

WOODEN ARTICULAR CHURCHES AND THEIR IMPORTED ARCHITECTURAL-LAYOUT MODEL

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The wooden articular churches, built on the basis of the conclusions of the 1681 Congress of Sopron, differ in their architectural and layout design from the traditional cultic buildings of Western Christianity. The characteristic longitudinal arrangement of the spaces of the older churches – tower, nave and sanctuary – was replaced during the first half of the 18th century by a new plan form in the shape of a more or less isosceles cross without the dominant accent of the tower or belfry. This layout scheme was based on the ideas of the Reformation and corresponded to the new understanding of sacral space as a common place of gathering of the believers.

It is unclear to this day from where and by what route the cruciform architectural model of the Protestant church came to our territory. It was not a product of the local building tradition, but was imported here from abroad, from countries where the Reformation had taken deep roots. The initial pattern originated in the Calvinist milieu of Amsterdam, Holland, and gradually spread further east. It began to be applied very quickly in the Protestant countries of Western Europe and Scandinavia, and it was from these directions that it found its way into the geographical area of the western Carpathians, among the Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession in the northern provinces of Hungary. It was here that the cruciform plan became one of the characteristic features of their wooden articular churches.

Key words: Church. Articular. Wooden. Ground floor. Spatial arrangement. Protestant.

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The new doctrines of the Reformation gradually began to influence the shape of Protestant churches and their interior worship spaces. In the Protestant conception, the church is understood as a place of common spiritual gathering of believers, oriented to the Word of God and prayer.¹

1 Protestants in Slovakia today mean believers of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (Lutherans) and believers of the Evangelical Church of the Helvetic Confession – Reformed Christian Church (Calvinists).

In the early days of the Reformation, the Protestant church remained without major interventions or changes to its architectural expression, layout and artistic decoration.² It was only from around the beginning of the 17th century that it began to adapt to the ideas and content of the new teachings and also to differentiate itself visually from the churches of the dominant Roman Catholic Church. Certain modifications in the furnishing of the churches and in their spatial conception, including the interior decoration, were necessitated by the new theological principles of the Reformation faith, and the socio-political and religious conditions of the country subsequently played a role as well.

The churches of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the territory of today's Slovakia did not basically require any change or modification of the basic architectural principles. The altar continued to be used even though the religious content of the space where it was situated had changed. The sensual and showy expression of the liturgy, with the Eucharist at its core, had disappeared, as had the uniqueness and superiority of the priestly state. The mass was simplified, and its new form was conducted more like a communion of believers with the central word of the preacher. It was no longer a mass sacrifice and mysticism of ceremony, but above all a proclamation and experience of the living word of the Bible. The interpretation of the meaning of the Last Supper concerning the bread and wine no longer applied exclusively to the clergy (priests) but to the whole community of believers. They believe that at the moment of the sacramental act of communion, the wine and the bread are indeed transformed into the blood and body of Christ, giving them the forgiveness of their sins, but that after the sacramental act is over, this mysterious miracle, which can only be known by faith, ceases.

The sanctuary (presbytery), as a clearly architecturally defined space of the church, lost its original mystical meaning and merged with the whole place of assembly of the believers. The importance that the Protestant Church attached to the preached word was reflected in the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the almost equal status of altar and pulpit. The altar continues to be oriented symbolically towards the east, towards Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but the importance of the location and the role of the pulpit itself as a place for spreading the word of the Gospel has grown considerably. It has moved to the visual and acoustic centre of the interior. The tabernacle was removed from the altar and the Bible took its place.

2 With the exception of the so-called Calvinist Iconoclasm, when in the countries of Western Europe (especially Switzerland, the Netherlands and part of France) the adherents of Calvin's doctrine already in the middle of the 16th century uncompromisingly removed paintings and statues of saints from the churches and painted over with lime, or covered with lime plaster, the older murals with rich figural decoration.

The Calvinist Church consistently “cleansed” the interior space of churches from paintings and statues of the Virgin Mary and the saints, and from any depictions of religious figures and biblical scenes. The altar, as the place of sacrifice and the Eucharist, lost its justification in its case. The transformation of the wine and bread into the blood and body of Christ is no longer a purely symbolic remembrance of the sacrifice of Jesus. Its function has been replaced by a simple table for the placement of the Holy Scriptures and the vessels of worship for the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.

The gallery became a typical element of the interior of the evangelical church. A simple, storeyed, two or three-sided, and until then completely unknown altarpiece gallery. Its installation increased the capacity of the church interior, so important for the large community of believers and the limited number of churches. Galleries running around the perimeter of the inner walls of churches, often behind the altar itself, and not infrequently with tiered seating, allowed the believers to better perceive the word of God and to be in direct eye contact with the preacher. The gallery on the west side gained in importance when more space was left for organ music during the liturgy. Protestant churches attached special importance to the singing and sound of the organ. Music became for them an important means of expressing inner feelings and individuality.³

Over time, especially since the beginning of the 18th century, a new architectural and layout model of the building appeared, especially in the environment of wooden articular churches in the territory of today’s Slovakia, in the form of an isosceles, so-called Greek cross. It was the one that better suited the liturgical needs of the Protestant Church, which emphasised the spoken Word of God and the Scriptures, and in this way also emphasised the principle of the universal priesthood of the faithful. Where this architectural type of sacral building came from is not entirely clear. It most likely did not originate as an indigenous manifestation of the local building tradition, which, even in the case of wooden structures, commonly used the traditional longitudinal orientation of the Christian building. The hypothesis that it was imported from abroad, from countries where the Reformation had deep roots, has its merit.

The Calvinist Noorder Kerk in Amsterdam, built in 1620–1623 using a timber-framed construction, is generally considered to be the model for Protestant churches with a cruciform plan. Like the Upper Hungarian articular churches, it arose out of the need to quickly and cheaply build a common place of prayer for a large number of Evangelicals.⁴

3 MUNCK. *Evropa sedmnáctého století 1598–1700*. Praha 2002, p. 329.

4 LANGER. Metodický přístup ke studiu dřevěných kostelů a jejich mezinárodní souvislosti na severovýchodní Moravě a Těšínském Slezsku. In MALACH and VÁLKA, eds. *Vesnická stavební kultura, stavební materiál – domová dispozice – slohové ohlasy – dřevěné sakrální*

The plan model of wooden articular churches is more or less known, but from what direction this architectural model of sacral buildings came to the territory of today's Slovakia remains a mystery. Probably indirectly, because the contacts of the Upper Hungarian Evangelicals with the environment of the Dutch Calvinists were very limited. Especially when we consider how difficult the military, political and religious situation in Central Europe was at that time. The Thirty Years' War was raging, and intense battles of the anti-Habsburg uprisings were fought in our territory until the beginning of the 18th century.

Fig. 1: Amsterdam, Noorderkerk, historical drawing, 1665.



Available online: <<https://stadsherstel.nl/monumenten/noorderkerkstraat-2/#gallery-671f598032516-2>>

Construction of articular churches in the territory of today's Slovakia

Of the Protestant churches, the wooden articular churches have best preserved their authentic form. It is these that reflect the ideas of the Reformation in an exceptional way. They were built by the Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession believers on the basis of secular ordinance during the turbulent period of the late 17th and almost the entire 18th century. In the complicated time of the direct Turkish threat, the period of numerous military disturbances, anti-Habsburg noble uprisings and the general economic decline of the country.⁵

stavby. Etnologické studie 18. Brno 2014, p. 189.

5 DUDÁŠ. Drevené artikulárne kostoly v náboženských, historicko-politických a architektonických súvislostiach. In *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea v Martine – Etnografia*,

The establishment of new church congregations and the construction of churches, schools and parsonages was, by the grace of the monarch Leopold I (1640–1705), the subject of the twenty-sixth article of the congress held in 1681 in the town of Sopron.⁶ According to it, Protestant church congregations were established in more than thirty provinces of the Kingdom of Hungary, but only some of them were located in the territory of today's Slovakia.⁷ The Congress unambiguously designated two localities in the eleven provinces of northern Hungary as articular. Only there, and in places designated and confirmed by the royal commissioners appointed for that purpose, could Protestants build new churches and publicly profess their faith. These included Réca a Pusté Úľany in Pressburg county, Nitrianska Streda and Stráža nad Myjavou (Stráža nad Váhom) in Nitra county, Šimonovany and Sľažany in Tekov county, Ostrá Lúka and Hronsek in Zvolen county, Necpaly and Ivančiná in Turiec county, Hybe and Veľká Paludza in Liptov county, Vyšný Kubín and Istebné in Orava county, Súľov and Zay-Uhrovec in Trenčín county and Hrhov and Toporec or Batizovce in Spiš county.

In Komárno, Abov, Šariš, Zemplín, Gemer, Hont and Novohrad counties, the churches could be kept by those believers who were using them at the time.

In addition, selected towns in the military districts directly adjacent to the Ottoman Empire (Komárno, Levice, Krupina and Filákov) and the free royal and mining towns (Bratislava, Trenčín, Modra, Kremnica and Banská Bystrica) also became articular towns. Protestants were allowed to build their own church there at their own expense, but only outside the city walls.

In the first third of the 18th century, three articular places were transferred to other locations on the grounds of royal edicts and county permissions. In 1721, from Vyšný Kubín to Leštiny in the Orava county, although this had already been discussed in 1688 at a meeting in Veličná in the presence of the Orava county mayor Juraj Erdódy.⁸ In 1733 from Stráža (nowadays Krakovany) to Prietrž near Senica in Nitra county and in 1734 from Šimonovany (now part of Partizánske) to Zemianske Kostol'any in the Tekov county.⁹

2008, pp. 20-26.

6 The text of the 26th article of the Congress of Sopron is published in its entirety in KÓNYA. *Pramene k dejinám Slovákov a Slovenska VII., Turci v Uhorsku, 2. časť: Život v Uhorskom kráľovstve počas tureckých vojen a protihabsburských povstanií od snemu v roku 1608 do satmárskeho mieru*. Bratislava 2006, pp. 206-208.

7 Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony), Moson, Nitra (Nyitra), Ráb (Győr), Komárno (Komárom), Esztergom, Trenčín (Trencsén), Orava (Árva), Liptov (Liptó), Turiec (Turóc), Zvolen (Zólyom), Tekov (Bars), Hont, Novohrad (Nógrád), Gemer (Gömör), Spiš (Szepes), Šariš (Sáros), Turňa (Torna), Abov (Abaúj), Zemplín (Zemplén) and Ung counties.

8 Štátny archív v Žiline so sídlom v Bytči (ŠAZA-BY), letter in the fund of the Zmeškal family.

9 See DUDÁŠ. *Drevené artikularne a tolerančné kostoly na Slovensku*. Liptovský Mikuláš

On the basis of the Congress of Sopron article, the newly founded Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession congregations mostly suffered from a lack of financial and material resources. Nevertheless, they undertook to build buildings of common assembly where they would freely profess their faith. Therefore, as soon as conditions allowed, they began to build the first, often only small and makeshift, wooden houses of prayer of a simple rectangular plan. When, after the end of the Francis II. Rákóczi's rebellion and the signing of the Peace Treaty of Szatmár in 1711, the overall political, military and religious situation in the country stabilised, several church congregations decided to rebuild their small and makeshift or abandoned and neglected or already seriously damaged wooden houses of prayer. It was during this period that they began to build larger churches with a characteristic plan and external architectural expression.

Most of the articular churches were built during the life and reign of Charles III (1685–1740) and his daughter Maria Theresa (1717–1780), i.e. between 1711 and 1780.¹⁰ The construction of the five wooden articular churches still preserved in our territory (Hronsek, Istebné, Kežmarok, Leštiny, Paludza / Svätý Kríž) belongs to this period. They were no longer just modest and makeshift wooden buildings, but also larger and monumental wooden temples. Thus, the evangelical believers built the articular churches in precisely defined locations and on the basis of specific conditions defined in the Congress of Sopron article, or under conditions that were additionally set by specially appointed royal commissioners directly on the site of the future building.

Plan form of wooden articular churches

The wooden articular churches in the territory of today's Slovakia can be considered the oldest Protestant churches with a cruciform plan in the whole territory of the former Hungary. The reasons that led the Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession congregations to build churches with this layout could have been several, and they could have been both symbolic and pragmatic.

The cross-shaped form of the church not only pointed to the most important event of the Christian faith connected with the future salvation of mankind (the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ), but also created a central space that underlined Luther's idea of the universal priesthood of believers. Emphasizing

2011, p. 84 and 92.

10 During the reign of Charles III, i.e. between 1711 and 1740, articular churches were built in Kežmarok, Prešov, Hronsek, Zemianské Kostofany, Prietrž, Sľažany, Modra; and the older churches in Levoča, Hybe, Istebné and Leštiny were modified or rebuilt. During the reign of Maria Theresa, i.e. between 1740 and 1780, articular churches were built in Súľov, Paludza (Svätý Kríž), Ivančiná, Zay-Uhrovec, Ostrá Lúka, Nitrianska Streda, Réca, Komárno; and older churches in Toporec, Prešov, Necpaly and Bratislava were modified or rebuilt.

the importance of the pulpit throughout the interior of the church and the direct visual and acoustic contact of believers with the preacher and the preached word may have been another argument for adopting this solution.¹¹

In the case of wooden and especially log churches, the building material and construction technology played an important role in the preference for cross-plan buildings. Local master carpenters were able to produce a log structure in the shape of a Greek cross with solid corner joints and sufficient usable floor space relatively easily and quickly. In the case of the use of ten-metre-long beams, which was not uncommon in the past, the total length of the individual arms of the church could reach up to 30 metres. These dimensions correspond to the cruciform floor plans of the wooden articular churches in Kežmarok, Hronsek and Svätý Kříž.

Fig. 2: Kežmarok, Articular Church



Photo by the author, 2007

In mountainous and forest-rich regions, the cross-plan church type quickly became established and domesticated. Local Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession congregations and master carpenters adopted it and used it extensively until the Edict of Toleration was issued. It best suited their needs

11 The Reformation shifted the shape of the western, longitudinal church to the central one. It is an expression of the unity of the community of believers who gathered to see and hear, and above all to understand the content of the preached word of God. KRIVOŠOVÁ. *Evanjelické kostoly na Slovensku*. Liptovský Mikuláš 2001, p. 277.

and was relatively easy to implement from the available and very widespread in the rural environment and the cheapest log, less timbered (post-and-frame) construction.

Fig. 3: Hronsek, Articular Church



Photo by the author, 2002

Fig. 4: Paludza, Articular Church on a new site in Svätý Kríž



Photo by the author, 2021

All preserved wooden articular churches in the territory of today's Slovakia have a central plan division in the form of a more or less regular Greek cross. The traditional older canon of the Christian cult building is usually preserved in such a way that in the longitudinal west-east direction the arms of the cross are slightly longer and wider or more pronounced than those in the transverse north-south direction. The churches in Kežmarok (1717), Hronsek (1725–1726) and Paludza/Svätý Kríž (1773–1774) respect this plan form almost perfectly.¹² The Orava articular wooden churches in Leštiny (1724–1725) and Istebné (1730–1731) have this plan form suppressed by the surrounding terrain, but clearly legible at first sight.¹³

Fig. 5: Leštiny, Articular Church, historical drawing of Viktor Myskovszky, 1894



Archive of the Šariš Museum in Bardejov, repro by the author, 2010

Also the forms or brief descriptions known from historical sources of the long-vanished wooden articular churches in Levoča (vanished in 1837), Hybe (vanished in 1822), Ivančiná (replaced by a tolerance one in 1789), Banská Bystrica (replaced by a brick one in 1807), respect this architectural model,

12 In Kežmarok the length of the main longitudinal arm is approx. 34.5 m and the length of the transverse arm approx. 30.5 m; in Hronsek it is 23 m and 18 m and in Paludza/Svätý Kríž 37.25 m and 27.75 m.

13 In both Leštiny and Istebné, the lateral arms only protrude approx. 1.5 m on each side due to the terrain.

including the non-articular wooden church in Tvarožná under the Tatras (destroyed by fire in 1778).¹⁴

Fig. 6: Istebné, Articular Church



Photo by the author, 2011

The articular brick church in Toporec has a similar character (1767–1770).¹⁵ Three other existing brick articular churches—Zemianske Kostoľany (1736), Nitrianska Streda (1748) and Súľov (1750)—already have a simple longitudinal layout. The second wooden articular church in Necpaly had a completely exceptional polygonal form (it disappeared in 1843).¹⁶ It originated sometime before 1752 by enlarging and modifying an older wooden church with a cruciform plan. The reason for this was the poor structural and technical condition of its structure and the need to place the monumental Thurzo Renaissance altar *Speculum Justificationis* from 1610–1611 in its interior.¹⁷

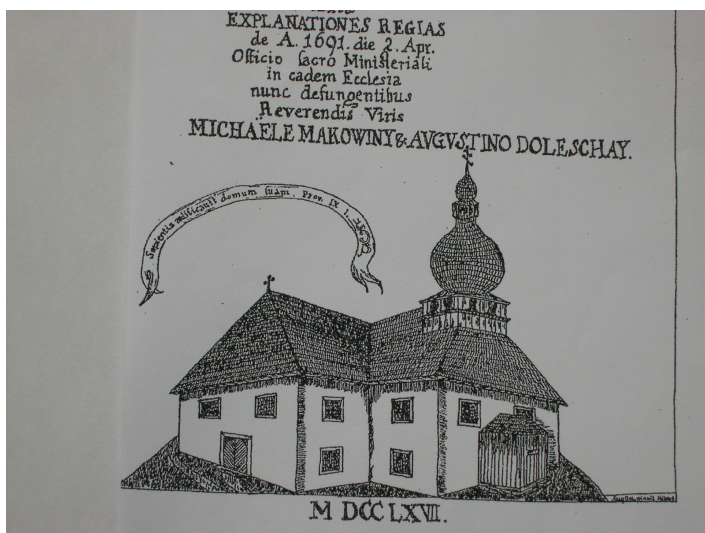
14 DUDÁŠ, *Drevené artikulárne a tolerančné kostoly na Slovensku*, pp. 83-97; Tvarožná was one of the towns of the Spiš county, which in 1412 Sigismund of Luxemburg gave to the Polish king Vladislav as a pledge, and which remained in pledge until 1772.

15 The church is currently only occasionally used for worship.

16 In the Diocesan Archives of Banská Bystrica (DA BB), in the fund of Piora de Ostrihom, there is a document with a depiction of the octagonal plan of this church, which is dated 24 October 1774.

17 The altar was originally located in the Chapel of St. Michael at Orava Castle and most probably it was taken by Imrich Révai to the manor house in Turčianska Štiavnička at the beginning of the 18th century after the capture of the castle by Rákóczi's soldiers. The altar subsequently became the property of the Justh family in nearby Necpaly.

Fig. 7: Hybe, Extinct Articular Church



State Archive in Bytča, repro by the author, 2010

Fig. 8: Levoča, Extinct Articular Church



Historical veduta of the town, Municipality of Levoča, repro by the author, 2010

The cruciform layout can also be found in the younger wooden tolerance church in Podhorany na Spiši (1806, 1819),¹⁸ despite the fact that at the time after

¹⁸ The local church congregation sold the church to the state in the early 1970s. Today, its dis-

the Edict of Toleration (1781) the cruciform layout was only sporadically applied in evangelical churches. It can also be found in the brick tolerance churches in Spišská Belá (1784–1785), Nálepkovo (1785), Gelnica (1787), Spišská Nová Ves (1790–1796), Banská Bystrica (1803–1807) and Levoča (1837). The central form of tolerance churches was already mostly made up of grand hall spaces and the cruciform plan was only visually evoked by the internal arrangement of the pews. This had a prosaic reason – to direct the view of believers to the pulpit and the words of the preacher. From the beginning of the 19th century, the longitudinal layout of the sacred building was almost exclusively applied.

The Silesian way hypothesis of the cruciform plan of a wooden articular church

Today it is very difficult to identify the way and through whom the central concept of the cruciform plan of the sacral building and its architectural model came to the Upper Hungarian Protestants. They traditionally had very good contacts and connections with fellow believers in German areas, and the German ethnic group played an important role in the development of several Evangelical church congregations in our territory, especially in the area of the Central Slovak mining towns and in Spiš. Quite naturally, the answer thus comes up that it may have been through the Silesian peace churches.

“A separate development of the layout of Protestant churches towards the solution of a central preaching space took place in the northern Protestant countries. After the construction of the church in Amsterdam on the Noorder Kerk (H. de Keyzer 1620–1623), with a plan of a Greek cross, this type spread extensively, especially in the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, and it was during the period of the construction of articular churches that it also came—again via Silesia—to our country.”¹⁹

This hypothesis has been adopted and published in their professional works by a number of experts who have in the past dealt with this specific type of wooden sacral buildings.²⁰

mantled and already considerably damaged log structure is in the deposits of the Slovak National Museum – Ethnographic Museum Martin, Museum of the Slovak Village in Martin-Jahodnícke Háje. Archív Pamiatkového úradu SR v Bratislave (APUSR), Zbierka projektov a plánov A 1162.

19 PAULUSOVÁ. Artikulárne kostoly. In *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 1995, No. 4, p. 52.

20 Inter alia: EDGAR. *Protestantismus a architektura*. Kutná Hora 1911, p. 26; HOFMAN. Drevené kostoly na Slovensku. In *Umenie Slavanov*, 1923, No. 2, Bratislava, pp. 32-37; EDGAR. Artikulární kostoly na Slovensku. In *Staviteľské listy*, Praha, 1924, pp. 337-339; VYDRA. Drevené kostoly na Slovensku. In *Ludová architektúra na Slovensku*. Bratislava, 1958, pp. 223-278; FRICKÝ. Drevené artikulárne kostoly na Slovensku. In *Vlastivedný časopis*, 1978,

The wording of the twenty-sixth article of the Congress of Sopron was nothing new and its authors were probably inspired by an earlier document. Already three decades earlier, Leopold's father Ferdinand III (1608–1657) had similarly allowed Silesian Evangelicals to build new churches. After the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the end of the Thirty Years' War, they retained some religious freedoms despite the growing pressure of the Counter-Reformation. A large number of Protestants lived in Silesia, and their status and opportunities to practice their faith were never as dramatically suppressed as in the surrounding hereditary lands of the Habsburg monarchy, especially in Bohemia and Moravia.²¹ The political power of the close Saxon princes and the authority of the Swedish rulers significantly influenced the religious life of the believers here. It was under the strong pressure of King Charles X of Sweden (1622–1660) that the monarch Ferdinand III allowed the construction of several Protestant churches in Silesia between 1651 and 1652, but only provided that strict conditions were met. The churches had to stand at least three hundred paces outside the city walls and had to be built only of non-durable materials such as clay or wood. They could not be built over a prescribed period of time and could not have towers or use bells.²²

On this basis, the Silesian Protestants were only able to build three churches, in the towns of Jawor, Swidnica and Glogow. According to the circumstances of their foundation, they were named "*Friedenkirchen*" – the so-called peace churches. On the borders of Silesia the ruler on the same principle allowed the construction of other churches, the so-called *Grenzkirchen* (border churches). Over time, these were visited by believers from the wider surrounding area, including neighbouring regions.²³ Later, at the beginning of the 18th century, by the special grace of the ruler Joseph I (1678–1711), evangelicals built six more churches here, without any limitation of building materials.

It is not entirely impossible that the law by which Ferdinand III allowed the construction of peace churches in Silesia also had an earlier antecedent. It was probably the Edict of Nantes, by which King Henry IV (1553–1610) in 1598

No. 2, p. 90; PAULUSOVÁ, *Artikulárne kostoly*, p. 52 etc.

- 21 After the victorious Battle of White Mountain, Ferdinand II applied a policy of complete eradication of Calvinism and Lutheranism, especially towards the disobedient Bohemia and less Moravia, in order to secure absolute power control over these territories. Many Protestants of the Helvetic and Augsburg confessions therefore found refuge in nearby Silesia and Hungary. MUNCK, *Evropa sedmnáctého století*, pp. 38-43.
- 22 GRUK. Silesian Churches of Peace and the Royal Hungarian Articular Churches – Possible Legal and Architectural Relations. In HARASIMOWICZ, ed. *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte*. Regensburg, 2015, p. 335.
- 23 EDGAR, *Artikulární kostely*, pp. 337-339.

guaranteed the French Protestants (Huguenots) certain religious freedoms.²⁴ Under this edict, they were allowed to worship in areas where Huguenot nobles had jurisdiction, in two places chosen by the royal commissioners in each administrative unit, and finally wherever Huguenots explicitly professed their faith before 1597.²⁵ The formal and substantive similarity of this document with the circumstances of the permission to build peace churches in Silesia and eventually also articular churches in Hungary is obvious.

Both preserved Silesian peace churches were built by the trained master Albrecht von Säbisch (1610–1688), who was mainly devoted to secular – fortification construction. In the small town of Jawor, between 1654 and 1655, he built a magnificent wooden church resembling a three-nave old Christian basilica with a longitudinal rectangular plan.²⁶ A large bell tower was added to the expressively simple building of a column-frame (timbered) construction with a wicker-and-clay infill about half a century later. A typical feature of the interior of the church are two storeyed galleries running along the entire inner perimeter of the building. In the course of the 18th century, two more were added to maximise the capacity of the building. This reached an impressive 7,000 worshippers. A two years younger wooden church in the nearby Swidnica (1656–1657) shows the same architectural and building-construction features. However, by using a transept, its plan took the form of a Greek cross, which increased the number of worshippers during services to 8,000.²⁷ Builders applied storeyed galleries also in its interior.²⁸

Around the same time, the French Protestant milieu was also using the concept of

of a central arrangement of the interior space of the church.²⁹ This best suited their needs, including the necessity to emphasize the position of the sermon as the most important part of the liturgy. Although these churches did not have a cross-

24 The edict was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685 and the Protestant religion was declared illegal.

25 KRÄHLING and NAGY. Late baroque Greek-cross Plan type Lutheran churches in Hungary. In *Periodica Polytechnica – Architecture (scientific journal of the Budapest University of Technology)*. [2024-10-29]. Available online: <<https://pp.bme.hu/ar/article/view/23/23>> see also the Edict of Nantes. [2024-10-29]. Available online: <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Edict-of-Nantes>>

26 The total length of the church in Jawor is more than 43 m, the width is almost 27 m, the height from the floor to the ceiling is 16.4 m and to the ridge of the roof almost 24 m.

27 The Swidnica church is 45 m long and about 21 m wide, with a transept about 30 m long and about 20 m wide. The internal height of the building is 14.5 m and the total height to the ridge of the roof is 22.5 m.

28 Both churches were inscribed on the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List in 2001.

29 The oldest known example of such a temple is Le Temple de Paradis in Lyon, built by the Huguenots in 1564 (demolished in 1567).

shaped plan in their early days, they are notable for being built partly or entirely of timber-framed construction.³⁰ And it was with this construction technique that all the Silesian peace churches were built. It is known from contemporary sources that their builder Albrecht von Säbisch spent some time in France and had the opportunity to see the Huguenot temple of Charenton in Paris, which stood from 1623 to 1685.³¹ He was probably inspired by its structural design and the overall layout of the interior space with the use of load-bearing columns and storeyed galleries. It is certainly no coincidence that the interior of the church in Jawor has a similar character.

Fig. 9: Swidnica, Poland, The Church of Peace



Available online: <<https://mapadotacji.gov.pl/projekty/753571/?lang=en#gallery-4>>

In the territory of today's Slovakia there was also an articular church, whose architecture and internal layout were based on the same principle. Looking at a contemporary depiction of the defunct articular church in Bratislava, one cannot help but think that it too may have been based on the architecture of

30 KRÄHLING and NAGY. Príspevok k výskumu architektonického dedičstva slovenských evanjelikov v Uhorsku – tradícia barokovej centrality. In *Architektúra a Urbanizmus*, No. 1-2, 2011, p. 11.

31 The brick church had a rectangular plan of 33.0 m in length, a plate vaulted ceiling of 19.5 m in height and two-storeyed galleries around the entire perimeter in order to increase its capacity as much as possible (approx. 4,000 worshippers). [2024-120-29]. Available online: <<https://www.museuprotestant.org/en/notice/charenton-val-de-marne-2/>>

Huguenot churches.³² Its builder probably knew the Charenton church, although it was demolished three years after the construction of the Bratislava one (built in 1682 and demolished in 1774). The present brick so-called Great Church, which replaced the older one in 1776, also has a form that is very reminiscent of the Huguenot church in Paris. The idea of its architectural expression and central hall space with brick emporiums around the entire perimeter of the building was followed by a number of younger tolerance churches in our territory, including, for example, the church in Liptovský Mikuláš (1783–1785), as well as the slightly younger church in Bratislava-Rača (1834–1835).

Fig. 10: Swidnica, Poland, The Church of Peace, interior



Available online: <<https://mapadotacji.gov.pl/projekty/753571/?lang=en#gallery-6>>

Preachers returning to Hungary via Silesia from their studies abroad, especially from the German universities of Leipzig, Jena, Halle and Wittenberg, could be bringing with them information about the new form of the sacral building, which reflected the ideas of the Reformation in an appropriate way. They may have brought back not only new knowledge and experience of spiritual life, but also new building patterns and models of churches they had seen in their places of temporary residence. The carriers of these innovations may also have been the many exiles (clergy and teachers) who left their home congregations during the dramatic events of the second half of the 17th century and made Western

32 See the cross-section of the church published in TIBENSKÝ, ed. *Bratislava Mateja Bela*. Bratislava 1984, p. 90 and p. 99.

Europe their temporary home. Several of them settled in German countries and cities, especially in Saxony. It was there that they were able to attend services in churches with a cruciform layout; it was there that they could perceive the advantages of a central church space, where the word of the preacher was spread almost from the centre of the community of believers.

During their stay in Saxony, the Hungarian Protestants could also get acquainted with the work of the important German theologian, writer and architectural theorist Leonhard Christoph Sturm (1669–1719). At the beginning of the 18th century, he wrote several treatises on Protestant architecture, where, among other things, he theoretically analysed the pros and cons of an evangelical church with a plan in the shape of a Greek cross.³³ Incidentally, he was quite critical of the cross-shaped plan of a sacral building from a technical point of view. He considered it complicated and prone to various failures. On the other hand, he saw its merits in the fact that the pulpit could be situated in the centre of the layout so that it was always in full view of as many worshippers as possible.

Sturm's analyses and proposals corresponded to the then widely held views on the design of Protestant sacral space. And they may also have played an important role throughout the 18th century in the gradual spread of a new plan architectural form to the more distant corners of Hungary.

Whether the form and internal arrangement of the wooden articular churches is based on the Silesian peace churches cannot be confirmed unequivocally. It cannot be completely ruled out, but the architectural and structural design of these buildings is quite distant from the much smaller and more modest Upper Hungarian articular churches. The similarity lies rather in the circumstances of their very creation – on the basis of a political decision of the secular power. Both the Silesian peace churches and the Upper Hungarian wooden articular churches were authorised by decree of the ruler, by whose grace and goodwill they could be built. In Silesia it was Ferdinand III and in Hungary it was his son Leopold I.

The Scandinavian way hypothesis of the cruciform plan of a wooden articular church

Another hypothesis says that the model for the Upper Hungarian articular churches were rather Scandinavian – Swedish brick and wooden churches. In the small villages and towns there, small brick churches of cross plan were built

33 E.g. “*Architectonisches Bedencken Von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur und Einrichtung*”, Hamburg 1712 and “*Vollständige Anweisung, alle Arten von Kirchen wohl anzugeben...*”, Augsburg, 1718. [2024-10-29]. Available online: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonhard_Christoph_Sturm> see also KRÄHLING and NAGY, Late baroque Greek-cross Plan type Lutheran churches in Hungary, p. 80. [2024-10-29]. Available online: <<https://pp.bme.hu/ar/article/view/23/23>>

long before the Amsterdam Noorder Kerk.³⁴ The reference to the Scandinavian pattern is not entirely new. It already appeared in the reflections of the architect Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947), who at the end of the 19th century devoted himself quite intensively to the study and documentation of traditional folk architecture. By studying the form, layout and architectural details of the wooden tolerance houses of worship in Wallachia, he concluded that they could be closely related to the wooden architecture of the European north.³⁵

Evangelical believers in articular church congregations most likely became familiar with the new Protestant church layout through their representatives in northern Europe. They fully accepted it and took advantage of it when the opportunity arose. They applied it in the rebuilding and enlargement of older houses of worship, but also in the construction of entirely new churches. This assumption is also supported by the fact that the leadership of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession and a number of articular church congregations already a few years after their foundation (after 1681) sought close contacts, help and support for their activities, especially in Protestant northern Europe. The well-known two-year journey of Daniel Krman (1663–1740) to the Swedish King Charles XII (1682–1718) could have been a certain impulse and source of knowledge.³⁶ Crucial in this respect, however, were probably the trips of representatives of the various articular church congregations to Sweden and Denmark to obtain financial support for the construction of their new churches, parishes and schools. During the collections they visited many parishes and naturally perceived church buildings in their immediate surroundings. They certainly noticed the churches standing there, their architectural form, size and interior design. Although they did not bring a large amount of money, and the cost of the trip itself was not insignificant, they found many suggestions and concrete examples of wooden churches with a new cruciform layout form, until then almost unknown in our country.

As part of the collections, the Hungarian Evangelicals certainly moved around the wider area of the Swedish capital, but also in more remote rural settings. In order to hold collections, they had to obtain official permission from the monarch himself. In Stockholm they certainly saw the brick Church of St. Catherine built between 1656 and 1695 (modified 1723), where the architect Jean de la Vallée (1620–1696) applied the characteristic cruciform plan. It is more than possible that they also visited the wooden Admiralty Church in the port town of Karlskrona

34 LANGER, Metodický přístup ke studiu dřevěných kostelů a jejich mezinárodní souvislosti na severovýchodní Moravě a Těšínském Slezsku, p. 189.

35 LANGER. Wurzeln und Änderungen der Architekturtradition artikularen Holzkirchen. In *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica XXVIII–XXIX*, 1996–1997, p. 72.

36 KRMAN. *Itinerarium (cestovný denník z rokov 1708 – 1709)*. Bratislava 1984.

in 1685 and were inspired by its monumental interior.³⁷ But it was probably the smaller rural wooden churches of central cruciform layout and the way in which they were built that appealed most to them. Most of them were originally built in the form of a traditional longitudinal structure and only acquired the cruciform plan through later alterations, mostly in the second half of the 17th or early 18th century. These interventions resulted from capacity reasons, i.e. to maximise the number of worshippers.

The longitudinal log block construction made it possible to create the desired cruciform layout of the church by a relatively simple modification. In the centre of the building, the log walls were cut into two parts, moved from each other by the distance of the width of the future arm and then the perpendicular log walls of the side arms of the new church were fitted on both sides into the created space.

Fig. 11: Djurö Wooden Church, Sweden



Available online: <https://www.familysearch.org/en/wiki/Djur%C3%B6_Parish,_Stockholm,_Sweden_Genealogy#/media/File:Djur%C3%B6_Church.jpg>

It was buildings like these that the emissaries from Hungary could see in several villages near Stockholm and in regions further west as they gradually crossed the country and headed for Denmark. We do not know the specific places of their stops; we can only assume that on their way they visited several wooden churches with a cross plan and in exceptional cases they could also witness how the additional building modifications are created. It is not impossible that they

37 The wooden Royal Admiralty Church with an original capacity of 4,000 worshippers was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998 as part of the Karlskrona Seaport.

stopped in the village of Djurö, where a plastered log church for less than two hundred worshippers and a younger separate bell tower have stood since 1683. They may have stayed for some time in Grythyttan, where the church was built in 1632–1633 and was extended by side arms in 1680, or Nysund with the church from 1638–1639 and the modification of the plan and the addition of the tower in 1736–1738. Similar wooden churches with a later modified plan form in the form of a Greek cross could also be seen in Kvistbro with a church from 1662, Hjulsjö, where the local Protestants built a church in 1640–1643, or Bottnaryd, where just such a church stood as early as 1667.³⁸

Fig. 12: Nysunds Wooden Church, Sweden



Available online: <https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nysunds_kyrka#/media/Fil:Nysunds_kyrka_2018.jpg>

These smaller wooden churches with their scale, proportions, architectural and layout form and the design of the interior space with characteristic galleries better correspond to the form of our articular churches. Therefore, it is quite justified to believe that the cruciform model of the church most probably came to our territory thanks to the aforementioned deputations.

The Kežmarok articular church congregation was the first to use the form of direct financial aid for the construction of the church through a collection abroad.

38 LANGER, Wurzeln und Änderungen der Architekturtradition artikularen Holzkirchen, p. 80; LANGER and KUČA. *Dřevěné kostely a zvonice v Evropě, svazek první – kostely*. Praha; Litomyšl 2009, pp. 151-171 and brief information about the churches in question is also available online: <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se>>

It built a small house of prayer in 1687–1688, but its size was not sufficient for the large Slovak and German Protestant community. Therefore, the believers sought funds to build two separate new churches and a school. It was the fund-raising in the countries of northern Europe that was to help. Already in 1688, the townsmen Pavol Vitális and Ján Michaelides set out on a journey with a special commission to collect alms for the construction of two churches (for the German and Slovak part of the population) and a school. Their journey lasted two and a half years, from May 1688 to the end of October 1690. The appointed envoys passed through Poland, East Prussia and the Baltic countries to Sweden and Denmark and returned to Hungary via several German principalities and Silesia. During their journey they visited many smaller and larger villages and towns, where they relied on the generosity of the local people, especially during Sunday services. The Swedish monarch Charles XI (1655–1697) and the Danish and Norwegian King Kristian V (1646–1699) granted them special permits in their respective countries for the collection.

Among other places, they stopped in Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad), Riga, Stockholm, Uppsala, Copenhagen, Lübeck, Leipzig and Görlitz. An original "wandering collection book" has been preserved from their trip, in which they wrote down the places they visited and the funds they managed to raise.³⁹ Altogether they brought in 792 Hungarian guildens, but after deducting travel expenses they were left with less than three hundred, which, however, could not cover the planned construction of new churches.

The expansion of the existing house of prayer or the construction of a completely new church(es) was not only hindered by lack of funds, but mainly by the difficult economic situation in the town and the whole country. After the outbreak of the anti-Habsburg uprising of Francis II. Rákóczi it was unthinkable to start the construction of a new church. It was only after the end of the revolt and the partial mitigation of the effects of the Counter-Reformation that the existing building was dismantled in 1717 and a new, contemporary church was built. Its architectural and plan design and the overall concept of the interior space have features almost identical to the aforementioned Swedish Royal Admiralty Church of 1685.

In the case of Kežmarok, the builders only used gabled roofs and traditional elements of domestic, folk architecture (plate gables in the top ending in a so-called half-circle with a cross-shaped weathervane and relatively large protruding

39 This precious document and other documents related to the journey (the permission of the Swedish and Danish monarch for the collection) are stored in the Lyceum Library Kežmarok (Lyceálna knižnica Kežmarok, v majetku Cirkevného zboru ECAV v Kežmarku (LKK), fond rukopisov).

gablets in the lower part).⁴⁰ The congregation was left with no funds for the construction of the planned second church.

Fig. 13: Kežmarok, Interior of the Articular Church



Photo by Alexander Jiroušek, 2009

Probably following the example of the evangelicals of Kežmarok, the recently founded articular church congregation in Istebné in Orava decided to raise funds for the completion of their church abroad. It started building the church as early as 1686, but due to lack of money and poor economic situation, the work was interrupted and the building was used only as a makeshift house of prayer.⁴¹ Therefore, on 19 November 1693, the representatives of the congregation drew up a petition addressed to the Swedish monarch, in which, among other things, they described the difficult situation of the Evangelicals in Hungary, mentioned the name of their envoy and promised to use the money collected only for the construction of the church and the school.

At the end of 1695, the landowner František Podhoráni set out on this journey. He appeared before the Swedish king and on 14 March 1696 received permission to hold the collection in the form of a royal privilege.⁴² However, it is not known

40 LANGER and KUČA, *Dřevěné kostely a zvonice v Evropě, svazek první – kostely*, p. 202.

41 DUDÁŠ. Dřevěný artikulárny kostol v Istebnom. In *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 2011, No. 2, pp. 20-25.

42 LANGER. Kultúrne pamiatky v Istebnom. In *Istebné – vlastivedná monografia*, 1996, pp. 113-115 (the reproductions of the petition and the decision of the King of Sweden published on p. 131 and p. 132 are not currently available in the original).

when he returned and with what success. Lack of money may have been the reason that the worshippers were unable to complete the church and for a long time it was used only in a makeshift form. It was not until the rebuilding of 1730-1731, and it is possible that by dividing the original log house and adding to it, as was commonly done in Sweden, that this church was given its present form of a hint of a cruciform layout.⁴³

It is interesting that only a few years earlier the believers in nearby Leštiny had built a church of a very similar architectural design.⁴⁴ It is possible that it was built by the same group of master carpenters. Both buildings bear a very similar construction handwriting.

The representatives of church congregations often included the condition of realization of a church with a cruciform plan directly in the contracts they made with the builders they approached. Thus, it was not the design and inventive feat of the builder himself, but the idea and request of the faithful, represented by their preacher and the laity.

In the copy of the contract of the Kežmarok church congregation with the builder of the new church, the carpenter Juraj Müttermann, dated 1 June 1717, it is, among other things, only very briefly but clearly stated that “...*the church is to be roofed as soon as possible and simple choirs are to be made in the three arms of the building of the plan of the cross...*”⁴⁵ This means that the congregation envisaged the construction of a church that was to have a cross plan. It is not entirely impossible that the architectural model for its construction was the older, now defunct, second articular church in nearby Levoča from 1713.⁴⁶ The very short construction period, just under three months from the signing of the contract, suggests that this may have been merely a rebuilding and extension of the existing simple rectangular prayer room, rather than the construction of an entirely new building.⁴⁷

43 This assumption could be confirmed or refuted by a visual survey of the basic log structure of the church, but this is not possible at the moment, as it is covered with external and internal boarding and the church is regularly used for worship.

44 Dendrological research indicates that the fir wood used for the construction of the church in Leštiny was cut in the years 1722–1725, which means that the church could have been built only around 1726. In DUDÁŠ. Oravské artikulárne kostoly v nových súvislostiach. In KOVAČKA; AUGUSTÍNOVÁ and MAČUHA, eds. *Zborník prác z interdisciplinárnej konferencie Zemianstvo na Slovensku v novoveku, časť II. Duchovná a hmotná kultúra, Studia Historico-bibliographica Turociensia*. Martin 2009, p. 270.

45 BARÁTHOVÁ. *Svedkovia ťažkých dôb*. Liptovský Mikuláš 1997, p. 52.

46 We know the appearance of Kežmarok’s second articular church with a cruciform plan from, among other things, two contemporary vedutas dated 1837, which are in the collections of the Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča.

47 The solemn consecration of the church took place on 15 August 1717.

Also in the case of the new articular church in Paludza in Liptov we know the name of the master carpenter, it was Jozef Lang. The church congregation considered rebuilding the older house of prayer as early as 1769, but did not start work until four years later. The contract of 5 March 1774, signed by the builder with a single cross, states that the new church was to be made “*of wood hewed to square on four sides...*”⁴⁸ In the canonical visitation from 1872 it is written that the front part of the new church was made already in 1773, at the time when the back part of the older house of prayer was still standing.⁴⁹ This means that Jozef Lang and his helpers only completed the already built object to its final form. The congregation probably only then decided to have the new church modified into a cruciform plan. This is evidenced by the fact that the cross arms of the church were made inaccurately and are offset from each other by 1.2 m. The builders probably did not have sufficient experience with this log building layout, nor did they have any drawings from which to construct the structure in this shape. They worked intuitively, using only their craftsmanship and experience, and this probably accounted for the relatively large variation, which later made it difficult for them to roof the structure with timber arches.

Assessment and conclusion

The knowledge of the socio-political and religious context of the time shows that the twenty-sixth article of the Congress of Sopron, which concerned the construction of articular churches, did not come into being by chance. It is more than likely that its wording was based on the conditions for the construction of the earlier Silesian peace churches. However, this is where their similarity ends. The monumental architecture and the overall generous spatial and structural design of the Silesian churches did not apply to the construction of the far more modest Upper Hungarian articular churches. The Swedish wooden churches were far more suited for the needs of the local, mostly small rural congregations of the Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession. It was they, with their scale, proportions, structural design and functional use, and last but not least the atmosphere and interior furnishings, that fully met the requirements of local congregations. This assumption is attested by the fact that the local master carpenters had more experience with log (spruce-fir) than with post-and-frame or timber-framed (oak) construction.

48 The contract with master carpenter Jozef Lang for the construction of the church is part of the minutes of the church convention in Paludza (pp. 215-216). POLONEC, Drevený artikulárny kostol v Paludzi. In *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea v Martine – Etnografia*, 1970, 11, pp. 32-33.

49 From the minutes of the canonical visitation of Bishop Ludovít Geduly in the church congregation in Paludza in 1872. POLONEC, Drevený artikulárny kostol v Paludzi, pp. 30-34.

Based on the above, we can quite reasonably formulate the opinion that the architectural-layout model of the cruciform plan of articular churches came to our territory from the Scandinavian direction and developed here into a special form of a wooden sacral building. And it did not stay only here in this context but expanded further. It was the wooden articular churches from the territory of today's Slovakia that subsequently became a model for the use of the cruciform plan in other regions of the Habsburg monarchy, or as a model for the construction of younger wooden toleration houses of worship.

When at the beginning of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire began to disintegrate and a large part of the southern territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary was left depopulated and economically depressed, new colonists gradually began to settle the Lower Lands. Among others, inhabitants from the Upper Hungarian counties left their homes for better living and often religious conditions. It was probably the Upper Hungarian Evangelicals who brought the cruciform plan of the sacral building to the territory of today's Hungary. It was the one they encountered in their homeland, namely in the oldest articular churches. In places where a large community of inhabitants of Slovak origin lived, brick churches with a cruciform layout gradually began to appear. Among others, in towns and villages such as Békéscsaba (1743–1773), Domony (1777), Cinkota (1776) and Maglód (1776).⁵⁰ Evangelicals built new churches of this architectural form despite the fact that the articular churches of the southern regions of Hungary are characterised by a rather longitudinal, hall-like arrangement of the interior space. This variation in the floor plans of Evangelical churches within the same country resulted not only from different local traditions, but also from the fact that the building regulations of the various Hungarian counties were not always uniform.⁵¹

Also in neighbouring Moravia, the articular churches from the territory of today's Slovakia became a certain model for the construction of some younger wooden churches. This was especially true of the tolerance houses of prayer, although they were not built on the characteristic cross plan. After the issue of the Edict of Toleration, the Moravian Evangelicals did not have enough educated preachers, so they invited them from abroad, especially from the territory of the northern Hungarian counties, despite the fact that they themselves preferred the Calvinist tradition of the Reformation.⁵² Many of the preachers came from

50 KRÄHLING and NAGY. Late baroque Greek-cross Plan type Lutheran churches in Hungary, pp. 82-83. [2024-10-29. Available online: <<https://pp.bme.hu/ar/article/view/23/23>>

51 KRÄHLING and NAGY, Príspevok k výskumu architektonického dedičstva slovenských evanjelikov v Uhorsku – tradícia barokovej centrality, p. 9.

52 LANGER. Dřevěné toleranční kostely a vztah mezi architekturou lidovou a slohovou. In *Zborník zo seminára Dřevěné stavby – průzkum, dokumentace, ochrana, využití*. Rožnov

articular churches where they had been working for some time and knew well the architecture and layout of the churches there. For example, the only surviving Moravian wooden tolerance house of prayer in the village of Velká Lhota (1783) corresponds in its dimensions and proportions to a large extent to the articular church in Hronsek (1725–1726), despite the fact that it is of log construction and has a block character.⁵³ It is possible that the expression and architecture of the extinct Moravian wooden houses of prayer in Huslenky (1786)⁵⁴ and Rusava (1794)⁵⁵ may also have corresponded to the original building of the articular church in Istebné, i.e. the house of prayer before its final modification in 1730–1731.

Despite the fact that only five wooden articular churches have been preserved in Slovakia to this day, they are an important part of our monument fund. Each of them is characterised by a cruciform plan, although in the case of two of them only in an outlined form. Both well-known and anonymous, but above all skilled master carpenters have given them a characteristic form, despite their simple architecture, which is close to man in scale and proportion. They naturally combined traditional building methods and their technical skill and craftsmanship with imported plan schemes of sacral buildings that best corresponded to the ideas of the Reformation. Today, these churches are rightly regarded as a jewel of our and the world's cultural heritage.⁵⁶

p. Radhoštěm 2002, pp. 59-64.

- 53 The first administrator of the local parish was Ferdinand Szeleczényi from Zvolen, who was educated in the Hronsek articular choir and its school. Therefore, it is probably not accidental that the size of the prayer room in Velká Lhota is almost identical to the size and proportion of the space in the longitudinal direction of the Hronsek church (about 10 x 16 m). LANGER, Wurzeln und Änderungen der Architekturtradition artikulare Holzkirchen, p. 83.
- 54 The original simple log building with a gable roof in Huslenky was demolished at the end of the 19th century due to its very poor technical condition, but today its scientific reconstruction is presented on the premises of the Wallachian Open Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.
- 55 The house of prayer in Rusava was built at the time of Samuel Revický (1764–1840), who came from Revišné (today part of Veličná) and grew up in the nearby articular congregation in Istebné and its architecture was identical to the house of prayer in nearby Huslenky. LANGER, Dřevěné toleranční kostely a vztah mezi architekturou lidovou a slohovou, p. 60.
- 56 Three wooden articular churches in Kežmarok, Leštiny and Hronsek were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2008.

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