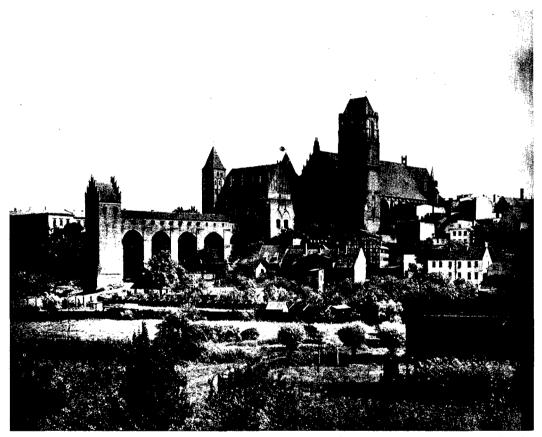
SCOTTISH MEMORIALS IN MARIENWERDER CATHEDRAL IN POME-SANIA. By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.SCOT.

The ample rolling plains that skirt the Baltic, where stone is scarce. but stiff, tenacious, glacial clays abound, have been for centuries the home of a flourishing architecture in brick. This architecture reached its highest development during the fourteenth century in the broad lands east of the Vistula which were conquered and colonised by the Order of the Teutonic Knights. Within this area the ecclesiastical edifices, of the usual Baltic type, are accompanied by a highly specialised phase of castle building which is the direct outcome of the monastic discipline and conventual organisation of the Order. The combination of the cross and the sword entailed a corresponding combination of the fortress and the cloister. All the characteristics of this architecture, during its best period and both in its military and in its ecclesiastical departments, are illustrated in an impressive manner at Marienwerder, the capitular seat of the wealthy diocese and province of Pomesania. Here we have (fig. 1) an association of a cathedral and a capitular castle on a scale surpassed in Europe, perhaps, only at Durham. And whereas at Durham cathedral and palace merely stand side by side, at Marienwerder they are combined in structural union to form an organic whole-an architectural complex which undoubtedly ranks among the major building achievements of the Middle Ages.

The first settlement of the Teutonic Order at Marienwerder dated from 1233. Throughout this century its history was one of constant struggle and disaster; but once the subjugation of the heathen Prussians had been accomplished, and the politico-ecclesiastical organisation of Pomesania completed, the way stood clear for the economic and cultural

¹ Joseph von Eichendorff, Die Wiederherstellung des Schlosses der Deutschen Ordensritter zu Marienburg, ed. 1922, p. 16.

development of Marienwerder, which during the fourteenth century, like other towns of the Order, enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Up to this point the original town church, a modest edifice, had done duty as the cathedral of the diocese; but now came the resolve to replace



[Photo Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin.

Fig. 1. Marienwerder: General view of Cathedral and Castle from south-west.

it by a new high church on a great scale, associated with a fortified residence for the canons of the chapter.

The castle was commenced quite early in the fourteenth century and was complete by 1336: the foundation of the new cathedral took place in 1343, and it was finished in 1384. The castle forms a sturdy

¹ Johannes Heise, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, vol. iii. (Pomesanien), pp. 31-88, has attempted to prove that the erection of the church was begun *circa*

quadrilateral pile with square angle towers, and from its west side projects the mighty arched gallery and garderobe tower known as the Dansk, while on the north front is the similar but much smaller Brunnenturm or Well-Tower. Equally with the castle the cathedral was equipped for defence, and the colossal belfry or keep-tower, 184 feet in height, is common to both. The whole mass of buildings forms one of the noblest combinations of secular and ecclesiastical architecture that the Middle Ages have left to us.

The cathedral consists of an aisle-less choir of four bays, with a trilateral apse, and an aisled nave of five bays, not including a short, irregular, westward bay, rendered necessary by its oblique abutment on the castle. The total interior length of the church is 282 feet 8 inches. The choir is built in two storeys, forming an undercroft on the ground level, and the choir proper, usually known as the "high church." In all departments the building is richly groin-vaulted, the vaulting in the nave reaching a height of 71 feet 5 inches. In its exterior aspect the church is marked by a sombre dignity in keeping with its imposing mass and its association with the castle.

A notable feature is the great mosaic over the south door, displaying the Passion of St John the Divine. This mosaic is dated 1380 in mixed Roman and Arabic numerals, being one of the earliest known examples of the employment of the latter.

Internally (fig. 2) an effect of great richness is given to the huge mass by the beautifully intricate stellar vaulting, by the finely contrasted colour-scheme of the moulded arcades, by the wealth of sculpture on bosses and corbel caps, and, above all, by the glowing altar paintings on the aisle walls. These paintings, dating from the end of the four-teenth century, but all much restored, are unequal in artistic merit and are now mainly of hagiological interest. One of them, however, the great painting of the Death of Christ's Mother at the west end of the north aisle, has been a triumph of mediæval art.

The minor furnishings of the church offer some subjects of very high artistic importance, such as the magnificent late fourteenth-century reliquary, the throne of Bishop Hiob von Dobeneck (1501-21), and three

1320, and that it was completed circa 1360: but his argument seems to me to involve gross straining of the literary record, and also to be out of accordance with the architectural evidence. The grant of Bishop Berthold, 27th December 1343 (Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus, vol. iii. No. xli.), distinctly refers to the foundation of a new church; and the completion of its building seems satisfactorily indicated in the record preserved by Christoph Hartknoch (Alt und Neues Preussen, 1686, p. 377) as to the erection in 1384 of the battlementing on the wall-heads: as also by the date 1380 on the mosaic over the south door. The subject is of course too detailed a one to be discussed in the present paper, but I hope to be able to deal fully with it elsewhere.

¹ The east and south wings of the quadrangle were removed in 1798.



[Photo Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin.

Fig. 2. Marienwerder Cathedral: Interior looking east,

beautiful chalices of the early sixteenth century. In the form of confessionals, sepulchral monuments, and a large reredos there is also a great deal of good and characteristic baroque work. The Gröben Chapel, an annexe built in 1706, is entirely in this style.

That Scottish memorials should exist in this remote cathedral is less surprising than at first we may think, for during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries very large numbers of Scotsmen migrated to Prussia, where their descendants in many cases still flourish. The late Dr Th. A. Fischer devoted a considerable book to tracing out these Scottish emigrants into the district beyond the

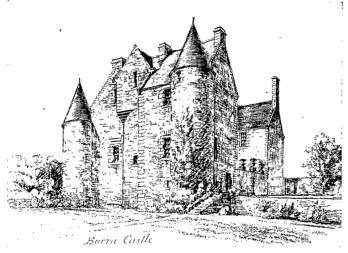


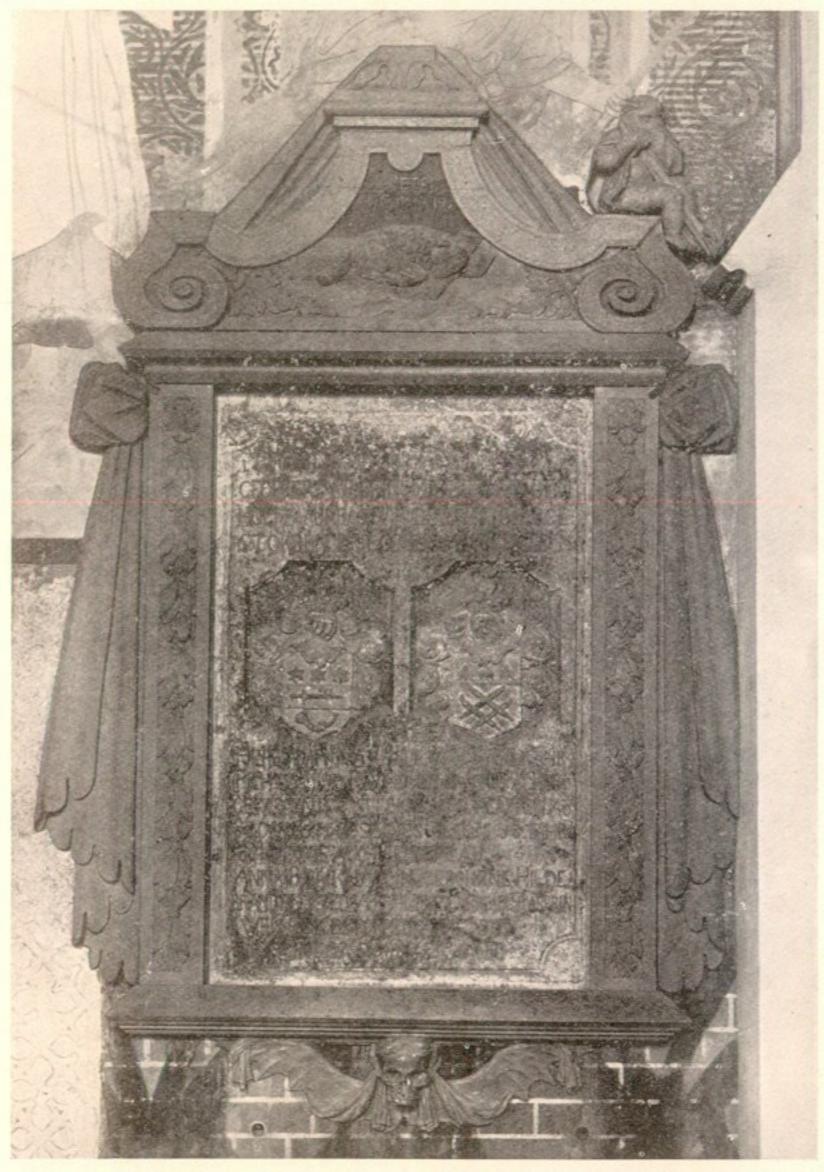
Fig. 3. Barra Castle, from a drawing by the late David Macgibbon, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot..

Vistula.¹ In 1596 the activities of Scottish wool merchants aroused the jealousy of the clothmakers in Marienwerder, and early in the next century the town council levied a special charge, known as marktgeld, upon Scottish traders, of whom it is stated in 1606 that there used to be eight, but now only four remain, their names being given as Thomas Stehler, David Feller, Andres Morgiss, and George Allan. At the same period the office of postmaster in the town was held by a Scotsman. In 1587 Th. Smith, J. Mackarty, and A. George are noted as Scots resident in the town, and in 1657 we have the names of O. Hutcheson, A. Morriss, M. Stirling, and J. Lawson.²

Of the Scottish memorials in the cathedral the most important is a

¹ The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia; see also his The Scots in Germany.

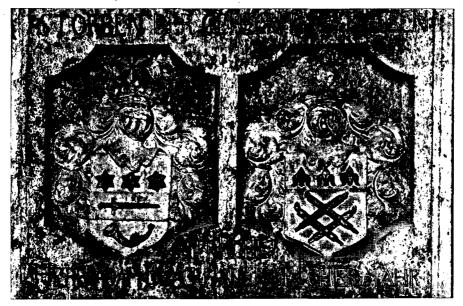
² Fischer, The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia, pp. 24, 35, 111, 203.



[Photo Kurt Bartsch, Marienwerder.

Fig. 4. Marienwerder Cathedral: Monument of Rathsherr Adam Blackhall.

marble tablet commemorating a Rathsherr Adam Blackhall, who died in 1711, and his wife. Blackhall is near Inverurie, and the family of Blackhall of that ilk was settled there at least as early as 1398: from some period in the fifteenth century until 1590 they owned the barony of Barra, near Old Meldrum. Barra Castle, still inhabited and in good preservation (fig. 3), is one of the most picturesque old castellated houses in Aberdeenshire: on the most ancient portion are inscribed the dates 1614 and 1618. At least one member of the family seems to be on



[Photo Kurt Bartsch, Marienwerder.

Fig. 5. Marienwerder Cathedral: Coats-of-arms on Blackhall Monument.

record in Poland,¹ and Albert and William Blackhall, "sons of the late A. Blackhall at Aberdeen," are mentioned in 1655 at Danzig and at Frauenburg respectively.² Other Scotsmen of the name, probably also members of the Garioch family, are on record as follows:—"The well-famed Albert Blakal, citizen and merchant of Cracow," 1649, 1651, and 1656, in which year he died—possibly he is identical with the Albert Blackhall of Danzig, noted above; Alexander Blackhall at Lublin, 1681-2; Robert "Blahal," who at Grzymala on 4th November 1626 married an Eve Burnett, probably of the Leys family, with whom at this time the

¹ A. Morison, The Blackhalls of that Ilk and Barra, p. 47.

² Fischer, op. cit., p. 176.

Blackhalls of Barra were connected; and Robert Blackhall (perhaps the same man) at Cracow in 1648. 1

The monument (fig. 4) is a mural tablet in the north aisle of the cathedral, at the east end next to the Gröben chapel door. The tablet measures 5 feet 8 inches in height and is 3 feet 11 inches broad. In the centre (fig. 5) are two sunk panels, each of which contains a shield with helmet plumed and crested. The dexter shield bears: on a fess, a sword with blade pointing sinister; on it a bird is perched; above in chief are three stars, and in base a horn. This represents a variation from the usual arms of Blackhall of that ilk, which are given by Nisbet as "gules, a hand issuing out of the sinister flank, and thereupon a falcon perching, and hooded or; and, on a chief argent, three mullets azure." The hunting-horn undoubtedly symbolises the hereditary office of Forester of the Garioch, held by the Blackhalls of that ilk, just as the Horn of Leys symbolises the corresponding office of Forester of Drum held by the Burnetts of Levs. This is very interesting, as no Blackhall coat-of-arms showing the horn seems to be known in Scotland. The crest on the helmet is a crown with a mullet. The sinister shield bears: in chief, three fleurs-de-lys in a horizontal row; in base, two pairs of torches arranged saltier-wise; crest, a crown with a burning heart. Above the shields is the text:

1. PETRI. 2. v. 24.

CHRISTUS HAT UNSRE SUNDE SELBST GEOPFERT AN SEINEM LEIBE AUF DEM HOLTZ AUF DAS WIR DER SUNDE ABGE STORBEN DER GERECHTIKEIT LEBEN.

Below is the commemorative inscription:

HIER RUHET

HERR ADAM BLACKHALL, WELCHER 18 IAHR RICHTER, UND RATHSVERWANTER ALHIER GEWESEN. 1ST SEELIG ENTSCHLAFFEN AÕ 1711 DEN 26. MAY SEINES ALTERS 56. IAHR. WIE AUCH SEINE FRAU.

ANNA BLACKHALLIN GEBOHRNE HILDE,
BRANDTIN IETZO VEREHLICHTE BRIGAD. FRASERIN
WELCHE GESTORBEN Aö 17 . . . DEN . . .
IHRES ALTERS . . . IAHR.

¹ A. Francis Steuart, Papers relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793, pp. 42, 80–1, 90–1, 131–2, 140, 199, 344, 346.

² System of Heraldry, 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 346: see also Morison, op. cit., p. 9.

The date of her death and her age have never been filled in. The letters are incised and gilded; the heraldic bearings are carved in high relief and have also been gilded.

The stone is enclosed in a wooden frame finished above with a quasi-classical pediment, in the tympanum of which is depicted a lamb lying asleep on a prostrate cross, and above is the inscription:

1. PETRI, 1. CAP. V. 19.

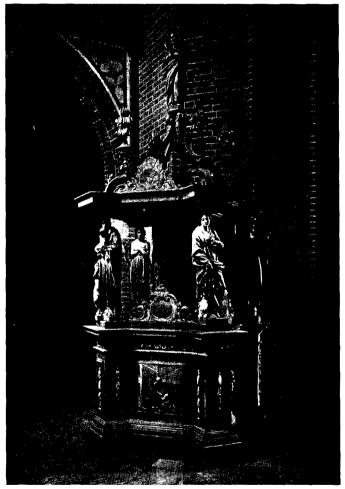
On each side of the pediment have been figures. That on the sinister side remains, and is a weeping boy, holding a handkerchief to his eyes, while between his knees is an inverted torch. The sides of the frame have conventional foliage; on either haffit is draped a curtain. Below all is a "mort's head" with a garland of corn-sheaves, and bat's wings outspread on either side.

It may be noted that the name Adam occurs once before in the Barra family, the fourth son of the fifth laird, at the end of the sixteenth century, being so called.¹

The cathedral numbers among its furnishings two curiously elaborate wooden confessionals, the gifts of a royal forester named Christian Reinhold Klein and his wife, Barbara Blackhall, in 1725. Barbara was probably a daughter of the Rathsherr above mentioned. Both confessionals are richly carved, painted, and in part gilt. Each has a desk, two doors, and a canopy supported by four figures. On the canopy of one (fig. 6) is carved a figure of Christ the Good Shepherd; on the back is the Agony in the Garden, on the sides the Pharisee and the Publican, the Return of the Prodigal Son, and Peter weeping after his Denial of This confessional bears the inscription . . . T DN BARBARA CHARLOTTA NAT BLACKHALLIA HOC SELLARVM PAR PIO EX CORDE F. F. Aô. MDCCXV. The other confessional shows on the canopy the Man of Sorrows, while the relief on the back displays the Magdalene washing the Saviour's Feet, and on the sides the Penance of King David, the Woman hunting for the Lost Sixpence, and the Woman with an issue of Blood. The canopy is inscribed . . . O.T.O.M.S. VSVM MINISTROR: CONFESSIONES AVDENTIVM DN. CHRISTIAN: REINHOLD KLEIN S.R.M. VENAT: PROV . . . In both cases the inscriptions have been mutilated as a result of later repairs. under surface of the canopies in both confessionals shows a sun in glory with the symbol of the Trinity. In each confessional the two rearward supporting figures are cherubim: the front figures are Love and Patience and Faith and Hope respectively. According to Werner's

¹ Morison, op. cit., pp. 56, 88, 115.

description of Marienwerder, written post 1732, the confessionals were made to the order of Klein by the well-known carver, Joseph Kruse: one was for the Arch-priest and the other for the German Deacon.¹



[Photo Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin.

Fig. 6. Marienwerder Cathedral: Confessional of Barbara Blackhall, and mural monument of Brigadier Thomas Fraser.

At the west end of the cathedral are portrait plaques in stucco of a Russian brigadier-general, Thomas Fraser, and his wife, dated 1715. I have been able to find no account of the ancestry of this general, but

¹ W. Toeppen, Geschichte der Stadt Marienwerder, pp. 265-6. Cf. ibid., p. 149.

his name speaks for itself. On the husband's plaque (seen in fig. 6) is the inscription: THOMAS FRASER BRIGADIER ÆT 62 Aö 1715; on that of his wife, ANNA FRASER BRIGAD. GEB (orene) HILDE-BRANDTIN, ÆT 40, Aö 1715. General Fraser was the founder of a set of stalls for officers in the cathedral, and on his death left money for scholarships to assist children in the town. By reference to the inscription on the Blackhall monument it will be seen that his wife was the widow of Rathsherr Blackhall.