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The Loitz Network and the Flowering of Renaissance Art in Gdańsk (1550–1580)

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Like other sixteenth-century banking families, the Loitz merchant banker dynasty built a vast network of personal and professional ties which facilitated their operations. This web of connections was in fact a cluster of interrelated networks, each involving actors operating in different places and engaged in a range of types of exchange.¹ The Loitzes conducted the majority of their operations in the contact zone connecting western, east-central, and northern Europe that reached from the North and Baltic Sea coasts down the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula rivers to the cities of Leipzig and Cracow.² Their main centers of operation were Szczecin (Stettin) and Gdańsk (Danzig), Baltic cities that were gateways to the vast lands east of the Elbe river which were becoming a rural hinterland for the western economy. Thus, the Loitz network served a vital connective function in a period of growing economic, social, and political differentiation between the western and eastern regions of the continent.³ While the Loitzes

¹ See the visualization of the Loitz network generated by the project GeldKunstNetz: Aleksandra Lipińska, Bettina Schröder-Bornkamp, Marcin Grulkowski, Filip Hristov, Giulia Simonini, *GeldKunstNetz. Rechnungsbücher der Stettin-Danziger Kaufmannbankiersfamilie Loitz. Kommentierte Online-Edition und Netzwerkanalyse*, München 2017–2019, <https://doi.org/10.24344/geldkunstnetz> [11.06.2020]; see also: Johannes Papritz, *Das Handelshaus der Loitz zu Stettin, Danzig und Lüneburg*, “Baltische Studien NF” 1957, Nr. 44, pp. 73–94; Heidelore Böcker, *Das Handelshaus Loitz. Urteil der Zeitgenossen – Stand der Forschung – Ergänzungen*, “Hansische Studien” 1998, Nr. 9, pp. 203–218.

² See the mapping of the Loitzes’ activities based on their account books provided by the abovementioned project GeldKunstNetz, fn. 1. Regarding their activities in the Oder basin, see: Johannes Papritz, *Das Stettiner Handelshaus der Loitz im Boisalzhandel des Odergebietes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Beziehungen zum brandenburgischen Kurhause*, Berlin 1932.

³ See e.g. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, vols. 1–3, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1992; for an Eastern-European perspective see also: Marian Małowist, *Wschód*

and their partners focused mainly on banking activities and trade, their agency was also crucial for artistic and cultural transfer.⁴

In Gdańsk, the Loitz network comprised members of the Connert family, who played a prominent role in the commercial and political life of the city, and the affluent merchant Dietrick Lilie. The Connerts and Dietrick Lilie were also avid patrons of art and architecture, both of which they leveraged to draw attention to their immense wealth and elevated position within the city's socio-economic hierarchy. They built houses lavishly decorated with architectural and sculptural details, and in churches erected epitaphs commemorating members of their families. To carry out these works, they employed artists who came to Gdańsk from various parts of Europe, including the German lands, the Low Countries, and even France.

In this paper I claim that their patronage was instrumental in the assimilation of variants of the antique international visual language developed in several parts of Europe. In the mid-sixteenth century, this new language was still rare in the Baltic region, as is indicated by Paul van Hofe's letter to Lübeck city council dated to 1548, in which he stated that "the antique style, which is now generally regarded as the highest art, is mostly absent in this town".⁵ The ambitious patronage of the people in the Loitz network, who were well-connected and – thanks to their mobility – aware of new artistic and cultural developments in other parts of Europe, and therefore produced important artistic and cultural innovation, facilitating the city's rise to artistic prominence after the period of uncertainty that followed the Reformation.

The Connerts arrived in Gdańsk in the late fourteenth century from the Margraviate of Brandenburg.⁶ They acquired their considerable wealth through large-scale commerce and investment in real estate, as was typical for the emerging civic elite of that period.⁷ The Connerts cultivated relations with the Loitzes and other

i Zachód Europy w XIII–XVI wieku. Konfrontacja struktur społeczno-gospodarczych, Warszawa 1973; Witold Kula, *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System: Towards a Model of the Polish Economy, 1500–1800*, London–New York 1987.

⁴ Aleksandra Lipińska, *Fugger des Nordens? Die Kaufmanns- und Bankiersfamilie Loitz als Kunstförderer und Vermittler im wirtschaftlich-kulturellen Netzwerk des Nord- und Ostseegebiets* [in:] *Die maritime Stadt – Hafenstädte an der Ostsee vom Mittelalter bis in der Gegenwart*, Hg. Tomasz Torbus, Katarzyna Wojtczak, Warszawa 2017, pp. 231–254; see also: Norbert Lieb, *Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und frühen Renaissance*, München 1952.

⁵ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Ways of Transfer of Netherlandish Art* [in:] *Netherlandish Artists in Gdańsk in the Time of Hans Vredeman de Vries*, ed. Małgorzata Ruszkowska-Macur, Gdańsk 2006, p. 21; Konrad Ottenheim, *Travelling Architects from the Low Countries and their Patrons* [in:] *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480–1680)*, ed. Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheim, Turnhout 2013, p. 71.

⁶ Dorothea Weichbrodt, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig in Stamm- und Namentafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, Danzig 1986, p. 114; Joachim Zdrenka, *Urządnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814*, t. 2, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 178–179.

⁷ Maria Bogucka, *Przemiany społeczne i walki społeczno-polityczne w XV i XVI w.* [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, t. 2: 1454–1655, red. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, p. 210.

leading families in Szczecin and Pomerania. Hans Connert the Younger married Anna Loitz, a daughter of Michael Loitz, brother of Stephan Loitz, the then head of the family, and its representative in Gdańsk. Michael II Loitz and his family were commemorated by an epitaph with a finely carved alabaster “domestic altarpiece” created in the southern Netherlands around 1550, which was installed in St Mary’s Church in 1561–1564⁸ (fig. 1). The marriage between Hans Connert the Younger and Anna Loitz was likely also a strategic step for the Loitzes, as it strengthened their ties with the civic elite



Fig. 1. Anonymous painter, Anna née Loitz with her mother Cordula and sisters, detail of the epitaph of Michael II Loitz and his family, c. 1550/1561–64, Gdańsk, St Mary’s Church, photo: Aleksandra Lipińska

in Gdańsk, a city which was emerging as the main trade hub of the Baltic region. After Anna’s death, Hans Connert married Elisabeth Bruckmann, a daughter of the Szczecin burgomaster Georg Bruckmann. Thus, the Connerts participated actively in the extensive network linking members of the urban elite in Gdańsk and Szczecin, as well as other Baltic and central European cities.

The Connerts were among the first members of the Gdańsk elite to promote new artistic and architectural forms.⁹ In his capacity as a member of the city council and supervisor of the city’s hospitals, Hans Connert the Elder rebuilt the orphanage adjoining St Elisabeth’s Church which had been destroyed by fire in 1547¹⁰ (fig. 2). The new orphanage was one of the first buildings in Gdańsk to be

⁸ Aleksandra Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures. Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*, Boston–Leiden 2014, pp. 134–135, 188–189; see also: Michał Woźniak, *Uwagi o recepcji manierystycznych wzorników niderlandzkich w Gdańsku i w Prusach* [in:] *Niderlandyzm w sztuce polskiej*, red. Teresa Hrankowska, Warszawa 1995, pp. 229, 235–236; Anna Sobecka, *Malarstwo nowożytnie w kościele Mariackim w Gdańsku* [in:] *Kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku. Malarstwo i rzeźba*, red. Jacek Friedrich, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 142–145.

⁹ Janusz Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna w Gdańsku w latach 1517–1585*, “Gdańskie Studia Muzealne” 1981, nr 3, p. 182.

¹⁰ Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig Historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam–Danzig 1687, p. 343; Georg Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1910, p. 12; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*, p. 182–183. The Jacob Conrad mentioned by Curicke may be identical with Hans Connert, see: Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, p. 114.

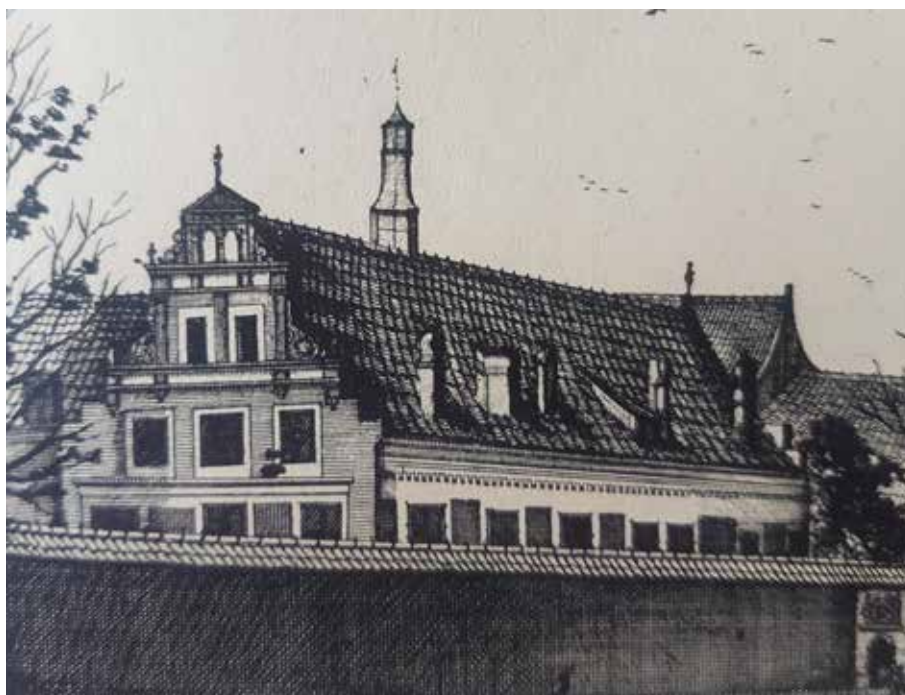


Fig. 2. Orphanage at the St Elisabeth Church, completed 1549, source: Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam – Danzig 1687

embellished with architectural décor based on an interpretation of ancient formal vocabulary. The composition of the gable, with vertical and horizontal elements, volutes, and the triangular pediment, represents the early type of Renaissance architecture in central Europe, from the time before the spread of the classical orders as promoted by Sebastiano Serlio, Giacomo Vignola, Hans Blum, and other mid-sixteenth century authors. This type of architectural décor became popular in central Europe in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century. In Gdańsk, the introduction of this idiom was a major step away from the late medieval type of façade which had been dominant in the first half of the century.

In the following years, the Connerts commissioned several private projects. The most important was the house built around 1560 for Hans Connert the Younger at 45 Długa Street. It was located in the most prestigious part of the city, thus confirming the position enjoyed by the family in Gdańsk. Its prominent position, at the far end of the city's main square, and directly in front of the Town Hall, is well reflected in a painting by the Gdańsk painter Anton Möller, *The Tribute Money*, dated to 1601 (fig. 3). The façade of this house represents a subsequent phase of assimilation of the antique mode in the city from the orphanage. Its composition is based on a strict grid composed of elements derived from early interpretations of the Doric, such as that by Fra Giocondo,



Fig. 3. Anton Möller, *The Tribute Money*, c. 1601, Gdańsk, Muzeum Gdańska, photo: Muzeum Gdańska, Gdańsk



Fig. 4. The House of Hans Connert the Younger at 45 Długa Street, c. 1580, Gdańsk, before 1945, photo: Muzeum Gdańska, Gdańsk

and its later rendering by Sebastiano Serlio¹¹ (fig. 4). The house of Hans Connert is one of the first examples of this classicizing idiom in Gdańsk and indeed the entire Baltic region. The façade type is derived from mid-sixteenth century Netherlandish architecture. Corresponding designs are the heavily altered façade of the Lambert Steurman house in Kampen, and the house on Grote Kerkhof in Deventer.¹² It therefore seems most likely that the designer of the façade was an architect of Netherlandish origin acquainted with the antique fashion, one of the first to arrive in Gdańsk.

The Connert house at 45 Długa Street is one of the first works of architecture created in Gdańsk by a migrant architect from the Low Countries according to the classicizing antique mode which was developed

¹¹ For an overview of the assimilation of the antique architectural language, see: Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheim, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530–1700*, Turnhout 2007.

¹² Franciszek Skibiński, *Immigration, Integration, Expansion: Foreign Architects, Masons and Stone Sculptors in Danzig between c.1550 and 1630* [in:] *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400–1700*, ed. Konrad Ottenheim, Mantova 2014, pp. 76–89; Franciszek Skibiński, *Between Paris, the Low Countries and the Baltic: An Episode in the History of Artistic Exchange in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, [in:] *Arts et artistes du Nord à la cour de François Ier*, dir. Laure Fagnart, Isabelle Lecocq, Paris 2017, pp. 99–113; *idem*, *Willem van den Blocke: A Sculptor from the Low Countries in the Baltic Region*, Turnhout 2020, p. 235.

there in the mid-sixteenth century. Netherlanders had begun to arrive in Gdańsk in growing numbers in the early 1560s. Among the first were the sculptors Cornelis Brun from Brussels and Hendrick van Linth from Antwerp, who were granted citizenship in 1561. They were followed by Hieronymus Linden from Antwerp, Ragnier from Amsterdam, and Frederick Vroom from Haarlem, an architect and engineer who was described by Karel van Mander as a sculptor by training.¹³ The number of Netherlanders in the Baltic city rose swiftly in the ensuing years. Among the major building masters and stone sculptors who arrived in Gdańsk were Paul van Doren, Wyllem Jacobsen (Willem van der Meer the Elder) from Ghent, and Hans Steffen from Den Bosch.¹⁴ It is possible, though hypothetical at this point, that the Loitzes, who were active in Antwerp and Amsterdam, played a role in encouraging artists from the Low Countries to travel to the Baltic.

While the overall design of the façade was derived from the Low Countries, its sculptural decoration may be attributed to an anonymous sculptor of French orientation who worked in Gdańsk in the 1560s¹⁵ (fig. 5). Called the Master of Caryatids, this artist was arguably the most eminent exponent of his craft before the arrival in the city of Willem van den Blocke, a sculptor from Mechelen. Judging by the evidence, the Master of Caryatids worked mostly for the Connerts. He made two other important works for the family: an arcade (a screen-wall) for the same family house at 45 Długa Street, and an epitaph commemorating Anna Connert, daughter of Michael II Loitz, in St Mary's Church. In both cases, it was probably Hans Connert the Younger who commissioned the works.

The sculptor's French orientation, highly unusual if not unique in the mid-sixteenth century in the Baltic region, has already been acknowledged by Lech



Fig. 5. Anonymous sculptor, details of the gable of the Connert house at 45 Długa Street, c. 1560, Gdańsk, before 1945, photo: Herder-Institut Image Archive, Marburg

¹³ Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-Boeck (1603–1604)*, ed. Hessel Miedema, Doornspijk 1994, p. 406 (fol. 287r).

¹⁴ For more details on these artists and architects see: Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst...*; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*; Skibiński, *Immigration, Integration...*

¹⁵ The following passage is based on: Skibiński, *Between Paris...*



Fig. 6. Anonymous sculptor, Epitaph of Anna Connert nee Loitz, after 1563, Gdańsk, St Mary's Church, photo: Franciszek Skibiński



Fig. 7. Anonymous sculptor, Epitaph of Anna Connert nee Loitz, detail, after 1563, Gdańsk, St Mary's Church, photo: Franciszek Skibiński

Krzyżanowski and Janusz Pałubicki.¹⁶ The epitaph commemorating Anna Connert née Loitz, which was installed in the 1560s or early 1570s, is reminiscent of prints issued by Fantuzzi or Mignon, based on various designs created by artists active at the court of Francois I¹⁷ (fig. 6). This inspiration is apparent in the form of the scrollwork compartment as well as in the finely rendered *all'antica* ornaments such as cymatium combined with finely rendered plaiting. References to works originating in the French court milieu, such as decoration on the building of the Louvre, also appear in the sculptor's figural work (fig. 7). His familiarity with French models is also visible in the screen-wall formerly in the Great Hall of the Connert house at 45 Długa Street, his most spectacular work, today in the Old Town Hall in Gdańsk¹⁸ (fig. 8). Its architectural structure is composed of a richly ornamented colonnade with three figural panels depicting the Olympian gods Mercury (today a crude reconstruction of the lost original), Juno, and Neptune. The scrollwork compartments between the figural panels and the frames adorned with *all'antica* motifs including cymatium and astragal are reminiscent of the architectural ornament typical for mid-sixteenth-century France, evoking such eminent examples of French interior decoration as the Escalier Henri II in the Louvre, created in the 1550s (fig. 9). A similarity is also visible in the rendering of the figural sculpture. The figure of Diana in the Escalier Henri II, in particular, resembles the Juno in Gdańsk, with its elegant gestures and finely rendered, curving draperies.

¹⁶ Lech Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba kamienna lat 1517–1628*, PhD dissertation, Warszawa 1966, pp. 23–30; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*, pp. 188–190.

¹⁷ Henri Zerner, *École de Fontainebleau. Gravures*, Paris 1969, figs. A.F. 33–51, A.F. 78–79, J.M. 32–36, J.M. 53, J.M. 58–59.

¹⁸ On this work, see: Marcin Kaleciński, *Gedania figurata. Arkadowa przegroda sieni domu Connertów* [in:] *Ratusz Starego Miasta w Gdańsku. Historia. Architektura. Wnętrza*, red. Marcin Kaleciński, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 109–118.



Fig. 8. Anonymous sculptor, A screen wall from the Connert House at 45 Długa Street, c. 1560–1570, Gdańsk, Old Town Hall, photo: Nadbałtyckie Centrum Kultury

Owing to the lack of evidence concerning the sculptor's biography, it remains impossible to ascertain his origin. It is very likely that he worked as a decorator in mid-sixteenth-century France, where he became familiar with some of the major works created in the court milieu, such as the decoration of the Louvre. He may have travelled from the Low Countries to France before he departed for Gdańsk. This seems likely, as France remained an important reference for artists from the Low Countries in the sixteenth century.¹⁹ Then again, as a Frenchman he may have encountered practitioners from the Low Countries who

¹⁹ Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Jacques du Broeucq and Northern Perspectives on the Antique Mode* [in:] *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honour of Molly Faries*, ed. Julien Chapuis, Turnhout 2008, pp. 190–207.



Fig. 9. Escalier Henri II in the Louvre, 1550s, Paris, Louvre, photo: Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg

encouraged him to travel to the east in search of further professional opportunities. In any case, in his work the anonymous sculptor embraced the French idiom, disregarding other models available at that time, a choice that may be considered an expression of his artistic identity.

Another important work which promoted the Connert family in the urban space was the epitaph dedicated to Hans Connert the Elder and his consort, Gertrude nee Huxer. Installed in St Mary's Church in the mid-1550s, this is one of the earliest Protestant epitaphs in the city. The painter, who remains anonymous, combined in his work the type of landscape reminiscent of the so-called Danube school, featuring rugged mountain terrain, towering fir trees, and dramatic, sunset-induced lighting effects, with figural types derived from the works of Lucas Cranach and his workshop.²⁰ The origins and professional curriculum of the anonymous painter remain unknown. In his work, however, he combined various of the painterly styles practised in the German lands in that period. The relatively high quality of the paintings confirms that the Connerts were exacting in their choice of artists for important commissions. The fact that they hired a painter trained in the German lands also confirms the importance of the Connerts' contribution to the assimilation of the diverse variants of the new visual language, and in consequence to the rich diversity of the resultant Gdańsk artistic culture.

The importance of contributions of members of the Loitz network to the stimulation of the complexity and diversity of the Gdańsk artistic milieu is further illustrated by the patronage of another of its members, Dietrich Lilie. He was granted citizenship in 1563, and married Elisabeth Rosenberg, a daughter of an affluent and influential local family, soon afterwards.²¹ In the ensuing years, he maintained close business relations with the Loitzes, and his name appears many times in the surviving pay records of the Loitzes dating from 1566 to 1570.²² In addition, Lilie had close ties with other prominent members of the Gdańsk elite, including members of the powerful Ferber and Von Kempen families.²³

Soon after he settled in Gdańsk, Lilie had himself a huge house built, the biggest and most lavish constructed in the city in the sixteenth century²⁴ (fig. 10).

²⁰ I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Jacek Tylicki for sharing his observations on the paintings. On the epitaph, see: Katarzyna Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV–XVIII w.)*. „Długie trwanie” epitafium, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 19–20; *eadem*, *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku (XV–XVII w.)*, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 26–27; *eadem*, *Tod und Gedanken. Danziger Epitaphien vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Lüneburg 1998, p. 17, 41–42; Sobecka, *Malarstwo nowożytne...*, pp. 140–142.

²¹ On Lilie's activities in Gdańsk, see: Johannes Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie und das Englische Haus*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins” 1928, Nr. 68, pp. 127–184.

²² Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie...*, pp. 146–151. In the six edited Loitz account books from the years 1566–1566, Dietrich Lilie (Lylge) is mentioned 31 times, see index of persons in the database of the GeldKunstNetz-Projekt.

²³ Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie...*, pp. 150–151.

²⁴ On the Lilie house, see: Bernhard Schmid, *Das Englische Haus*, “Danziger Zeitung. Mittwochsbeilage Heimat und Welt” 1908, Nr. 10, pp. 37–38; Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie...*; Hanna

To carry out the work, he employed an international team of builders and sculptors which included the Dresden architect Hans Kramer and a stone-sculptor from Ghent, Willem van der Meer the Elder, also called Wyllem Jacobssen.²⁵ Kramer arrived in Gdańsk in 1565 and worked there as city architect and military engineer until his death in 1577. He also cooperated with migrants from Saxony and Silesia as well as from Hamburg.²⁶ Kramer is usually credited with many important architectural works, including the so-called Green Gate (c. 1565–1568), one of the earliest buildings in the city that represent the antique idiom.²⁷ In fact, however, the house of Dietrick Lilie remains his only confirmed architectural work.

Like that of the Connert house, the composition of the façade on the house of Dietrick Lilie is based on elements of architectural orders. Unlike the anonymous designer of the Connert house, however, Kramer introduced superposition of the orders: first Tuscan, then Ionic and Corinthian, topped by herms which feature prominently in the massive gable.

The general concept may have been inspired by contemporaneous architecture in Saxony, for instance the Georgthor in Dresden, which was built by Kramer's father.²⁸ In the Lilie house, however, the architect applied a more classical rendering of the orders, which seems to have been based on modern treatises and model books, such as that by Serlio.

The abundant sculptural detailing, which includes figural sculpture, masks and floral scrolls, is reminiscent of the early antique decorative language developed in the Low Countries. For instance, the massive volutes flanking the gable,



Fig. 10. Hans Kramer, Willem van der Meer the Elder, House of Dietrick Lilie at 16 Chlebnicka Street, c. 1565–1570, Gdańsk, photo: Muzeum Gdańska, Gdańsk

Domańska, *Dom Dircka Lylge w Gdańsku zw. „Domem Anielskim” lub „Angielskim”*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 1972, nr 1, pp. 59–71.

²⁵ Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie...*, pp. 157–161.

²⁶ Skibiński, *Immigration, Integration...*, pp. 78–79; see also: Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*, p. 185.

²⁷ Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst...*, pp. 15–18.

²⁸ Jadwiga Habela, *Relacje sasko-gdańskie w architekturze odrodzenia* [in:] *Komunikaty na sesję naukową poświęconą dziejom sztuki Pomorza*, Toruń 1966, pp. 84–87.

with lions' heads and paws, show similarity to the designs by the sculptor known today as the Precursor of Jacques Ducerceau²⁹ (fig. 11). The architectural detail and sculptural decoration of the façade was most likely created by the workshop under the stone sculptor Willem van der Meer the Elder (Wyllem Jacobssen), who is mentioned in the documents.³⁰ He arrived in Gdańsk from Ghent before 1570, and was one of the first émigré sculptors from the Low Countries who settled in the Baltic metropolis. He joined the masons', stonecutters' and stone sculptors' guild in Gdańsk, and ran a workshop until his death in 1583.³¹ Nonetheless, the decoration of the Lilie house remains his only confirmed sculptural work in the city. Later on, his son, Willem van der Meer the Younger, called Barth, became one of the most accomplished stonecutters in Gdańsk, and was responsible for the work on the Great Arsenal, which he carried out along



Fig. 11. Hans Kramer, Willem van der Meer the Elder, Gable of the house of Dietrick Lilie at 16 Chlebnicka Street, c. 1565–1570, Gdańsk, photo: Muzeum Gdańska, Gdańsk

²⁹ Krista De Jonge, *Columns and Pillars, Antique and Modern: Notes on Netherlandish Formal Inventions of the Early Sixteenth Century* [in:] *Reibungspunkte. Ordnung und Umbruch in Architektur und Kunst, Festschrift für Hubertus Günther*, Hg. Hanns Hubach, Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, Tadej Tassini, Petersberg 2008, pp. 41–48; *eadem*, *Le «Précurseur» Du Cerceau at les anciens Pays-Bas* [in:] *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. «un des plus grands architectes qui soient jamais trouvés en France»*, dir. Jean Guillaume, collab. Peter Fuhring, Paris 2010, pp. 91–107.

³⁰ Papritz, *Dietrich Lilie...*, pp. 160–161; cf. Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*, p. 185.

³¹ Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst...*, pp. 85–86; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna...*, pp. 186–187.

Abraham van den Blocke, and for the decorative mantelpiece in the Town Hall summer chamber.³²

The façade of the Lilie house displays a heterogeneity which is representative for all the work commissioned by the Loitz network in Gdańsk. Members of the urban elite employed artists and architects arriving in the city from diverse places. Trained in the Low Countries, and even France, the painters, sculptors and architects employed by the Connerts and Dietrick Lilie used various variants of the antique visual language. In this way, the patronage of the members of the Loitz network stimulated a process of artistic exchange which may be defined as a constant redefinition of these formal vocabularies based on encounters with other artists and their works.

The webs of relations formed by members of the civic elites which spanned Central and Northern Europe also played a significant role in the process of securing major commissions from other patrons, including kings and princes. This is well illustrated by the example of Bonaventura von Bodeck. He belonged to a prominent family whose members were burgomasters in Gdańsk and Elbląg (Elbing). In the mid-sixteenth century Bonaventura von Bodeck settled in Antwerp, where he conducted banking operations and had contacts with the Loitzes.³³ It is therefore remarkable to find him mentioned by the Antwerp sculptor Cornelis Floris among those who delivered payment instalments for the tomb of the Danish king Christian III, one of the most important works of art created in the Low Countries for a patron from the Baltic region.³⁴ Later in the century, the branch of the Von Bodeck family that remained in Prussia employed the sculptor Willem van den Blocke, who was almost certainly a pupil of Cornelis Floris and then lived in Gdańsk, to create an epitaph commemorating Valentin von Bodeck, one of Bonaventura's relatives.³⁵

The activities of the members of the Loitz network who were based in Gdańsk show the importance of affluent members of the civil elite for the artistic and cultural transformation which was taking place in north-eastern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. They also enrich our knowledge about the patterns of artistic patronage and transfer of the antique artistic vocabulary that reached this part of the continent in that period. Their patronage was an important factor that stimulated artists' mobility and movement of artistic models. They could also act as agents or mediators for other patrons,

³² Jacek Tylicki, *Meer, van der, czyli Barth* [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, t. 3, red. Stanisław Gierszewski, Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 180–185.

³³ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, 492/970, Gottfried Zamehl, *Genealogische Tafeln Elbingischer und Preussischer Familien* (1279–1776); regarding his contacts with the Loitzes, see: GeldKunstNetz, Karte, <https://www.geldkunstnetz.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php/karte/> [11.06.2020].

³⁴ Rigsarkivet København, 301, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, 1573–1575, Akter m.m. vedr. Christian III's gravmonument.

³⁵ Skibiński, *Willem van den Blocke...*, p. 92.

usually those higher up the socio-political ladder. Well-travelled, and familiar with artistic developments in other parts of Europe, merchants and bankers operating in Gdańsk and elsewhere thus formed a kind of circulatory system which permitted the dynamic and multifaceted transfer of new forms and ideas. In consequence, members of the Loitz trade network may be considered the vanguard of the artistic and cultural transformation taking place in Gdańsk and the entire Baltic region in the mid-sixteenth century.

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Sieć powiązań rodziny Loitzów a rozkwit sztuki renesansowej w Gdańsku (1550–1580)

Artykuł jest poświęcony mecenatowi artystycznemu rodziny Connertów oraz Dietricha Lilie, związanych z bankierską rodziną Loitzów. Zostały w nim omówione najważniejsze dzieła sztuki i architektury powstałe na ich zlecenie: dom Hansa Connerta przy ul. Długiej 45, dom Dietricha Lilie przy ul. Chlebnickiej 11 oraz epitafium Anny Loitz, z domu Connert, w kościele Mariackim. Autor stawia tezę, iż mecenat osób powiązanych z Loitzami odegrał bardzo istotną rolę w przyswojeniu na gdańskim gruncie antykizującego języka formalnego, wypracowanego w Niderlandach, we Francji i w krajach niemieckich. Było to możliwe dzięki temu, że Connertowie oraz Dietrich Lilie zatrudniali czołowych artystów i budowniczych posługujących się tym językiem w Gdańsku w najwcześniejszym okresie jego asymilacji. Należeli do nich budowniczy Hans Kramer z Drezna, kamieniarz Willem van der Meer starszy z Gandawy oraz tzw. Mistrz Kariatyd, anonimowy dziś rzeźbiarz wywodzący się z francuskiego środowiska artystycznego połowy XVI wieku.