# The Neo-Romanesque Churches of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław and St. Adalbero in Würzburg – the Examples of References to Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture[1]

Przemysław WASZAK

*Not only do we build for us and our children;*
*there is more to this: a church is erected for generations.*[2]

August Rincklake

**Abstract**

The article presents a comparative analysis of the neo-Romanesque churches in Inowrocław and Würzburg. The education, artistic career and publications of the designer of the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław, August Rincklake, as well as the architectural achievements of his younger brother, Wilhelm, proved to be important factors that shaped the church structure. Specific inspirations, correspondences and architectural references used in this monumental building have been identified. The discussion points include the westworks, the idea of the Saxon façade, other tower western structures and the encastellated building, and minor components, such as ornaments. The Church in Inowrocław has served to discuss distinctive features of the Romanesque and neo-Romanesque styles, the relationship between them, the principles governing them and the approach displayed around the year 1900 to the patterns that were distant in time and space. The point of comparison is the neo-Romanesque Church of St. Adalbero [*Adalberokirche*] in Würzburg to demonstrate numerous uses and the universal application of motifs borrowed from the system developed in proto-Romanesque and Romanesque Lombard architecture.

**Keywords:** neo-Romanesque, Romanesque Revival, late historicism, Romanesque architecture, proto-Romanesque architecture, mediaevalism, church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław, August Rincklake, church of St. Adalbero in Würzburg

---

## Introduction and terminology

Architecture can be metaphorically described as a language composed not of words, but of stone and brick forms. It can easily be read with the help of written sources, but also without them, when treated as an independent language of human creativity. Thus, it can provide an essential source of understanding the society that brought it into existence.[3]

When considering the neo-styles of the 19th and 20th centuries, scholars are undoubtedly more attracted to neo-Gothic architecture, which seems to be represented to a larger extent in monuments. However, it is worth noting that examples of neo-Romanesque architecture, originating from the artistic macro-region of Central Europe, also deserve to be studied. In order to do so, a comparative perspective, embedded in the history of formal analysis, as well as a research perspective typical of mediaeval studies should be adopted. It is not inessential that Gerhard Ribbrock reckoned both styles to be the most appropriate for religious buildings.[4] On the other hand, another eminent researcher, Henry-Russel Hitchcock – despite underlining the popularity of *Rundbogenstil* – pointed primarily to Gothic Revival as the style which, around the mid-19th century and onwards, was recognised and accepted as the most suitable for the construction of Western religious buildings.[5] As a matter of fact, more neo-styles made references to the Middle Ages; eclectic structures, modelled upon early Christian and Byzantine forms, were erected. Explicitly referring to the past, 19th-century neo-styles constituted a type of architectural novelty.[6] Discussing them, Augustus Pugin argued "that what he was defending was 'not a style but a principle.'" His views were aptly recounted by Robin Middleton and David Watkin, who wrote that "Gothic was the truthful expression of true construction and function, of true religion (i.e., Roman Catholicism)..."[7] By analogy, these words also brilliantly depict the fundamental characteristics of Romanesque Revival.

The fundamental definition of historicism in architecture embraces interest in the past as well as frequent stylistic references to the shapes borrowed from previous eras, which are distant in time. Significantly, most part of the 19th century was marked with various manifestations of historicism – an architectural current that died out in the early 20th century.[8] The designs of neo-style buildings evolved, became eclectic, referred to Romanesque originals to varying degrees and treated differently the notion of copy and variations on a theme borrowed from distant past.[9] Undoubtedly, 19th-century architecture is characterised by heterogeneity and the coexistence of many intertwining stylistic trends. Meanwhile, the increase in academic interest in historicism is dated at the 1960s and 1970s, when the architectural currents in question were initially assessed and perceived pejoratively; however, over time, it was recognised that they should be approached in keeping with the principles of academic objectivity and their stylistic distinctiveness was acknowledged.[10]

[3]  FRANKL, P.: *Gothic Architecture*, revised by P. CROSSLEY. New Haven – London 2000, pp. 20, 92, 276–278, 298 and passim (The author displays a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of Gothic).

[4]  RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), p. 160.

[5]  HITCHCOCK, H.-R.: *Architecture: nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Harmondsworth 1975, p. 247.

[6]  Confer: PUGIN, A. W. N.: *Contrasts: or a parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste. Accompanied by appropriate text*. Edinburgh 1898, pp. 1–7.

[7]  MIDDLETON, R. – WATKIN, D.: *Architecture of the Nineteenth Century*. Milano 2003, p. 332.

[8]  STEFAŃSKI, K.: Architektura. In: *Sztuka XIX wieku (z uzupełnieniem o sztukę Śląska i Pomorza Zachodniego)*. Warszawa 2021, (*Sztuka polska* 6. Ed.: MALINOWSKI, J.), p. 17.

[9]  RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 113, 135, 143, 145.

[10]  OSTROWSKA-KĘBŁOWSKA, Z.: Problem historyzmu w badaniach nad architekturą XIX wieku. In: *Myśl o sztuce: materiały sesji zorganizowanej z okazji czterdziestolecia istnienia Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Warszawa, listopad 1974*. Ed.: HRANKOWSKA, T. Warszawa 1976, pp. 75, 80–85; KRASSOWSKI, W.: Architektura XIX wieku. In: *Sztuka XIX wieku w Polsce: naród – miasto: materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, grudzień 1977*. Ed.: LISIŃSKA, H. Warszawa 1979, pp. 60, 66–67; RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 195, 197.

## The purpose of the article and methodological approach

My proposed original research topic is concerned with capturing the resources as well as with presenting the features of references and imitations that can be identified in neo-Romanesque architecture.

By discussing specific examples of two geographically distant neo-Romanesque churches, one situated in the Kujawy [*Cuiavia*] Land and the other in Lower Franconia and built several years apart, it will be possible to address the key issues of the neo-Romanesque style, as well as to present the reception of the resources of artistic and ornamental motifs and architectural details of the proto-Romanesque times and the Romanesque period encompassing the 10th to the 12th centuries. Primarily, the discussion will pertain to the ways of imitating parts of the mass and solutions adopted in the external architectural structure of buildings in the original Romanesque churches, known to the architects of the late 19th century. In each case, specific sources of the form and iconography of architecture as well as its constituent parts – both on a macro and micro scale – will be indicated and discussed. A formal comparative and typological analysis will constitute the core of the considerations.

## The Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław, Kujawy Land

*Commissioners and circumstances*

According to the archbishop Florian Stablewski's (1891–1906) wish the church was meant to be built in the neo-Romanesque style. It was explained in a written form by the consistory on 25 July 1893.[11] Stablewski, the archbishop in Gniezno was, after his theological studies in Munich, very interested in arts.[12] He was a distinguished patron of the arts and an art collector.[13] According to written sources the design made by August Rincklake in 1895 was accepted on 29 November and 1 December 1895. The works started in May 1898 and the church was consecrated on 20 October 1901.[14] There was a construction disaster in 1909, the northern gable wall of the transept of the church collapsed, but it was rebuilt up to 1929.[15] This fact does not influence my analyses, which consider mainly eastern and western parts – especially façade, towers, and the whole mass of the church.

There are a few factors which contributed to the creation of the imposing church in Inowrocław. In 1891 a papal encyclical *Rerum novarum* was issued and heavily influenced the development of church social activities in Greater Poland and Kuyavia. The wealth of Inowrocław had been noticeably growing for several decades. The parish was richly endowed. It was time of positivist economic and cultural development. The quickly growing local Catholic community was in urgent need of a new church, because the town had only one church. Finally, thanks to all the factors, after the church had been built, it was called "one of the most beautiful churches" in Poland.[16] According to the view expressed in 1901 by Edward Likowski, a bishop suffragan from Poznań who was visiting the newly built church in Inowrocław: "the church surpassed all churches built in the whole Poland in the last several decades, even the ones newly built in Warsaw."[17]

[11] ŚMIGIEL, K.: *Biskup Antoni Laubitz 1861–1939*. Gniezno 1994, pp. 24, 56–57.

[12] ŚMIGIEL, K.: *Florian Stablewski – arcybiskup gnieźnieński i poznański (1841–1906)*. Gniezno 1993, pp. 22, 33–34, 129, 135–136.

[13] MOLIK, W.: Biografia arcybiskupa Floriana Stablewskiego. In: *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 102, 1995, No. 2, pp. 111–113.

[14] ŚMIGIEL 1994 (see in note 11), p. 57.

[15] ŚMIGIEL 1994 (see in note 11), pp. 60–62; ŚMIGIEL, K.: Biskup Antoni Laubitz, 1861–1939. In: *Studia Gnesnensia*, 9, 1990, p. 232.

[16] ŚMIGIEL 1993 (see in note 12), pp. 79, 120, 121 (quotation), 123, 141–152, 180; ŚMIGIEL, K.: Wielki budowniczy: biskup Antoni Laubitz. In: *Pamięć miasta: honorowi obywatele Inowrocławia*. Ed. ŁASZKIEWICZ, T. Warszawa 2019, pp. 45–46, 53, 59, 63; ŚMIGIEL 1994 (see in note 11), pp. 154–155.

[17] KUFEL, R.: *Edward Likowski (1836–1915) – sufragan poznański, metropolita gnieźnieński i poznański, Prymas Polski*. Zielona Góra 2010, p. 467 (my free translation); ŚMIGIEL 1994 (see in note 11), p. 58.

Considering the title of this paper it is a coincidence, that the founder of the church in Inowrocław, contemporary parish priest Antoni Laubitz (who was appointed bishop suffragan in Gniezno in 1924), studied theology and philosophy in Würzburg in the years 1884–1887. Nevertheless, it is crucial, that he studied there the history of Christian art and then was continuously interested in this matter, published short articles on this subject and taught it in Inowrocław as well as was being collecting paintings and artefacts and was travelling abroad a lot.[18] Taking these facts into consideration and in relation to the discussed church it is possible to call him a conscious patron of the architecture. But he rather was neither a peremptory nor a despotic patron of the arts.[19] Although he had leadership qualities.[20]

### Designers

Erected in the years 1898–1901 (Figs. 1, 2), the Roman Catholic Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław was designed by August Rincklake (1843–1915). The proposal for the development of the space inside the hall-like nave derived from a design dating at the years 1893–1896, made by the same architect and submitted for a competition for a garrison church in Berlin. His concept church in Berlin was eventually realised in the neo-Romanesque style by August Menken. A monographer of the architectural activities of the brothers August and Wilhelm Rincklake (1851–1927), Ribbrock noted in his dissertation that after Wilhelm II Hohenzollern had assumed the imperial throne (1888–1918), buildings reminiscent of the Romanesque style were constructed more readily. The Inowrocław church is one of



*Fig. 1. Inowrocław, The Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1898–1901, façade. Photo by author, 2022.*

the late and last works in the architect's *oeuvre*. The construction of the church was supervised by a local architect, Kazimierz Przyluski.[21] Around this period (project 1895, construction 1898–1901), the

[18] ŚMIGIEL 2019 (see in note 16), pp. 46, 52, 54, 60, 62; ŚMIGIEL 1994 (see in note 11), pp. 80–81, 85, 107, 118–123, 138, 153, 158–159.

[19] Two main types of art patronage and different shades of the meaning of this word: KRASSOWSKI, W.: Mecenat artystyczny czy polityka artystyczna. In: *Mecenas, kolekcjoner, odbiorca: materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Katowice, listopad 1981*. Eds.: KARWOWSKA, E. – MARCZAK-KRUPA, A. Warszawa 1984, pp. 19–20, 24, 26–27.

[20] ŚMIGIEL 2019 (see in note 16), p. 57.

[21] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 19, 28, 35, 68–70, cat. no. 4.1.1.32, figs. 27, 28; See also: FRYCZ, J.: Architektura i sztuka Inowrocławia. In: *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 2, *(Od 1919 r. do końca lat siedemdziesiątych)*. Ed. BISKUP, M. Warszawa – Poznań 1982, p. 495; *Die Geschichte, die wirtschaftliche und die kulturelle Entwickelung des Kreises Hohensalza bis zum Jahre 1911: (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zeitraumes von 1870 bis 1911)*. Hohensalza 1911, p. 726, fig. on p. 726; WASZAK, S.: *Przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach: (Kruszwica, Strzelno, Pakość)*. Inowrocław 1933, pp. 16–18, figs. on pp. 17, 19; KOPEĆ, K.: *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach: (Kruszwica – Strzelno – Trzemeszno – Mogilno – Pakość)*. Inowrocław 1933, pp.

*Fig. 2. Inowrocław, The Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1898–1901, the presbytery. Photo by author, 2022.*

designer of the Inowrocław church was also the builder of the neo-Romanesque St. Anne's Catholic Church in Neuenkirchen, designed by his younger brother. Almost simultaneously, August Rincklake held similar functions during the construction of other churches designed by Wilhelm Rincklake and situated in Steinfeld and Bottrop-Boy.[22]

## Inspirations, state of research

Having made the necessary observations, one may be tempted to conclude that the unaccomplished project of a bi-denominational (Catholic and Evangelical) garrison church in Dresden, dated to 1893 and slightly older than the Inowrocław church,

56–59, figs. on pp. 56–58; SIKORSKI, C.: *Świadkowie 800-lecia: encyklopedia wiedzy o zabytkach Inowrocławia*. Ed.: SIKORSKA, J. Inowrocław 2002, pp. 361–362, figs. on pp. 356, 359; *Powiat inowrocławski*, Eds.: CHRZANOWSKI, T. – KORNECKI, M. Warszawa 1974, (*Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* 11, *Województwo bydgoskie* 8), p. 13; MIKOŁAJCZAK, E.: Rincklake August. In: *Inowrocławski słownik biograficzny* 1. Ed. Idem. Inowrocław 1991, pp. 82–83; Idem: Przyłuski Kazimierz. In: *Inowrocławski słownik biograficzny* 2. Ed. Idem. Inowrocław 1994, pp. 89–90; BREJZA, R.: Laubitz Antoni. In: MIKOŁAJCZAK 1991 (see in note 21), pp. 53–54; RUCK, G.: Rincklake. In: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* 99, Ed. BEYER, A. – SAVOY, B. – TEGETHOFF, W. Berlin – Boston 2018, p. 6.

[22] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 118, 120–122.

displays similarities to the edifice in Kujawy with regard to the shaping of the massive, cubical, central towers with soaring, pyramidal roofs as well as to the round turrets flanking the almost flat surface of the outer wall.[23] A similar rendering of the façade with a single, monumental tower, topped with a similar roof and corner pinnacles can – in my opinion – be seen in the design of the neo-Gothic Church of the Sacred Heart in Münster, dating to 1894 and produced by Wilhelm Rincklake.[24] To some extent, the choice of architectural style of the Inowrocław church might have been influenced by its proximity to the construction site of a Romanesque church from the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, at the time a ruin rebuilt in the years 1900–1902, i.e. only several years after the work on the neo-Romanesque church commenced.[25] It is important to note the significant stylistic difference and the radically diverse shapes, motifs and details featured in these two Inowrocław churches. They were borrowed from the Romanesque style; however, individual elements are characterised by different origin, for – despite the universality of the Romanesque style in architecture – the trend boasted many regional variations and was chronologically diverse. 2014 saw the publication of a comprehensive guide by Katarzyna Podczaska. Although it extensively addresses topics on art history, it hardly discusses architecture itself.[26] Meanwhile, another researcher, Stefan Dyroff, published a short article on two architects who worked in Kujawy, one of whom was August Rincklake.[27] A succinct article by Czesław Sikorski was also devoted primarily to the architectural sculpture of

the Inowrocław church and addressed ideatic and ideological issues.[28] Sikorski pointed to the fact that "art historians forgot" about the art of the church in question.[29] Regardless of the research analyses discussed and literature cited, the considerations and conclusions presented in my article shed new light on the issue of interest to us.

## The context of 19th – century styles

Shaped by 19th – century architecture, the artistic landscape of towns and cities and its typical values are gaining increasing recognition in Poland. It is worth noting that the construction of the Inowrocław church coincided with the construction boom and the final phase of historicism with developed, stylistically mature architectural forms. As it can be concluded from the review of monuments of partitioned Poland, buildings referring to Romanesque structures were a minority among neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance, neo-Classical, neo-Baroque and neo-Rococo edifices. Despite the predominance of other neo-styles, it is worth remarking that a parish church designed by Jan Sas-Zubrzycki and referring to the Romanesque style was erected in Błażowa (1896–1900), a district of Rzeszów, almost in concurrence with the Inowrocław church.[30] On the other hand, the neo-Romanesque style was eagerly used in some regions of Prussia (Silesia in particular) and Western Pomerania.[31] Thus, the architectural and stylistic solutions of the Inowrocław church are well-versed in both the general stylistic tendencies of the era and the context of the artistic macro-region of Prussia.

[23] Ibidem, pp. 66, 204, fig. 24.

[24] Ibidem, pp. 108–111, fig. 76.

[25] WASZAK, P.: Dzieło sztuki jako ogniskowa pamięci ujęta na tle współczesnej problematyki dziedzictwa kulturowego. Jego rola w kształceniu. Studium przypadku. In: *Studia i szkice z badań nad pamięcią zbiorową w Polsce w XX i XXI wieku*. Eds.: OPIOŁA-CEGIEŁKA, M. – SZCZUTKOWSKA, J. Bydgoszcz 2020, pp. 155–163, figs. 1, 2; Idem: Interpretations and Permanence – References to Medieval Artistic Solutions. In: *The Middle Ages: Narratives of Art*. Ed.: WENTA, J. in cooperation with: ORENDUFF, C. and KOPCZYŃSKA, M. Toruń 2019, pp. 126–127. See also DYROFF, S.: Alexis Langer i August Rincklake – niemieccy projektanci kościołów katolickich na Kujawach. In: *Ziemia Kujawska*, 18, 2005, p. 194.

[26] PODCZASKA, K.: *Kościół pw. Zwiastowania NMP w Inowrocławiu: przewodnik*. Inowrocław 2014, pp. 48–58 and passim.

[27] DYROFF 2005 (see in note 25), pp. 193–195.

[28] SIKORSKI, C.: Architektura kościoła p.w. Zwiastowania NMP w Inowrocławiu. In: *Rocznik Kasprowiczowski*, 9, 2000, pp. 145–149.

[29] Ibidem, p. 149.

[30] STEFAŃSKI 2021 (see in note 8), pp. 18, 31, 46, 87, 104–105, fig. on p. 104.

[31] STEFAŃSKI, K., Architektura na Śląsku i Pomorzu Zachodnim. In: MALINOWSKI 2021 (see in note 8), pp. 509–528.

## Genesis of the type of the middle tower

Standing out in the perception of the mass of the church is the monumental seventy-seven-metre tall central tower in the western structure, covered with a tall rhombus-patterned roof – typical of the Romanesque era. The tower is situated on the axis of the façade and integrated therewith to a considerable height. It does not stand alone in front of the face of the wall. It is reminiscent of the tower of the western structure of the Westphalian Cathedral of St. Patroclus [*St. Patrokli*] in Soest (Fig. 3), dated at around 1200.[32] Still, the solution applied in Inowrocław may have been inspired by the appearance of the tower in the Westphalian cathedral basilica of Bishop Meinwerk's foundation in Paderborn, which was regarded by Kenneth J. Conant as a typically German tower, whose sub-roof part was dated at 1009 and alluded to the tower housing the Saviour's Chapel in Centula [mod. Saint-Riquier], Picardy, northern France – a part of the Carolingian Benedictine monastic complex – a model for many edifices.[33] Today, the tower of the Paderborn Cathedral is only dated to as late as around 1220;[34] nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility of having been inspired by chronologically distant architecture in the late 19th century. By the same token, exact dating or dating consistent with the current state of research is not essential for the reception of an old, e.g. mediaeval, artwork in 19th and 20th – century fiction. It is vital that these models were known in the late 19th century and their application is explicit in this particular building. In the context of the genesis of the shape of the middle tower of the Inowrocław church and the western turrets flanking it, it is worth mentioning the observation made by Krzysztof Stefański, who noted that the architecture of the last decade of the 19th century developed intensively and adopted a "German character" already at the time of mature historicism and in the Prussian partition (i.e. the part of Poland that became a part of Prussia after Russia, Prussia, and Austria invaded and divided the country in 1772, 1793 and 1795, up to 1918 erasing it from
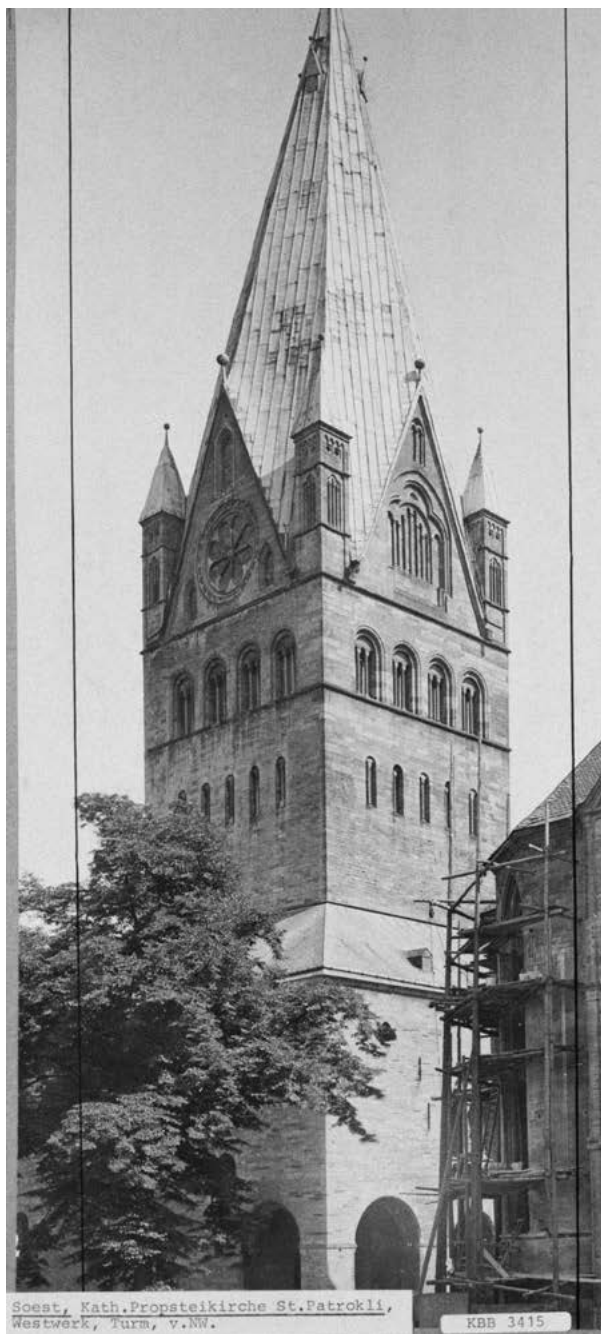


*Fig. 3. Soest, St. Patroklus Church [St. Partokli], tower in westwork, north-western view, ca. 1200, photo no. mi02918g08 (KBB 3.415), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg. The photo was taken in the years 1885–1920.*

[32] CONANT, K. J.: *Carolingian and Romanesque architecture 800 to 1200*. New Haven – London 1993, pp. 416–417, fig. 325.

[33] Ibidem, p. 126, fig. 80.

[34] KAISER, W.: Architektura romańska w Niemczech. In: *Sztuka romańska: architektura, rzeźba, malarstwo*. Ed.: TOMAN, R. Translated by R. WOLSKI. Köln 2000, p. 64, fig. on p. 65.

*Fig. 4. Andernach, St. Mary's Church, north-western view, ca. 1200, photo no. mi03390e08 (KBB 5.723), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg. The photo was taken in the years 1885–1920.*

the map of Europe). It is significant that even before the November Uprising of 1830–1831, politics was clearly visible in the architecture of the three partitions.[35] As of the first partition of Poland in 1772, Inowrocław was a part of Prussia, excluding the time when it belonged to the Duchy of Warsaw. It is worth mentioning at this point that Hitchcock considered three neo-Romanesque English churches dating to the first half of the 19th century to be unique and close to Prussian edifices.[36] The author adopted the German character of the hall church as well as that of *Rundbogenstil*, the round-arch style, a variant of the neo-Romanesque style which developed in the first half of the 19th century and to which Hitchcock often refers in his work.[37] On the other hand, Conant – a researcher of Romanesque architecture – associates the austerity of forms with German architecture of the Romanesque era. He describes it as "conservative" and summarises its features with a triad of terms: "boldness, dignity, austerity."[38]

The divisions in the sub-roof part of the triangular gables of the main tower in the Inowrocław church display considerable similarity to the same part of the western towers of St. Mary's Church in Andernach, dated at around 1200. Analogies to the architecture of this church are particularly evident in the stepped arcatures and the extensive use of deeply, three-dimensionally and rather sharply cut decoration of Lombard origin (Fig. 4).

### Turrets and eastern apses

The eastern part of the Inowrocław church is closed with three apses. This symmetrical solution: a larger main apse with two flanking apses can be described as classical. The square-shaped, tall and slender eastern stair turrets flanking the rainbow wall are reminiscent of a pair of similar turrets in the Lombard St. Abbondio Basilica in Como, northern Italy, dated at around 1063–1095. The more prominent turrets in Como are examples of towers serving as belfries, typical of the region.[39] Even more prominent, but also similar to the turrets from Como, are the towers of the partially preserved 12th-century abbey church in Murbach, southern Alsace.[40] In the Inowrocław church, the other elements dividing the wall and the places where they are used are also similar to the fragments visible in the basilica in Como. Consequently, the stair turrets crowning the eastern and western parts assumed different shapes in the Inowrocław church. An example of a similar solution with diverse turret pairs can be seen

[35] STEFAŃSKI 2021 (see in note 8), pp. 21, 36, 38, 41, 85, 99; Idem: *Architektura XIX wieku na ziemiach polskich*. Warszawa 2005, p. 221.

[36] HITCHCOCK 1975 (see in note 5), pp. 117–118.

[37] Ibidem, pp. 166, 168 and passim.

[38] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 135, 137, 178.

[39] Ibidem, pp. 387–388, fig. 300.

[40] Ibidem, p. 413, fig. 322.

in the Mainz Cathedral (with a double choir), dated at the late 11th and 12th centuries and around 1200, also due to the shape of the towers, distinguished by bipolarity.

## The scope of motifs in Lombardian Romanesque and building modularity

The numerous architectural elements used in the Inowrocław church derive from the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Lombard system of wall articulation, which served as a source of inspiration as early as in proto-Romanesque times and resulted in a plethora of valuable constructions in Germany, especially in Rhineland, but also in areas of Catalonia, Scandinavia, Poland and many other regions. Elements of the easily recognisable Lombard-style 19th-century architecture had already been used in the designs by Italian architects: Henri Marconi (1792–1863) and Francesco Maria Lanci (1799–1875). The effects of the latter's work can be seen, for example, in the façade of St. Catherine's Church in Służew, Warsaw, dated to 1846.[41] References to the original Lombard Romanesque style can also be seen in the building in Inowrocław in the form of under-eaves arcaded friezes (arcatures, *bandes lombardes*). Tall, sharply-cut niches closed with full arches (blind arcades) as well as shallow and narrow lisenes were multiplied. References to mediaeval techniques, biforas, rose windows, trefoils in oculi and bull's eye-shaped window glazing were made. The walls are built with cross-shaped red brickwork. The principle of *Materialsichtigkeit*, i.e. making the building material visible, was followed – just as late-Gothic woodcarving was not polychromatic to underline the material used. The unplastered walls in the Inowrocław church can also be related to the theory of the "honesty of material", which became popular in early historicism in German regions, and to the *Rohbau* style, i.e. literally meaning "raw building", which was typical of, among others, the Prussian partition.[42] Monumental brick buildings with rich Lombard motifs were also constructed in America, as exemplified by Union Station in Providence, designed by Thomas A. Tefft and erected from 1848 onwards.[43] It is a perfect reflection of historicising practice, as bricks or small brick-shaped stones were used in Lombardy in Romanesque and proto-Romanesque times.[44] It is worth mentioning that Pugin's theoretical views on neo-Gothic become interesting in the context of neo-Romanism. As recounted by Hitchcock: "If the Gothic were really to be revived, [...] its basic principles must be understood and accepted. Merely to copy Gothic forms was a futile [...] The methods of building of the Middle Ages must be revived."[45]

Stone is used in a part of the plinth going round the Inowrocław church and in the lowest tier of the façade. The same material was used to provide architectural details: the structure of the deeply set, large western rose window, sculptures and reliefs, cornices and some window and door stonework. Lombard elements were crafted using modern techniques and applied almost as if by a "machine". Significantly, the plans of 12th-century Cistercian churches can also be described as "machine-made" for they are distinguished by strict repetitiveness, features typical of a re-copied, matrix-printed, stencilled pattern or an only slightly altered module. It is noteworthy that the module delineated by the square formed at the intersection of the transept and central nave – in compliance with the *quadratischer Schematismus* principle – was repetitively used for the harmonious composition of the church floorplan as early as in Ottonian architecture.[46] Applied early, particularly in Cistercian Romanesque, this repetitiveness becomes most evident in the sketch floorplan of a Cistercian church, also referred to as the Bernardine plan, from the sketchbook of the draughtsman or architect Villard d'Honnecourt, created in the 1230s.

[41] STEFAŃSKI 2021 (see in note 8), p. 54, fig. on p. 54.

[42] Ibidem, pp. 63, 70–71.

[43] HITCHCOCK 1975 (see in note 5), pp. 137–138, fig. 83.

[44] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 108–109.

[45] HITCHCOCK 1975 (see in note 5), p. 148, see also p. 152.

[46] BUKOWSKA, A.: Przed rokiem 1000? Katedra w Poznaniu, biskup Unger i kościół benedyktyński w Memleben. In: *Modus: Prace z historii sztuki*, 8–9, 2009, p. 290, fig. 3 on p. 289.

The repetitiveness of modules is also typical of the Carolingian floorplan of Sankt Gallen (c. 816–836), late Antique baths of Diocletian from c. 300, and the façade of the Strasbourg Cathedral designed by Erwin von Steinbach in 1277 (Plan B).[47] Consequently, almost machine-like seriality is not exclusively a feature of late historicist architecture and 19th-century techniques of rapid building and decoration, so different from the mediaeval methods used at the construction site, at which several generations of builders and several different architects worked. In this context, it is mandatory to quote John Ruskin: "It seems a fantastic paradox, but it is nevertheless a most important truth, that no architecture can be truly noble which is *not* imperfect."[48] However, it would be better to describe this "nobility" of architecture with such words as: "naturalness", "truthfulness", and "authenticity".

## Western turrets – analogies

Erected on the western end of the Inowrocław church, the other pair of turrets has slightly different genesis than the eastern ones. Cylindrical, more massive rather than slender, the western turrets topped with soaring, almost conical, roofs are more monumental than the lower, cuboidal, eastern turrets which are built on a basis with a smaller cross-section and are more closely integrated with the presbytery structure. Very similar in shape to the ones from the Inowrocław church, cylindrical turrets are known from the encastellated Romanesque façade of the Trier Cathedral, dating to the 11th and 12th centuries and rebuilt in the 13th century.[49] Fortified western façade of the Trier Cathedral is distinguished by an extensive application of the Lombard system of wall articulation and by cuboidal turrets – to

some extent reminiscent of the main tower of the Inowrocław church – one of which is topped with a roof similar to that of the turrets in the Inowrocław church; however, without the corner pinnacles. At this point, it should be mentioned that in 1886 August Rincklake wrote an article dedicated to the Trier Duomo;[50] it was twelve years before the start of construction of the Inowrocław church that he designed. Moreover, the Trier Cathedral also features bipolar turrets: cuboidal ones in the eastern part and cylindrical, with a rather considerable diameter, in the western part. The turrets of the imperial cathedrals (*Kaiserdome*) in Worms and Mainz[51] bear certain resemblance to the cylindrical turrets of the Trier Cathedral although the ones in Speyer do not. This is due to the popularity of a version of neo-Romanesque architecture referring to the imperial cathedrals from the time of Wilhelm II, during whose reign the situation of the church improved compared to the period of *kulturkampf*.[52] An analogy can also be observed in the solution applied in the cylindrical towers of the Benedictine abbey church of Maria Laach, consecrated in 1156 and imbued with Lombard architectural detail to such an extent that it is considered a "Lombard-influenced version of St. Michael at Hildesheim",[53] built in the first third of the 11th century (between 1001 and 1033). Interestingly, August Rincklake's brother, Wilhelm Rincklake, worked on the restoration of the Maria Laach church in Rhineland-Palatinate in the years 1898–1927, and joined the local monastic community in 1896,[54] i.e. shortly before the construction of the Inowrocław church began.

It is worth considering other similarities to the lateral cylindrical towers in the western façade. Some analogies can be seen in the façade with two integrated towers, i.e. the Saxon façade, a type of represen-

---

[47] FERNIE, E.: *Romanesque architecture: the first style of the European age.* New Haven – London 2014, pp. 35–36, figs. 79–80; FRANKL 2000 (see in note 3), pp. 170, 172, fig. 168.

[48] RUSKIN, J.: *The stones of Venice*, vol. 2. London 1853, p. 170.

[49] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 104, 135, 421, fig. 330; KUBACH, H. E.: *Architektur der Romanik.* Stuttgart – Mailand 1974, p. 118, fig. 118.

[50] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 24–25; RINCKLAKE,

A.: Ueber den Dom in Trier. In: *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 20.01.1886, No. 3A, pp. 28–30.

[51] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 135, 421–423, figs. 331, 333.

[52] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 120, 142.

[53] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 136–137, fig. 93.

[54] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 31, 34, 151–160.

tative façade derived from the façade of Strasbourg Cathedral as per its shape around 1015.[55] Saxon façade might be the source for the Inowrocław one. Though, common elements can be noticed in edifices referring to the original Carolingian westwork of Saint-Riquier in Centula, famous for its mature shaping of the church structure and interior dating to c800, as well as to the Ottonian St. Pantaleon church in Cologne, dating to 966–980. Rhombus-patterned roofs and Lombard detail can also be found in numerous Romanesque churches in Cologne: St. Mary's in the Capitol [*St. Maria im Kapitol*] and the Basilica of the Holy Apostles [*St. Aposteln*]. August Rincklake referred to the turrets and towers of the Romanesque churches of Rhineland in his earlier designs, while in an article published in 1881 he compared the Cologne Cathedral, built in the High Gothic style, to the Romanesque churches located in the city.[56] Other examples of geographically distant references to the Saxon façade include Skaraborg from the mid-12th century. Erected from the late 11th century onwards, St. Andrew's Church in Cracow was also modelled on this design. It is worth emphasising the difference between the westwork from the west structure, i.e. *Westbau*, which was applied in the Inowrocław church despite the monumentalism of the western outer wall of the building.

### St. Adalbero's Church (*Adalberokirche*) in Würzburg, Lower Franconia

This Bavarian church was built slightly earlier than the one in Inowrocław, i.e. between 1894 and 1899. It was designed by Franz Joseph Ritter von Denzinger while its construction was supervised by Joseph Schmitz.[57] The building was restored after the Second World War.

The Würzburg church (Fig. 5) was built – also in the neo-Romanesque style – of light grey stone. Its distinctive feature is the bi-towered western structure. It was embedded in a more compact construction,



*Fig. 5. Würzburg, St. Adalbero's Church [Adalberokirche], 1894–1899, façade. Photo by author, 2010.*

without the "breathing space" typical of the Inowrocław church – the vast empty area surrounding the religious edifice, and without only lower buildings in its background. Thus, it seems that despite their chronological affinity and having originated in the same stylistic period, the two churches share less than they could. However, what makes the architecture of both churches similar is the extensive use of motifs of Lombard origin, involving a comprehensive and vivid application of the wall articulation system. Moreover, the building in Würzburg features the motif of columns referring to classical models – it was assumed the form of Roman canopy portals, in

---

[55] CONANT 1993 (see in note 32), pp. 125, 415–416, 435, figs. 79, 323–325, 349.

[56] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 21, 41; RINCKLAKE, A.: Der Dom zu Köln. In: *Westermanns Monatshefte*, 49, 1881, pp. 501–516.

[57] KUMMER, S.: *Kunstgeschichte der Stadt Würzburg: 800–1945*. Regensburg 2011, pp. 242–244, fig. 102.

which the column bases rest on the bodies of lions. These are the Lombard beast columns.

Mieczyslaw Gębarowicz was one of the first to distinguish between the Romanesque Lombard beast pillar – found, for example, in the portal of St. Zeno's church in Verona – and its more famous counterpart from Languedoc.[58] The French structure – an example of which is the beast column at Souillac from around 1125 – the entire shaft of the support was densely entwined with carvings of animals, sometimes biting each other. Occasionally, it featured human figures. St. Adalbero's church has many flat friezes – modelled on Romanesque patterns: rhombic, saw-tooth, arcatures, chevron (zigzag), figural, serrated (made of chiselled and edge-arranged ashlars) – and shallow, blind, Lombard under-eaves galleries. The façades are segmented by lisenes, buttresses with two or three offsets, as well as by slender half-columns with shaft-rings at mid-height, thus breaking the uninterrupted upward thrust of these vertical architectural elements dividing the wall. The capitals allude to Romanesque cushion capitals, including those decorated with semicircles, as in the monasteries of the German Hirsaugian reform and the Holy Trinity Church in Strzelno, in Kujawy. It is less frequently that the capitals refer to composite forms with simplified, blocky shapes. Biforas, narrow and tall shooting windows of pencil-like proportions or broadly-angled outwards, single windows and radial rose windows are commonly featured.

## Original architecture of the Romanesque era and neo-Romanesque constructions

The additive principle followed in massive Romanesque buildings is often emphasised. It is based on as if gluing together of various stereometric solids in a harmonious manner: angular – rectangular, cubic, prismatic, pyramidal, operating at right angles, acute angles, obtuse angles and straight or kinked lines, but also at a gradual, developing both upwards and horizontally addition of curvilinear forms – cylindrical, semi-cylindrical, conical, semi-conical, domed, operating with planes, figures, contours and spherical lines. The geometrical figures used are usually distinguished by regular shapes. Addition often involves proportional piling of the constituent parts of the church mass, the gradual joining of one with the other. This principle, suitably modified, can be seen in both the bulky proto-Romanesque churches of southern Europe, the soaring wooden masted (stave) churches of the north of the continent, as well as in later buildings, including major mature developments, such as the abbey of Cluny III, dated to the years 1088–1131. This principle is also applied in neo-Romanesque architecture, but – as a matter of fact – only routinely, in a machine-like fashion, while the components of the mass are attached to each other almost mechanically, as the examples of the two churches analysed herein show. Similar is the use of friezes and architectural details, which are as if placed on the face of the wall or embossed into the masonry. Late historicist architects use a wealth of forms familiar to them from many edifices, both geographically distant and chronologically heterogeneous. It could be said that, consequently, they are more knowledgeable than the Romanesque builders. They are familiar with numerous examples and literature, have university education and are considerably skilled although, unlike Romanesque architects of the time, they do not work in the cathedral mason's lodges or mobile building workshops of the time, nor acquire the practical knowledge that could be obtained at Romanesque building sites, and thus do not advance in the ranks in the mason's lodges.

By the time of Romanesque Revival, the stock of Romanesque forms had taken the form of a codified, accessible dictionary. Forms did not have to evolve or be invented, unlike in the early, dynamically developing and widely influential Lombard Romanesque period, when advanced architectural solutions were applied almost in compliance with the *creatio ex nihilo* principle.

The construction of the brick church in Inowrocław can also be regarded as historicising in nature because of the historical influence of Lombard early Romanesque architecture on the emergence and evolution of brick architecture in areas situated east of the river Elbe.[59]

---

[58] GĘBAROWICZ, M.: *Sztuka średniowieczna*. Lwów 1934, pp. 163–164, 171–172.

[59] WETESKO, L.: Romańska i wczesnogotycka architektura kościoła pocysterskiego w Oliwie (XII–XIII w.). In: *Nasza Przeszłość*, 83, 1994, pp. 430, 448, footnote 10 on p. 430.

### The style of the Inowrocław church and artistic profile of its creator – summary

There is no doubt that the architect of the Inowrocław church was an artist with practical experience. Primarily the author of many projects and buildings, he was also an artist with an academic background, a professor of architecture and medieval ornamentation as well as building design at the Technical University 'Carolo-Wilhelmina' in Braunschweig, around 1876–1890. He retired from university eight years before he started erecting the Inowrocław church,[60] where he explicitly applied motifs and structure-shaping ideas deriving from the Ottonian and Romanesque architecture of Westphalia (especially Soest), Cologne, Rhineland Palatinate (primarily Trier and Andernach) and Lombardy – the latter a particularly thriving region which was the source of the greatest number of model, inspiring solutions in the Romanesque era. Thus, in terms of the construction of the building mass, the artist did not opt for an eclectic compilation of early Christian or Byzantine motifs, to which eras the church interior refers, which creates a surprising contrast between the interior and the exterior. The significance of the Inowrocław church he designed is emphasised by the fact that it was August Rincklake's last artwork representing solutions specific to church architecture. The churches he designed slightly later – St.

James's in Ramsloh from 1899–1900 and Holy Cross in Wollersheim from 1900–1903 – are neo-Gothic adaptations of the design made for Inowrocław.[61]

### Conclusions

The aim of this extensive formal analysis of the style of the two churches, both dated to the late 19th century (and the edifice in Inowrocław also to the very early 20th century) was to better determine their roots discernible in structures and details of original Romanesque and proto-Romanesque architecture, especially Lombard and German ones. Some new thoughts concerning the 19th – century architectural sources of the style of the Inowrocław church were expressed, too. Thanks to the analysis of these two individual case studies synthetic remarks and general considerations relating to both Romanesque and late Historicist architectural solutions were made possible. Especially the sketched connections between these two artistic epochs were particularly interesting. The 19th – century sources as well as writings of 19th – century theoreticians were also referred to as valuable sources. Broad historical, artistical, economical, social, and political contexts of the creation of the church in Inowrocław were taken into account. The role of commissioners and circumstances leading to the construction of the Inowrocław church were explained.

*(English translation by Magdalena Kopczyńska & author)*

---

[60] RIBBROCK 1985 (see in note 2), pp. 15–18.

[61] Ibidem, pp. 71–72.

# The Neo-Romanesque Churches of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław and St. Adalbero in Würzburg – the Examples of References to Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture

*Résumé*

The text addresses drawing on ancient art and the creative transformation of mediaeval, Romanesque and proto-Romanesque patterns into neo-Romanesque architecture at the stage of late historicism in the late 19$^{th}$ century. To conduct a comparative analysis, two monumental churches have been studied, primarily the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Inowrocław and St. Adalbero's Church in Würzburg. The use of references to Romanesque architecture typical of the 19$^{th}$ century has been shown, as has the predominance of a developed and coherent system of wall articulation and decoration, originating from Lombard architecture and widely used in both buildings analysed herein. The specificity of neo-Romanesque architecture concerning seriality, repetitiveness, vividness, sharpness and compilation of forms has been shown. Various applications of the principle of the harmonious addition of the Romanesque church have been shown, and a definition of the specificity of this principle, typical of proto-Romanesque architecture as well as of outstanding buildings of the High Romanesque era, has been developed. The considerations have included the question of the Saxon façade, the westwork and solutions typical of tower structures.

Moreover, new concrete analogies to the artistic form of the Inowrocław church have been propounded. The considerations have been set in the context of the history of 19$^{th}$-century architectural transformations in Europe and America and in the context of the thought of architects and architectural theorists of the time. Political events of the 19$^{th}$ century and national identity have been of significant importance for the specific character of the architecture discussed. The contexts of architectural solutions of the Romanesque period have been presented: technical, typological, clear divisions and the systems of the construction of horizontal projections applied based on the principle of strict modularity. The relevance of the texts, the biography and the creative and academic career of August Rincklake for the Inowrocław church he designed have been demonstrated. The Inowrocław church is of high artistic value. It is significant for history and art history as a vivid set of specific, widely applied references to the Romanesque period in terms of both the solution of individual components of the building mass and minor elements, including ornaments. Possible influences of Wilhelm Rincklake's activity on the Inowrocław church, designed by his elder brother, August Rincklake, have been noted. Wilhelm Rincklake was another prolific architect who – shortly before the construction of the edifice described herein began – chose monastic life and continued his career as a monastic architect.

**Przemysław Waszak, PhD**
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń
Faculty of Fine Arts,
Department of the History of Art and Culture
ul. Sienkiewicza 30/32
87-100 Toruń, Poland
e-mail: pwaszak@umk.pl