legnica, Paul von der Heyde occupied a special position, maintaining close ties with the court of Louis II and serving, for instance, as a testator of the duke’s documents.⁶⁵ Now it becomes understandable why the chapel’s arcade features an angel supporting the arms of the duchy, and

63. See Ziegler, *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz*, 25–27, 179–81; Ludwig Petry, *Die Popplau. Eine schlesische Kaufmannsfamilie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wrocław: Marcus, 1935); Oskar Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter in der Zeit von 1241 bis 1741*, 5 vols. (Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1986–91), 2:224–29, 3:252–70, 4:297–99; and Rusnak-Kozłowska, “Między sacrum a profanum.”

64. See Appendix 1.

65. Schirrmacher, ed., *Urkunden-Buch*, 326 (document no. 524).



Figure 9. Wrocław Cathedral, vault of the Holy Trinity Chapel, 1390s (photo: author).

of the duke himself (Fig. 5). Therefore, we may conclude that Paul von der Heyde erected a splendid private oratory at the town's main parish church, masterfully designed by a foreign master who once worked for the ruling dynasty, to serve as the most striking visual representation of his ambitions and his supreme position among the burghers of Legnica.

The French Roots of the Legnica Chapel

The wealthy founder of the chapel in question most probably wished to construct an unrivaled shrine, outshining all the private patrician oratories in the town. By engaging a master mason from abroad, he was guaranteed success. Yet, von der Heyde was certainly not aware that he had managed to employ one of the most talented French architects of his generation, a man who was in some respects ahead of his time. It must be emphasized that in France there is no such early instance of a tierceron vault with tracery ribs and a low-hanging boss. Comparable surviving examples all came later—the aforementioned chapel of Jacques Coeur at Bourges Cathedral is perhaps the oldest among them. Before leaving France in 1416, however, the Master of Louis II had opportunities to encounter the most accomplished examples of the early phase of Flamboyant architecture from the circle of princely and aristocratic patronage. An examination of the likely stylistic sources of the Legnica Chapel will prove that such advanced design *was* possible in the 1420s, although only for the most skillful and best-educated French master masons of that time.

The stellar vault with tiercerons and liernes belonged to the earliest and most widely disseminated patterns of decorative rib designs in French Gothic church architecture. After the first monumental realization in the crossing bay of Am-



Figure 10. Bourges Cathedral, vault of the chapel of Jacques Coeur, 1445–51 (photo: author).

iens Cathedral (before 1264), it was soon imitated, most commonly with continuous ridge ribs—as in the parish church of Notre-Dame in Chambly (Oise; ca. 1270–80).⁶⁶ In the early fifteenth century, tierceron vaults were widespread in France. Stellar forms remained the most popular type of rib coverings in rectangular interiors, especially side church chapels.⁶⁷ Worth mentioning in this context are two oratories of an influential cardinal, Jean de la Grange, constructed around 1375–77 in the north aisle of the cathedral in Amiens, which feature four-arm stellar vaults and one of the earliest Flamboyant window traceries with various combinations of *mouchettes* (Fig. 14).⁶⁸

Equally important is the fact that depressed arches (either three- or four-centered), customarily associated with the Perpendicular Style in England, were by no means uncommon in France. Lintels with similarly low shapes, for instance, were used in two side portals and “royal” niches of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (1241–48).⁶⁹ A more pointed version of such an arch features in a doorway of the treasury at the choir of the cathedral in Clermont-Ferrand (after 1248),⁷⁰ which heralds

66. Maryse Bideault and Claudine Lautier, *Île-de-France gothique*, vol. 1, *Les églises de la vallée de l'Oise et du Beauvaisis*, Les Monuments de la France gothique (Paris: Picard, 1987), 136–44.

67. See Nussbaum and Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe*, 274–82.

68. Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 217–19; Marcel Grandjean, “La Chapelle des Macchabées à Genève (1397–1405), le maître d’œuvre Colin Thomas et les débuts de l’architecture gothique flamboyante,” *Genava* 52 (2004): 3–46, at 23–24.

69. Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 79–82.

70. Michael T. Davis, “The Choir of the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand: The Beginning of Construction and the Work of Jean Deschamps,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40, no. 3 (1981): 181–202; and Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, 458.

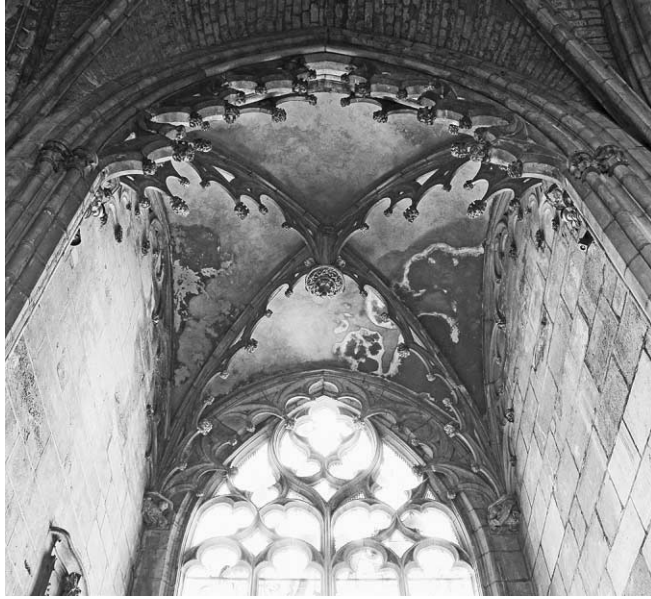


Figure 11. Nevers Cathedral, vault of a chapel in the choir ambulatory, mid-fifteenth century (photo: author).

the cross-section of the vaults and window arches of the von der Heyde and Thamme Chapels in Legnica.

The same can be said about the hanging bosses. It is significant that the earliest French example of such a daring form predates the celebrated vaults of Peter Parler in the sacristy of Prague Cathedral (soon after 1356), which provided the foremost model for later vaults of this type in Central Europe, for instance, the one in Holy Trinity Chapel at Wrocław Cathedral.⁷¹ As convincingly demonstrated by Yves Gallet, the first French vault with a pendant boss was envisaged for the sacristy of the famous church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes and constructed around 1280–90.⁷² In the following century it most probably served as the prototype for the equally renowned hanging vaults in the *portail des champeaux* at the papal palace of Avignon (ca. 1346–47; master Jean de Louvres) and in the chapel of St. Catherine at Strasbourg Minster (ca. 1340, collapsed before 1542), which, in turn, inspired the Prague designs of Peter Parler.⁷³ Half a century later, around 1400, a vault with two very low pendant bosses was erected in the magnificent porch of the south transept of the abbey

71. It is now universally accepted that the eastern bay of the Prague sacristy was designed by Matthew of Arras (d. 1352) but constructed in its present form by Peter Parler soon after his arrival in Prague in 1356; see Schurr, *Die Baukunst*, 53–64; and Gallet, “Matthieu d’Arras,” 31–40.

72. Yves Gallet, “Une voûte à clef pendante du XIIIe siècle à Saint-Urbain de Troyes,” *Bulletin monumental* 171, no. 1 (2013): 11–21.

73. Gallet, “Matthieu d’Arras,” 21–40.



Figure 12. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, plinths of external tracery mullions of the von der Heyde Chapel, 1420s (photo: author).

church of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, probably designed by master Jean de Bayeux (Fig. 15).⁷⁴ All the aforementioned structures secured the immense popularity of hanging bosses in Flamboyant architecture in France, which increased quickly after the end of the Hundred Years’ War.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the vaults in Troyes, Avignon, and Rouen share one common trait: unlike the Parlerian designs, they feature no flying ribs, as they

74. Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, *Haute-Normandie gothique. Architecture religieuse*, Les Monuments de la France gothique (Paris: Picard, 2001), 323–37; Peter Kurmann, “Rouen, abbatiale Saint-Ouen. Une plaque tournante du gothique européen autour de 1400: la façade du bras sud et son portail,” *Congrès archéologique de France. 161e session, 2003: Rouen et Pays de Caux*, ed. Christine Flon-Grandveaud (Paris: Société française d’archéologie/Picard, 2005), 239–48; idem, “Filiation ou parallèle? À propos des façades et des tours de Saint-Guy de Prague et de Saint-Ouen de Rouen,” *Umění* 49, nos. 3–4 (2001): 211–19; and Peter Seyfried, *Die ehemalige Abteikirche Saint-Ouen in Rouen* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2002), 27–28, 50–51.

75. Nussbaum and Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe*, 284–92; and Bos, *Les églises*, 111–13.



Figure 13. Legnica, parish church of Saints Peter and Paul, vault of the Thamme Chapel, before 1426 (photo: author).

are constructed of solid and daringly curved vaulting cells, just like the vault in Legnica. Therefore, it seems probable that one of them inspired the Master of Louis II in his conceptualization of the Silesian chapel, which boasts perhaps the oldest known example of a mature Flamboyant vault with a hanging boss, all the more remarkable because it is located so far away from France.

Another peculiar feature of the von der Heyde oratory, the openwork tracery arches on the ribs, originated in similar decorations of portal or arcade archivolts, which by the end of the fourteenth century were already widespread across Europe. In the lands of the Empire, where such rib embellishment occurred for the first time at the beginning of the fourteenth century (for instance, in the All Saints Chapel at Mainz Cathedral, erected by Archbishop Peter von Aspelt before 1319⁷⁶), the tracery arches were most commonly finished with stylized lilies—as in the south German and Bohemian works of the Parler family (cf. Fig. 9). In French buildings, in turn, the openwork “combs” on the archivolts or ribs were customarily embellished with drilled foliate rosettes or strongly undulating, wrinkly leaves. Two of the early structures featuring

76. Beate Dengel-Wink, *Die ehemalige Liebfrauenkirche in Mainz. Ein Beitrag zur Baukunst und Skulptur der Hochgotik am Mittelrhein und in Hessen* (Mainz: Schmidt, 1990), 161–62; Dethard von Winterfeld, “Zur Baugeschichte des Mainzer Domes,” in *Der verschwundene Dom. Wahrnehmung und Wandel der Mainzer Kathedrale im Lauf der Jahrhunderte*, exh. cat., ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz: Schmidt, 2011), 84–85; and Ute Engel, “Schaufassade und Durchlichtung: Architektur und Glas unter Erzbischof Peter von Aspelt und seinen Nachfolgern in Mainz und Oppenheim,” in *Im Rahmen bleiben. Glasmalerei in der Architektur des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ute Bednarz, Leonhard Helten, and Guido Siebert (Berlin: Lukas, 2017), 161–77 at 172–77.

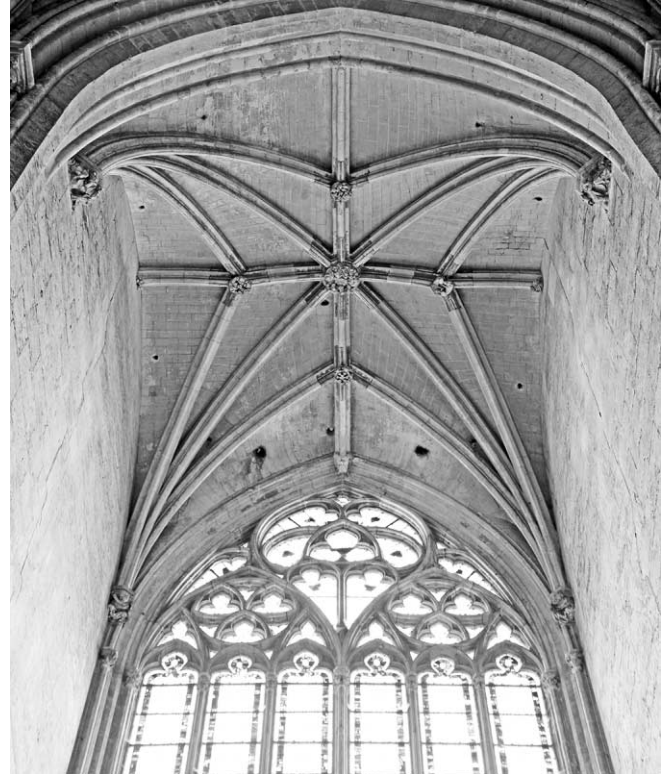


Figure 14. Amiens Cathedral, vault of the de la Grange Chapel, ca. 1375–77 (photo: author).

such decoration are the aforementioned porch of Saint-Ouen in Rouen (Fig. 15) and the unfinished castle of Louis I d’Orléans in La Ferté-Milon (Aisne; 1398–1407).⁷⁷ The powerful walls of the latter residence are adorned with niches crowned with depressed arches, containing allegorical statues and a multifigured *Coronation of the Virgin* above the main entrance (Fig. 16). Their upper parts feature openwork tracery “combs” like those that were later applied in the von der Heyde Chapel. It is likely that the Master of Louis II knew the prestigious château of Louis d’Orléans, based on the striking similarity between the sculptural bordures of the niches in La Ferté-Milon and the opening arcade of the Legnica oratory (Figs. 5, 16). Both comprise broad hollows framed with rolls, filled with a rotating sequence of plastic leaves growing out of a thin twig. It is also probable that the figure of an angel presenting the arms of Silesia in the von der Heyde oratory was inspired directly by the analogous angels bearing arms in the central niche of the Picardian castle.

When it comes to the vaults with tracery ribs, probably the most important early Flamboyant buildings in France

77. Mesqui and Ribéra-Pervillé, “Les châteaux,” 307–10; Mesqui, *Île-de-France*, 204–13; and Arnaud Alexandre, “Château de La Ferté,” in *Paris 1400*, ed. Taburet-Delahaye, 132–33.

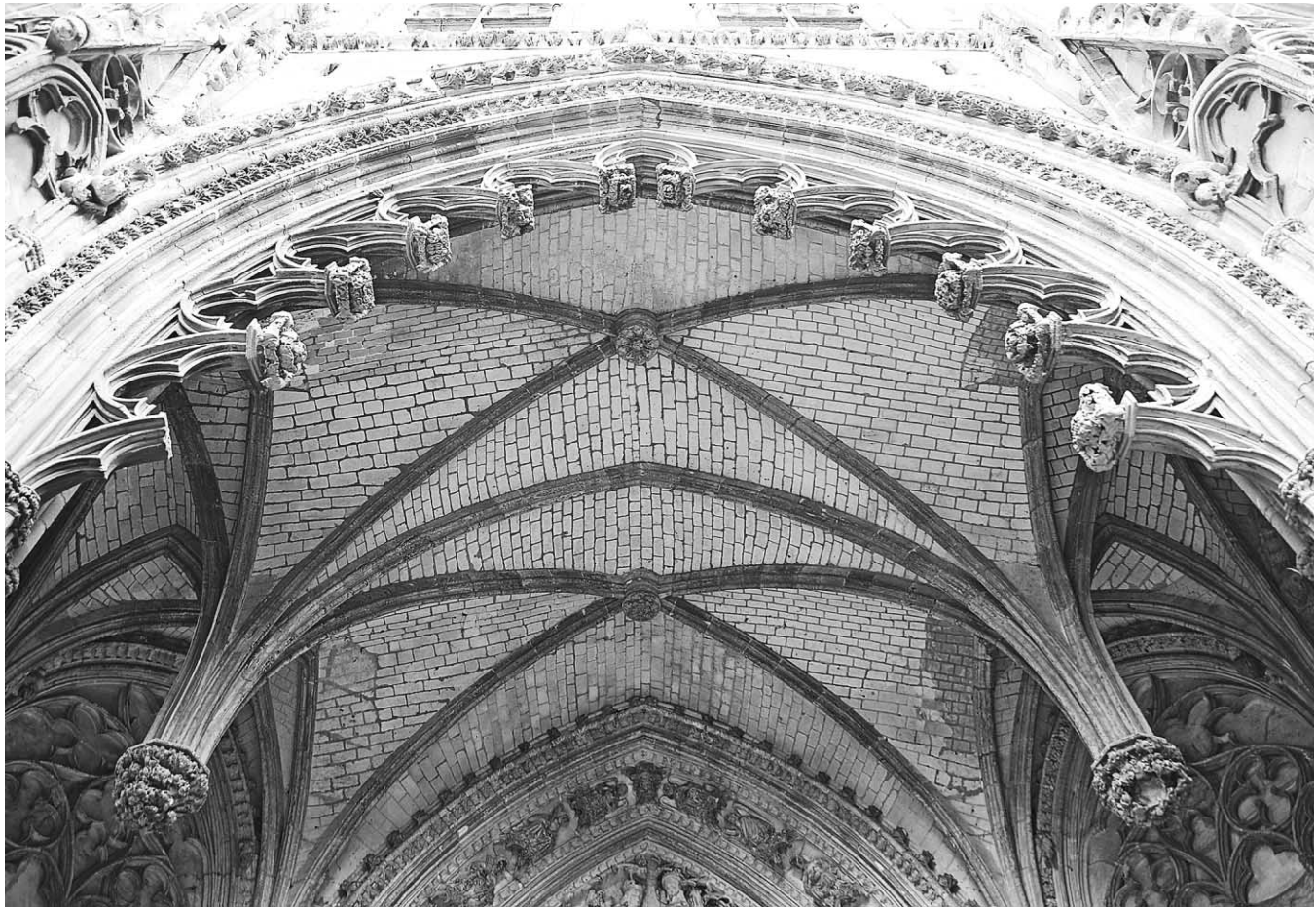


Figure 15. Rouen, Saint-Ouen, vault of the south transept porch, ca. 1400 (photo: author).

that served as prototypes for later structures featuring this peculiar type of architectural decoration are the “twin” churches in Avignon: Saint-Martial of the Benedictines from Cluny, whose choir was founded by Cardinal Jean de la Grange and erected in the years 1388–96, and Saint-Pierre-de-Luxembourg of the Celestine monastery, founded in 1392 by Antipope Clement VII and constructed for the most part between 1396 and 1402 (Fig. 17). As demonstrated by Anne McGee Morganstern, both churches were designed and executed by the same architect-sculptor, Pierre Morel from Lyon.⁷⁸ The ribs of the apsidal vaults of both shrines are decorated with a sequence of openwork quadrilobes and cusped arches, which bestow an impression of preciousness on their holiest spaces. For the present

analysis, of these two buildings the more important is certainly the church of the Celestines—not only does its apse contain a stellar vault and tracery “combs” on the formeret arches, but the secondary treatment of tiercerons and liernes, featuring thinner profiles with no tracery, heralds the very similar solution in the Legnica Chapel. In the history of Late Gothic architecture, the von der Heyde oratory is one of the earliest known responses to the decoration of the Avignon vaults. It is also worth noting that the extant Avignon-influenced examples of tracery ribs in France are all later than the “French” example from Legnica.

The Avignon vault in the Celestine church played an equally important role in the dissemination of openwork bosses, which count among the most specific architectural embellishments of French Flamboyant Gothic. The central point of the Provençal structure contains a fully rounded figure of a seated Christ encircled with an oval “mandorla” consisting of a chain of cherubim, while the remaining figurative bosses are formed from openwork medallions with external foliate rosettes. The south choir chapel of the church, perhaps the first that was vaulted,

78. Anne McGee Morganstern, “The La Grange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism of the West,” *Speculum* 48, no. 1 (1973): 52–69; and eadem, “Pierre Morel, Master of Works in Avignon,” *Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 323–49. See also Françoise Robin, *Midi gothique: de Béziers à Avignon, Les Monuments de la France gothique* (Paris: Picard, 1999), 162–67.

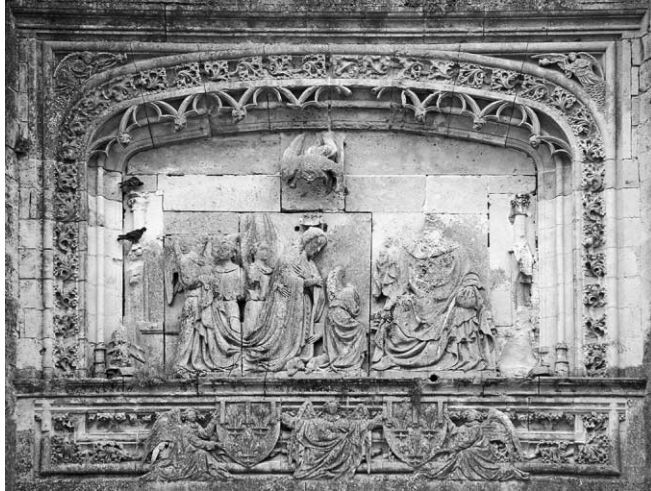


Figure 16. *La Ferté-Milon, castle, niche with Coronation of the Virgin above the main entrance, before 1407 (photo: author).*

also features a rib covering with an openwork boss consisting of an armorial bearing framed with cusped arches finished with drilled leafy endings. It seems possible that this daring type of vault decoration originated in the Parisian (or northern French, more generally speaking) court milieu, in which the master mason Pierre Morel was educated, as shown by Morganstern.⁷⁹ Yet, if there were late fourteenth-century prototypes for openwork bosses with foliate decoration in that part of France, they are unluckily not preserved. The oldest known example of such a vault keystone in the historic Île-de-France, featuring a disk of openwork tracery with a coat-of-arms in the center, is most likely that found in the Vendôme Chapel, erected in 1417 by master Geoffroi Sevestre for Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, in the south aisle of Chartres Cathedral.⁸⁰ As the Master of Louis II left France in 1416, he had no chance to learn from this structure, but outside the Île-de-France there are some sparse examples of openwork bosses predating his departure. The nave vault of the cathedral of Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy (between 1374 and 1416; Fig. 18A)⁸¹ is adorned with rosettes and coats-of-arms encircled with tracery, some of them consist-

79. It is significant that Morel's sculptures in Avignon (vault corbels and bosses of both churches and the tomb of Jean de la Grange in Saint-Martial) show close affinities with, among others, the sculptural decoration of the castle in La Ferté-Milon, which was most probably known by the Master of Louis II; see Morganstern, "Pierre Morel," 343–49.

80. Anne Prache, "La chapelle de Vendôme à la cathédrale de Chartres et l'art flamboyant en Île-de-France," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993/94): 569–75; Neagley, *Disciplined Exuberance*, 82–83; and Plagnieux, "Les débuts," 94–95.

81. Yves Gallet, "Chalon-sur-Saône, cathédrale Saint-Vincent. Les campagnes de construction gothiques (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)," *Congrès archéologique de France, 166e session, 2008: Monuments de Saône-et-*



Figure 17. *Avignon, church of the Celestines, choir vault, 1396–1402 (photo: author).*

ing of a sequence of ogees, just like in the von der Heyde Chapel in Legnica. Two very similar bosses with armorial bearings and openwork ogee arches are featured in the chapels of Archbishops Pierre Trousseau (ca. 1404–9) and Guillaume Boisratier (ca. 1410) at Bourges Cathedral.⁸² In the collegiate chapel of Our Lady (since 1460 known universally as *Chapelle des Macchabées*) at the cathedral of Geneva, founded by Cardinal of Ostia Jean de Brogny and executed in the years 1397–1405 under master mason Colin Thomas,⁸³ the central boss is assembled with tracery ogees and encircled with six additional shields featuring the founder's arms, all of them embellished with leafy endings (Fig. 18B). Even though we cannot establish whether the Master of Louis II knew the vaults in Chalon-sur-Saône, Bourges, or Geneva, he must have encountered similar early Flamboyant works, which served as the principal source of inspiration for the openwork bosses in the Silesian oratory, one of the earliest preserved of its kind. Such purely ornamental treatment of vault masonry was deeply rooted in the world of decorative arts and illuminated manuscripts. This was the case particularly from the mid-fourteenth century onward, as

Loire: Bresse bourguignonne, Chalonnaise, Tournegeoise (Paris: Société française d'archéologie/Picard, 2010), 95–108, at 102–3.

82. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux de la fin du Moyen Âge des chapelles latérales de la cathédrale de Bourges: commande et fonctions," in *Cathédrale de Bourges*, ed. Irène Jourd'heuil, Sylvie Marchant, and Marie-Hélène Priet (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2017), 423–38, at 428; and Jean-Vincent Jourd'heuil, "Que font les armes des papes du Grand Schisme dans la cathédrale de Bourges? Les chapelles des archevêques Pierre Trousseau et Guillaume Boisratier," in *ibid.*, 439–74.

83. For a monographic study, see Grandjean, "La Chapelle des Macchabées."

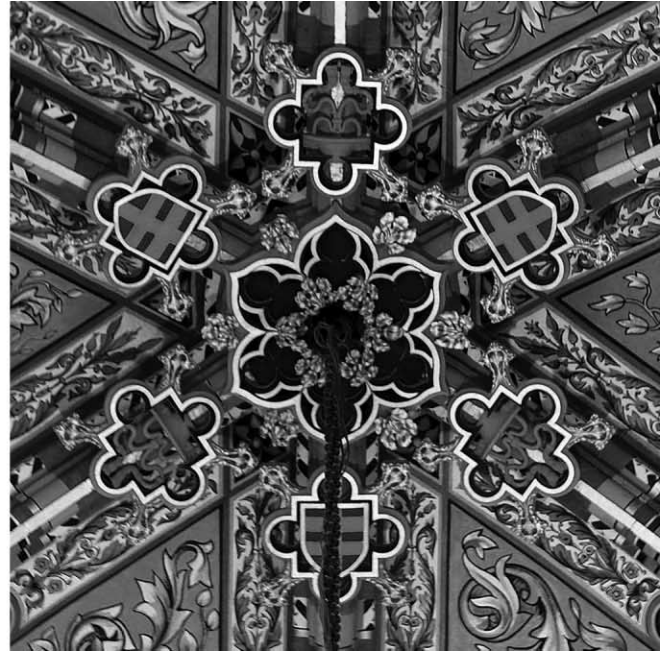


Figure 18. Openwork bosses: A. Chalon-sur-Saône Cathedral, nave, after 1374; B. Geneva Cathedral, Chapelle des Macchabées, 1397–1405 (photos: author).

fanciful calligraphic frames composed of various combinations of ogee arches became popular—a secret seal of the future king Charles V as dauphin of Viennois (before December 1354) is one notable example.⁸⁴

Finally, the *soufflet* and *mouchette* tracery patterns applied in the Thamme, Popplau, and von der Heyde Chapels in Legnica, as well as in the balustrade of St. Peter's tower of the ducal castle, are among the most typically Flamboyant features of their architecture. It is not necessary here to discuss the beginnings of the curvilinear flowing tracery in France in detail, as it was widely disseminated from the construction of the aforementioned de la Grange chapels at the cathedral of Amiens and the famous fireplace (*Belle Cheminée*) in the great hall of the ducal palace in Poitiers (late 1380s–early 1390s).⁸⁵ The application of *soufflets* in the Thamme and von der Heyde oratories signals the crucial role played in the proliferation of Flamboyant tracery by the window masonry design of two princely Saintes-Chapelles: of Jean de Berry at his Auvergnat palace in Riom (designed by master mason Guy de Dampmartin, 1396–1403), and of King Charles VI in Vincennes near Paris (the nave containing curvilinear tracery was constructed ca. 1400–1410; Fig. 19).⁸⁶ The most peculiar feature of the Leg-

nica windows, however, is their rigid reticulated composition with a dense mesh of identical units, either *soufflets* or *mouchette* wheels. Even though it inspires an almost automatic association with English late medieval architecture,⁸⁷ this strictly disciplined tracery design, the veritable common good of the European Late Gothic, was by no means alien to French master masons at the turn of the fifteenth century. On the contrary, it is enough to recall here another prestigious building, the chapel of the castle in Angers, erected in 1400–1412 on the commission of Prince Louis II of Anjou,⁸⁸ whose east window features a magnificent reticulated tracery consisting of identical *soufflets* (Fig. 20). Certainly, it could have served as one of the principal sources of inspiration for the similar tracery designs of the Master of Louis II in Legnica.

It is now clear that prior to his departure for Silesia, in 1416, the architect in question had sufficient opportunity to learn the most advanced and innovative decorative components of early Flamboyant architecture in France. As seen above, tracery ribs, hanging keystones, openwork bosses, and flame-like tracery patterns made their appearance in his

84. Plagnieux, “Les débuts,” 95.

85. For a general survey, see Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 216–19; and Plagnieux, “Les débuts,” 94–95.

86. Heinrichs-Schreiber, *Vincennes*, 28–44, 147–65; Chapelot, Chapelot, and Foucher, “Un chantier,” 433–88; Anne Courtillé, *Au-*

vergne, Bourbonnais, Velay gothiques. Les édifices religieux, Les Monuments de la France gothique (Paris: Picard, 2002), 353–61; Raynaud, “Guy de Dampmartin,” 185–200; and Meunier, “Parties flamboyantes,” 82.

87. See note 21.

88. Yves Blomme, *Anjou gothique*, Les Monuments de la France gothique (Paris: Picard, 1998), 37, 41–42.



Figure 19. Vincennes, *Sainte-Chapelle*, window tracery in the nave, ca. 1400–1410 (photo: author).

hometown around 1390–1410 in a series of buildings of royal or aristocratic patronage. The von der Heyde oratory in Legnica from the 1420s is not, however, a mere reproduction of the most fashionable architectural motifs of the early Flamboyant. Its importance lies in the fact that the Master of Louis II created there a new and spectacular combination of architectural embellishments and daring structural solutions that did not exist as a whole in French architecture before he left for Legnica. The Silesian Chapel is thus the oldest surviving example of a Flamboyant building that combines a stellar vault with hanging keystone, rib tracery, openwork bosses, and curvilinear window tracery. Comparable surviving designs in France containing a similar set of structural solutions were created only in the mid-1440s.

Conclusion

The anonymous master mason who came in 1416 from St.-Denis to Silesia demonstrated exceptional design and construction skills that were based on a broad knowledge of the most advanced early Flamboyant buildings in his homeland, above all from the context of prestigious royal and princely commissions. Further support for this argument is found in a royal burial chapel erected for Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria at the southeast corner of the transept at the abbey church in Saint-Denis before 1422 (Fig. 21),⁸⁹ but probably after the ducal

89. Heinrichs-Schreiber, *Vincennes*, 162.



Figure 20. Angers, *Castle Chapel*, east wall with window tracery, ca. 1400–1412 (photo: author).

architect's departure in 1416. This oratory, barely mentioned in the literature, features reticulated tracery with *soufflets* (in the type known from the aforementioned *Saintes-Chapelles*), a daring openwork boss consisting of small angel figures (recalling the Provençal works of Pierre Morel), and a tracery “comb” with leafy endings on the ridge rib of the vault. A careful observer easily recognizes here all the inventive traits applied in the royal and aristocratic architectural commissions constructed at the turn of the fifteenth century in Vincennes, Riom, La Ferté-Milon, Angers, and Avignon, and later so masterfully developed in the more daring and innovative design of the von der Heyde Chapel in Legnica. In her monograph on the royal château of Vincennes, Ulrike Heinrichs-Schreiber emphasized the role of the chapel of Charles VI at St.-Denis “as a monument stylistically representative of the vanished churches and chapels from that period in Paris.”⁹⁰ Exactly the same can be said of the magnificent oratory of the von der Heyde family in distant Silesian Legnica, which occupies an important position in the history of French Flamboyant architecture.

It seems most probable that before his departure for Central Europe, the design master of the von der Heyde oratory had worked for one of the Valois princes, renowned around 1400 for their interest in fashionable architecture. This supposition helps us understand how Louis II of Legnica, a companion of King Sigismund of Luxembourg on his great journey to France and England, met his future architect and succeeded

90. *Ibid.* [author's translation].



Figure 21. *St.-Denis, abbey church, window tracery and vault of the burial chapel of Charles VI, before 1422 (photo: author).*

in hiring him. The encounter happened most likely at one of the princely (if not royal) courts of northern France. Judging from the activity in Silesia of the master in question, he must have been a talented and versatile team leader. As suggested by the duke's letter to the town council of Legnica, Louis II's master was sent there without auxiliary masons familiar with the tradition of French architecture, and yet he still managed to organize the local workshops in a way that enabled him to execute his original designs with no artistic concessions. Given our general knowledge about cultural transfer in the Middle Ages, it is certainly a rare case. At some point, the Master of Louis II must have learned to speak German, as knowledge of French or Latin was certainly uncommon among ordinary masons and other builders from this part of Europe. In this context, all the more surprising is the fact that the Frenchman's designs in Legnica show no motifs stemming directly from the local tradition of Central European architecture. Instead, in the case of the von der Heyde Chapel, we see an exemplary instance of artistic translation and direct transfer of forms, indifferent to great geographic distances and cultural boundaries.

The professional career of this master is most significant for understanding the general conditions of monumental architecture in northern France in the last phase of the Hundred

Years' War. After a relatively peaceful period at the beginning of the reign of Charles VI, the first decades of the fifteenth century brought fratricidal war between the Armagnac and Burgundian parties, the assassination of Louis I d'Orléans in 1407, the revenge killing of John the Fearless in 1419, and finally the English occupation of Paris in 1422–36. All these events brought many major construction sites to a halt, as best exemplified by the ruins of the château in La Ferté-Milon, abandoned in an unfinished condition after its founder was slain in 1407.⁹¹ As a result, many master masons from the Île-de-France became unemployed, and only a few of them found work elsewhere. The Silesian career of the Master of Louis II is one such extraordinary example. Not only did he accept a commission from a whimsical duke in a distant Slavic country, but after completing the princely commission, he most probably remained in Legnica for a long time, serving the local patriciate.

Similar and equally substantial are the cases of the aforementioned masters Jehan Isambart, who from 1399 worked at the castle in Pierrefonds, and Pedro (Pierre) Jalopa, born between 1386 and 1391 in La Ferté-Milon and probably educated in the workshop of the local castle. As both of them became unemployed after the murder of their commissioner, Louis d'Orléans, in 1407, they found themselves first in southern France (Jalopa was mentioned in Perpignan in 1411) and later on the Iberian Peninsula, where they launched very successful careers as architects and sculptors.⁹² For the present argument, the most important common work of both masters is the chapel of the *Corporales*, which was inserted around the years 1417–22 in the choir termination of the collegiate church in the Aragonian city of Daroca (Fig. 22). Comparing the vaults of this three-bay *jubé*-like structure to the analogous element in the von der Heyde Chapel in Legnica reveals significant affinities: both feature diagonals embellished with tracery arches and foliate rosettes, while much thinner tiercerons, liernes, and ridge ribs play a clearly subordinate role. Equally comparable is the application of rich *mouchette* tracery designs.

This surprising similarity between two Flamboyant structures in such different areas of Europe finds an obvious explanation in the common origin of their French designers, who were fortunate enough to find attractive commissions outside their native Île-de-France. This observation is all the more meaningful as scarcely any architecture is preserved from the early fifteenth-century Parisian milieu.⁹³

91. See note 77.

92. See note 31.

93. Cf. Prache, "Chapelle de Vendôme"; Raynaud, "Guy de Dampmartin"; and Plagnieux, "Les débuts."



Figure 22. Daroca, collegiate church, vault of the chapel of the Corporales, ca. 1417–22 (photo: Javier Ibáñez Fernández).

The reconstructed oeuvre of the Master of Louis II in Legnica, and, in particular, the von der Heyde Chapel, should be considered representative of the rapid stylistic development within the initial phase of Flamboyant architecture in France. This case study shows that there are still opportunities to identify monuments designed and executed by French master masons in the turbulent final stage of the Hundred Years' War, even on the outskirts of the Latin West. *Inter arma silent Musae?* As is usual with proverbs, this is only partially true.

The surprising career of a talented northern French architect in the wealthy Central European region of Silesia, a side effect of the difficult situation in his homeland, proves that artistic patronage in the Middle Ages was a powerful force, often in spite of political divisions, cultural differences, and language barriers. Economic prosperity, openness, and variously motivated desires for fine art account for the most unexpected stylistic translations, enriching the already varied artistic landscape of Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century.

*Appendix 1: Letter of Duke Louis II of Legnica to the town council of Legnica, dated in St.-Denis, 25 March 1416*⁹⁴

Ludwig von gotis gnaden herczog yn Slesien. Vnser sunderliche gunst vnd alles gut zuuor. Erbern, weizen, besundirn lieb. Wir danken euch zu mole sere, das yr mit vnserm hirren dem bischofe von vnsern wegen also geret habet, das wellen wir, ap got wil, vm euch vorschulden, vnd sullen wir leben, wir wellen es also ken euch halden, das ir vns sult habin zu danken vnd thuen euch zu wissen, das wir von gotes gnaden frisch vnd gesunt seyn vnd vnserm hirren, dem romischen konige vnd vns gar wol gehet vnd vnserm hirren vnd ouch vns alhy zu Ffrankreich gar groczse czocht vnd ere gescheen ist vnd iczund vf dem wege seyn ken Engilland zureyten vnd hoffen, ap got wil, das dese czwene konige vorsunet vnd vorricht sullen werdin. Ouch senden wir euch eyn steynmeczczen czu dem torme, eynen czemys zu machen vnd beten euch mit allem fleise, das ym furderunge thuen wollet vnd ym bestellen, do her seyne wonunge gehaben moge vnd steyne, fure vnd lewte, vnd was her dorczu bedorfen wird, also das der zemys yo desin somyr vf komen mochte, dorczu senden wir euch hundirt cron, do mete lat bawen, so ir meyste moget, vnd ap darobir icht gebrechin werde, das leget dorczu, so wollen wir euch das an arg wedir geben vnd ap ir das nicht thuen möcht, so vorschreibet vns mit desim kegen wortigen boten, was do gebrechin wirt, so wollen wir das wol awsrichten, adir lat yo die weyle mit deme gelde ymmer mer erbt. Ouch senden wir euch entworffen, wie vnser meynunge ist, das der torm vf komen sulle, ydoch haben wir vorschreiben Rewschenern vnserm czymmirmanne, das der von stund an zu euch komen sal vnd dorczu rote, wie man den torm vp brenge, das her eyn sulch dach tragen moge alz hy entworfen ist vnd her ouch wol weis. Ouch ret mit dem selben meister Rewschener, was her vf das heheste nemen welle, wen der torm vf kompt, den zu sperren vf das ander jar, das man die weile holcz schaffe vnd was man darczu bederfen werde vnd vorschreibet vns das mit desim kegenwortigin boten. Gegebin zu sinte Dionisio eyne dewtsche meile von Paris, am montage noch dem Palm tage.

[On the back side] Den erbern vnd weizzen burgermeister vnd ratmänner zu Legnicz vnsern besundern lieben.

*Appendix 2: Letter of Duke Louis II of Legnica to Alenczaw, burgrave of the castle of Legnica, dated in St.-Denis, 25 March 1416*⁹⁵

Ludwig von gotis gnaden herczog yn Slesien. Vnser sunderliche gunst czuuor liber her Alczenaw. Wir thuen euch czu wissen, das wir gesant haben der stad czu Legnicz geld, das [sy] sullen eynen zemys lassen hawen vff den torm. Dorumme bete wir euch, das ir dorczu helft vnd rat vnd besehet, ap her hoch genug sey, vnd möchte her ane schaden höher werden, das sege wir gerne, also das her yo das dach vnd den zemys getragen mochte, alz wir entworffen senden vnd meister Rewschener wol weis; ouch red mit der stad, das sy dem steynmeczczen, den wir her aws senden ecz wo eyn beheltnisse schaffen ader ym tagelon geben vnd ym me gehulffen schaffen, wen hers eyn leyne nicht geendin mochte, vnd helft ir ouch dorczu mit stoyne furn vnd mit ander hantlangunge, so ir beste moget, wen wirs der stad dorumme befoln haben, das sy bessir awsrichtung dorczu haben, wen yr; ouch besehet vm holcz zu gesperre, wo man das dirkrigen mochte; ouch bete wir euch, das ir reden wollit mit dem lande czu Legnicz, geistlich vnd werltlich, vnd bet dy von vnser wegen, als wir yn ouch vorschreiben haben, das sy wellen lassen steyne füren zu eyner gruntfesten, wen ir leuthe am müssegisten woren, wen wir, ap got wil, eczwas meynen zu bawen, wen vns got her heym gehilft. Ouch wil vnser herre, der konig, yo das wir das alde haws sinte Hedwigen wedir bawen sullen; dorumme furscht, wo man czymmer dorczu gehaben mochte, wen her spricht, her welle vns geldis genug dorczu geben, vnd lat yo steyne furen desin somyr, wen ir dirkennet, das dy leuthe aller mtissegeste seyn. Ouch bete wir euch, das yr die risse, dy an dem selben alden hawse seyn, beste vormawem last, das man merken moge, ap ys vp eyn newes wedir reissen welle. Gegebin zu sinte Dionisio am montage noch dem Palm tage.

94. Schirmacher, ed., *Urkunden-Buch*, 305–6 (document no. 488).

95. *Ibid.*, 306–7 (document no. 489).