

THE CULT OF SAINT STANISLAUS AT THE COURTS OF THE PIASTS AND THE JAGIELLONS AND ITS ARTISTIC TESTIMONY¹⁾

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According to the British researcher Miri Rubin, the structural basis for the cult of martyrs is a clash of opposing values. Death is recognized as a martyr's death when it becomes a distinctive feature of one group against the other: we – they, Christians – pagans, the good – the evil.²⁾ In her opinion a classical group of saints whose cult developed on the basis of such a pattern were the bishops who opposed the rulers. Their fate exemplifies changes that took place in the Christian world from the 11th century ruled by the increasingly powerful papacy. Among these hierarchs St Stanislaus of Szczepanów, bishop of Cracow, certainly occupies a special place.³⁾

St Stanislaus was killed in 1079 probably in the Cracow Church of St Michael on Skalka (on the Rock) in the circumstances which for nearly two hundred years have been the subject of academic dispute.⁴⁾ The main difficulty is due to the fact that the oldest sources for the history of the cult were written down *ex post* and they present two totally different attitudes. *The Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus* (ca. 1113–1117) has preserved the court tradition maintained on Wawel Hill in the circle of successive dukes. According to it, the bishop was a traitor (*traditor*), and King Boleslas punished him by putting him to dismemberment (*truncatio membrorum*). The chronicler reproaches the king that he *cum peccato peccatum adhibuit*, rightly thinking *quod non debuit christus in christum peccatum quodlibet corporaliter vindicare*.⁵⁾ The consequence of the monarch's deed was his flight to Hungary and his death soon afterwards, in 1081 or 1082.⁶⁾ The *Chronicle* written almost a hundred years



Ill. 1: Cracow, Wawel Castle; the pilgrim's badge of St Stanislaus, about 1254; photo Stanisław Michta.

later by Wincenty (called Kadłubek), bishop of Cracow and in the last years of his life a Cistercian monk at Jędrzejów, gives another, ecclesiastical, version of the events.⁷⁾ According to it, Stanislaus admonished the cruel monarch and anathemized him; the monarch in an outburst of anger ordered that the hierarch be captured, and finally killed him himself. The bishop's body was quartered and scattered; however, God sent four eagles to guard the precious relics. Then they miraculously grew together, testifying to the sainthood of the murdered bishop.

An evident contradiction between the two versions of the events perplexes historians, making some of them sum up the beginnings of the cult with the words *ignoramus et ignorabimus*, full of scientific pessimism. Leaving aside the interpretations of these oldest records, let us only say that the cult of Stanislaus probably grew gradually after the death of Boleslas the Wrymouthed and after the division of the Kingdom into several duchies in 1138. It was surely enhanced by the struggles between the princes and the banishment of the senior prince Ladislas II after he had been excommunicated by the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub

1) The present text is a survey of the most important phenomena related to the cult of St Stanislaus, prepared specially for the conference. I am well aware that such an approach deprives my presentation of originality, but I believe that such recapitulations and reviews are methodologically justified, especially on the occasion of international meetings. The footnotes contain references to the latest literature, while for obvious reasons I have omitted earlier publications on the chief patron saint of Poland, as they are practically infinite in number.

2) M. Rubin, *Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe*, in: *Martyrs and Martyrologies. Papers read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, (ed. D. Wood), Oxford 1993, p. 163.

3) A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Rome 1981, p. 198.

4) Cf. above all a critical review of sources and state of research in: M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława*, Bydgoszcz 1999; G. Labuda, *Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, patron Polski. Śladami zabójstwa – męczeństwa – kanonizacji*, Poznań 2000. Recently also: T. Wętczowski, *Transitus Sancti Stanisłai*, in: *Magistro et Amico amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, Kraków 2002, pp. 73–85.

5) Galli *Chronicon*, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (later cit. MPH), ed. A. Bielowski, vol. I, Lwów 1864, p. 422; *Anonim tzw. Gall, Kronika Polska*, (trans. R. Grodecki, introd. and nn. M. Plezia), Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1968 (Biblioteka Narodowa, series I, nr 59), p. 57; G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 27–28.

6) J. Powierski, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego*, Gdańsk 1992.

7) *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, Kraków 1994 (MPH, nova series, tomus XI); *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika Polska*, trans. K. Abgarowicz, B. Kürbis, introd. and comm. B. Kürbis, Warszawa 1974.



Ill. 2: The seal of Leszek the Black (Czarny), Duke of Cracow, before 1289; after Piekosiński.



Ill. 3: The seal of the city councillors of Cracow, early 14th century; after Piech

of Żnin.⁸ Historians suppose that in the 1180s Wincenty Kadłubek studied either in France or in Italy.⁹ At that time the cult of Thomas Becket, murdered some years earlier, was immensely popular in the circles of the University of Paris. Beryl Smalley holds that it was spread in Europe chiefly by the students from Paris who were pervaded with it in the course of their education and who cultivated it after their return to their respective countries.¹⁰ Thus the ecclesiasti-

8) G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, p. 141.

9) J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1968, p. 72.

10) B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools. A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, Oxford 1973, pp. 139, 192; M. Walczak, *Alter Christus. Studia nad obrazowaniem świętości w sztuce średniowiecznej na przykładzie św. Tomasza Becketa*, Kraków 2001 (*Ars vetus et nova*,

cal version of the events in Cracow probably owes much to the lives of the archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹)

From the 11th century onwards the Church recorded a growing number of canonizations of “new” saints, whose processes were based on the testimony of eyewitnesses. In the 13th century only two “old” saints were canonized – Virgilius of Salzburg and Stanislaus.¹² The contemporary science of canon law emphasized that the principle of close examination of virtues (*virtus morum*) applied to sainted confessors only. In the case of martyrs the role of overriding importance was played by the cause of martyrdom and the miracles worked through their intercession. Henricus de Segusa, the famous Hostiensis, made it clear in his *Summa super titulis decretalium* (X 3. 45): *De martyribus autem non fit tanta examinatio; sed queritur de miraculis et causa propter quam passi sunt*.¹³ In the case of the canonization process of St Stanislaus the time that had elapsed since the martyrdom was undoubtedly a serious obstacle; therefore, a decisive part here may have been taken over by the *virtus signorum*. An important role in terms of propaganda must have been played by miracles the list of which was delivered to the canonization commission in Rome in 1250. The most important *miraculum* was the history of the resurrection of the *comes* Piotr (Piotrawin).¹⁴ The bishop claimed that the magnate had sold him a village, but after Piotr’s death his family demanded the return of their former property. Therefore, Stanislaus brought the deceased before the royal court as a witness. It has been suggested that the theme was borrowed from Dominican homiletic literature¹⁵ or from the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry or Stephen of Bourbon.¹⁶ What underlies the story is surely the conflict between the norms of ecclesiastical law and those of Polish secular law, and these issues did not emerge until the first half of the 13th century.¹⁷

vol. V, ed. W. Batus), pp. 67–68.

11) D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy. W sprawie genezy kultu św. Stanisława biskupa*, Warszawa 1950 (*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, vol. 4); W. Schenk, *Zagadnienie zależności kultu św. Stanisława biskupa od kultu św. Tomasza Kantuarijskiego w świetle śląskich rękopisów liturgicznych*, “*Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*”, IV/1, 1959, pp. 73–85; W. Uruszczak, *Les répercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket en Pologne (XII–XIII^e siècles)* in: Thomas Becket. Actes du colloque international de Sédieres, 19–24 Août 1973, publ. par R. Foreville, Paris 1975, pp. 115–125; W. Irgang, *Die politische Bedeutung der Heiligen im Mittelalter* (Wenzel, Adalbert, Stanislaus, Hedwig), in: *Heiligen und Heiligenverehrung in Schlesien. Verhandlungen des IX. Symposiums in Würzburg vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1991*, hrsg. von J. Köhler (Schlesische Forschungen, Bd. 7), Sigmaringen 1997, p. 40; G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 143–144.

12) M. Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Stuttgart 1982 (*Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 25), p. 145; as a matter of fact, St Stanislaus is here peculiarly called “a missionary bishop of the Empire”!

13) According to the edition of *Summa super titulis decretalium*, Lyon 1542, fol. 187v; cit. after A. M. Kleinberg, *Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages*, “*Viator*”, XX, 1989, p. 185.

14) M. Kaczmarek, *Legenda piotrawińska jako źródło do poznania polskiego prawa średniowiecznego*, “*Acta Universitatis Vratislaviensis. Historia*”, XXVI, 1974, pp. 92 ff.; W. Smoleń, *Legenda Piotrawina w gotyckiej ikonografii św. Stanisława ze Szczepanowa*, “*Roczniki Humanistyczne*” XXIII, 1975, no. 5: “*Historia Sztuki*”, p. 5; G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, p. 151, n. 246.

15) T. Dobrzeński, *Tryptyk z Pławna*, Warszawa 1954 (*Klejnoty sztuki w Polsce*), p. 13.

16) A. Brückner, *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej*, vol. I, Warszawa 1904, pp. 96–99; D. Borawska, o. c. in n. 11, p. 43; G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 153–156.

Leaving aside the question of the sources of this story, the first to record it was a Dominican, Wincenty of Kielcza. At the commission of the Cracow Church, in the early second half of the 13th century he wrote *Vita minor* and slightly later its reworked version *Vita maior sancti Stanislai*. The latter contained a description of the Assisi celebrations on the occasion of the canonization, which was probably based on the author's own recollections.¹⁸⁾ The canonization was preceded by the *sublevatio ossium*, performed around 1242 by the bishop of Cracow, Prandota.¹⁹⁾ Stanislaus was sainted on 8th September, 1253 in the Basilica of St Francis at Assisi. In the following year, on 5th May, the Pope's decision was proclaimed ceremonially in Cracow Cathedral and the bones were placed in the altar set up in the crossing.²⁰⁾ Some of them were sent as relics to particularly important churches, including Prague.²¹⁾ Wincenty of Kielcza tried to bring out for the benefit of Poland the whole ideological capital inherent in the fact of the canonization of the first Pole. This also concerned a political aspect: the fact of having a common patron saint-compatriot united all Poles above the borders of the district duchies, stimulating their national consciousness...²²⁾ The use of the legend for political ends is best exemplified by a passage from the *Vita Maior* in which Wincenty took up from Kadlubek's *Chronicle* the story about the martyr's body which had miraculously grown together.²³⁾ In his description the tragic events followed the crime-and-punishment pattern: for the murder of the bishop God punished with the loss of the crown and the break-up of the state. Nevertheless, there was still hope, for Wincenty made the miraculous reintegration of Stanislaus' limbs a figure of the reunification of the divided Polish Kingdom. Merciful God had preserved all the royal insignia: crown, scepter,



Ill. 4: Gold ducat of Ladislas the Short, averse and reverse, after 1320; after Paszkiewicz.

and spear, hidden in the cathedral treasury in Cracow – the state capital and the royal seat: *usque dum ille venit, qui vocatus est a Deo tamquam Aaron...*²⁴⁾ This prophetic passage met with a lively response in late 13th century writings, when the vision of the reunification of the Kingdom began to take on shape.²⁵⁾ Successive Piast dukes with political ambitions tried to make use of Stanislaus for propaganda purposes.²⁶⁾ Significantly, the next texts left out all reference to Aaron, thereby the words about the revival of the kingdom being given a strictly political meaning.²⁷⁾ The *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* of ca. 1310 records that the intention to crown himself king of Poland was maturing in Henry IV Probus, Duke of Wrocław, after he had read the Life of St Stanislaus.²⁸⁾

After Ladislas the Short (Łokietek) was crowned king in 1320, the cult was used to ideologically justify the rights of the new monarch and to emphasize the continuity of the monarchy, especially in view of the claims made by John of Luxemburg who until 1335 called his Piast rivals *kings of Cracow*.²⁹⁾ A trace of these activities may be an adaptation of Wincenty's *Vita maior*, entitled the *Tradunt Life*, which was

17) M. Plezia, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 145–146.

18) *Vita Sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis Episcopi (Vita Maior)* auctore fratre Vincentio de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, (ed. W. Kętrzyński), in: MPH, vol. IV., Lwów 1884, pp. 434–438; M. Plezia, o. c. in n. 4, p. 45.

19) *Miracula Sancti Stanislai*, (ed. W. Kętrzyński) in: MPH, vol. IV, pp. 286–399; M. Rożek, *Ara Patriae. Dzieje grobu św. Stanisława w katedrze na Wawelu*, "Analecta Cracoviensia", XI, 1979, pp. 437–438; recently: J. Rajman, *Kraków: zespół osadniczy, process lokacji, mieszczanie do roku 1333*, Kraków 2004, p. 186.

20) For the canonization see, among other references, J. Lisowski, *Kanonizacja św. Stanisława w świetle procedury kanonizacyjnej Kościoła dzisiaj i dawniej*, Rzym 1953, p. 202; *Hagiografia Polska, Słownik bibliograficzny*, (ed. R. Gustaw), vol. 2. Poznań, Warszawa, Lublin 1972, pp. 429–432.

21) J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln – Wien 1979, pp. 428ff.; F. Graus, *St. Adalbert und St. Wenzel. Zur Funktion der mittelalterlichen Heiligenverehrung in Böhmen*, in: *Europa Slavica – Europa orientalis*, Festschrift Herbert Ludat, Berlin 1980, p. 217, nn. 60–61; A. Barciak, *Czechy a ziemię południowej Polski w XIII oraz w początkach XIV wieku. Polityczno-ideologiczne problemy ekspansji czeskiej na ziemię południowej Polski*, Katowice 1992 (*Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach*, nr 1264), pp. 42–43.

22) M. Plezia, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 146–147; cf. also G. Labuda, o. c. in n. 4, esp. pp. 145–162.

23) M. Plezia, Wincenty z Kielc, *historyk polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", VII, 1962, pp. 27–29; G. Labuda, *Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", XVI, 1971, pp. 118, 134–135.

24) *Vita Sancti Stanislai...*, o. c. in n. 18, pp. 392–393.

25) J. Wyrozumski, *Gospodarcze i społeczne uwarunkowania procesu zjednoczeniowego w Polsce XIII wieku*, in: *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, (ed. J. Krzyżaniakowa), Poznań 1997, pp. 57–64.

26) Z. Jakubowski, *Polityczne i kulturowe aspekty kultu biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu*, Częstochowa 1988; A. Gieysztor, *Politische Heilige im hochmittelalterlichen Polen und Böhmen*, in: *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, Hrsg. J. Petersohn, Sigmaringen 1994 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 42), pp. 325–341; W. Irgang, o. c. in n. 11, pp. 40–43; recently: W. Mrozowicz, *Die politische Rolle des Kultes des Hl. Adalbert, Stanislaus und der Hl. Hedwig im Polen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Approche comparative*, ed. M. Derwich, M. Dmitriev, Wrocław 1999, pp. 116–120.

27) M. Plezia, Wincenty z Kielc..., o. c. in n. 23, p. 27; J. Pietrusiński, *Portal św. Stanisława w Starym Zamku*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", XXX, 1968, p. 351, n. 30.

28) *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, Hrsg. J. Seemüller, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores qui vernacula lingua usi sunt*, Bd. 5, Teil 2, Hannover 1893, pp. 285–286; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława biskupa na Śląsku w świetle średniowiecznych rękopisów liturgicznych. Studium historyczno-liturgiczne*, Lublin 1959, p. 19, n. 39; W. Mrozowicz, o. c. in n. 26, p. 119.

29) S. Szczur, *Historia Polski: Średniowiecze*, Kraków 2002, pp. 347–348.



Ill. 5: Cracow Cathedral, the chancel's boss, St Stanislaus, before 1346; photo Stanisław Michta.

probably made in the mid-1320s.³⁰⁾ This is a compilation of earlier sources, but it contains important additions. Wincenty Kadłubek recorded that the king had ordered: *prope aram, inter infulas, non ordinis, non loci, non temporis inspecta reverentia, corpori iubet antistitem*. However, later in his chronicle he span a tale about the myrmidons felled to the ground by God's power and about the monarch who himself *severed the bridegroom from the bride's bosom*.³¹⁾ Thus we may only conjecture about the circumstances of the bishop's death, although the expressions *prope aram* and *inter infulas* clearly indicate a church interior. The *Tradunt Life* is the first to record explicitly that King Boleslas *ab ara trahens antistitem, primus in caput pontificis vibrat suum ense*.³²⁾ The motif of death by the altar appeared in numerous hagiographical texts and in illustrated lives of saints, to mention only the lives of SS. Narcissus, bishop of Gérone, Aureus, archbishop of Mainz, Gohard (Guichard, Cohard), bishop of Nantes, Savinien, bishop of Sens, Rambaud, bishop of Malines, and Rufo, bishop of Capua, as well as Nicasius of Reims, Arno of Würzburg, Theodore of Croyland, Ethelbert, and above all Thomas Becket.³³⁾ A source of the popularity of this motif may also have been canon law,

whose rules warned that: *sacrilegium committere qui violentas et impias manus is clericum iniecerit*.³⁴⁾

During the reign of Casimir the Great the cult of St Stanislaus experienced a degree of slump which may have been due to incessant conflicts between the monarch and the hierarchs of the Cracow Church.³⁵⁾ Attractive as *the dispenser of the crown of the Polish Kingdom*, after the restitution of monarchy Stanislaus may have become inconvenient. Josiah Cox Russel, in his classical paper of 1929 regarded the case of Thomas Becket as a model for a whole series of cults of anti-royal significance.³⁶⁾ In his view *in the person of Becket resistance to the King had been canonized*. Indeed, some Polish bishops in their clashes with the secular power invoked the death of Stanislaus. Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1423–1455), bishop of Cracow, was in the forefront here – many a time in his disputes with Ladislas Jagiello and Casimir the Jagiellon he compared himself to his martyred predecessor.³⁷⁾

A factor of crucial importance to the development of the cult in the centuries to come was the investing of Stanislaus' patronage with national aspects. In examples of liturgical poetry from as early as the 13th century the bishop was named the *Pater Patriae*. The famous hymn composed by Wincenty of Kielcza begins with the invocation addressed to Poland to rejoice in her celebrated son: *Gaude, mater Polonia, Prole fecunda nobilis*.³⁸⁾ The significance of the cult of St Stanislaus in the history of the reborn Kingdom is best illustrated by the ceremonial of penitential processions, or actually pilgrimages, to the Church of St Michael on the Rock, which the successive monarchs (including Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski in 1787!) undertook on the eve of their coronation.³⁹⁾ It is believed that the role of a pattern may have been played here by the coronation ceremonial for the kings of Bohemia with a procession to Vyšehrad.⁴⁰⁾ According to the latest interpretations, the first king who went to Skalka in order to entrust himself and the kingdom to the protection of Stanislaus was Alexander Jagiello in 1501.⁴¹⁾ How-

34) W. Uruszczak, o. c. in n. 11, p. 124.

35) A. Nadolski, O Szczerbcu, Orle i św. Stanisławie, in: *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej w Polsce X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, Warszawa 1994 (*Colloquia mediaevalia Varsoviensia*, I), pp. 168–169; W. Mischke, Relacje dziejów katedry wawelskiej i kultu św. Stanisława, in: *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu, Materiały Sesji Krakowskiego Oddziału Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Kraków, kwiecień 1994, Kraków 1996, p. 157.

36) J. C. Russel, The Canonisation of the King in Angevin England, in: *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History presented to C. H. Haskins*, (ed. C. H. Taylor), Boston 1929, pp. 279–290, esp. pp. 280–281; recently: M. Walczak, o. c. in n. 10, pp. 77–87.

37) I. Zarebski, Gesta Sbignei jako element ewolucji w genezie Annalium Jana Długosza, in: *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 303–304; M. Koczerska, XV-wieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", XXIV, 1979, pp. 36, 46, 50.

38) *Cantica mediaevi polono-latina*, (ed. H. Kowalewicz), vol. I, Varsoviae 1964, p. 17; Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki liturgicznej o św. Stanisławie, (ed. H. Kowalewicz), "Analecta Cracoviensia", XI, 1979, p. 231.

39) A. Gieysztor, Spektakl i liturgia – polska koronacja królewska, in: *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, (ed. B. Geremek), Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1978, pp. 13–14.

40) P. Crossley, Bohemia Sacra and Polonia Sacra. Liturgy and History in Prague and Cracow Cathedrals, "Folia Historiae Artium", New Series 7, 2001, p. 62.

41) M. Derwich, Rola opata w koronacjach królów polskich, in: *Imagines Potestatis...*, pp. 46–48; Z. Dalewski, Ceremoniał koronacyjny królów polskich w XV i początkach XVI wieku, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 102,

30) J. Kurtyka, Odrodzone Królestwo. Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle nowszych badań, Kraków 2001, p. 84; W. Drelicharz, Annalistyka Małopolska XIII–XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych, Kraków 2003, pp. 324–333.

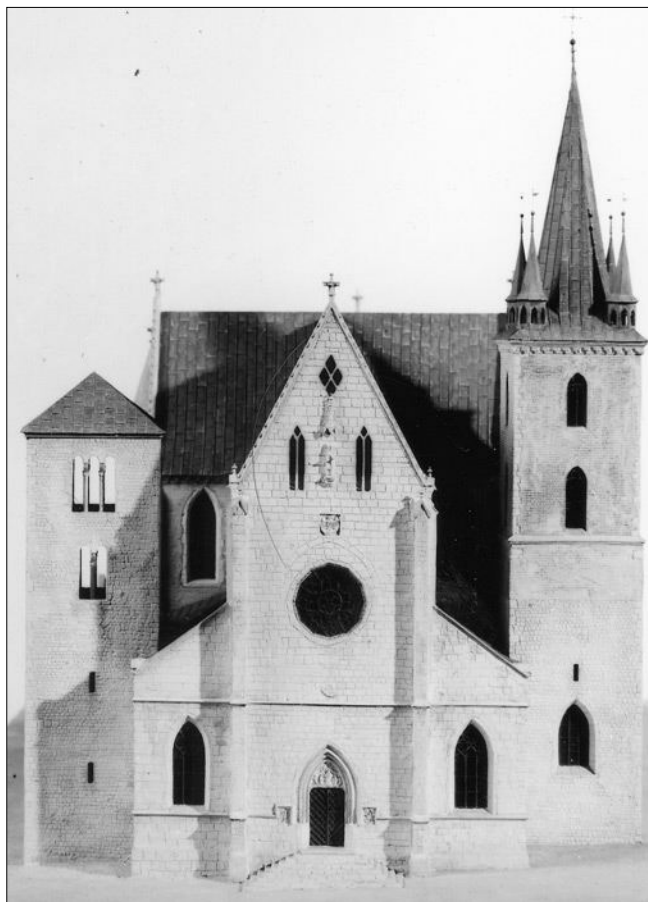
31) Z. Obertyński, Kadłubkowe "inter infulas", "Studia Źródłoznawcze", XVII, 1972, pp. 133–138; Z. Piech, Pieczęć Leszka Czarnego z przedstawieniem św. Stanisława. Próba interpretacji, "Analecta Cracoviensia", XV, 1983, pp. 333–334.

32) W. Drelicharz, o. c. in n. 30, p. 332.

33) M. M. Gauthier, Le meurtre dans la cathédrale, thème iconographique médiéval, in: *Thomas Becket. Actes du colloque international...*, pp. 247–253; V. Figge, Das Bild des Bischofs. Bischofsviten in Bilderverzählung des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts, Weimar 2000 (*Marburger Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, Hrsg. I. Herklotz, K. Niehr, U. Schütte, Bd. 1), pp. 139–144.

ever, it is possible that such a pilgrimage had already been made earlier.⁴²⁾ Ladislas the Short is supposed to have invoked the martyr's intercession before the Battle of Płowce in 1331, and Ladislas Jagiello followed in his footsteps in his celebrated address preceding the Battle of Grunwald in 1410.⁴³⁾

The turning points that may be observed in the history of the cult of St Stanislaus are also discernible in the artistic donations connected with him which were made by the Piasts and the Jagiellons. Despite various attempts it has thus far been impossible to indicate the works that would have been executed before the canonization. The object that stirs up the strongest emotions is a stone baptismal font in the Swedish place of Tryde, dated to the second half of the 12th century, which is supposed to be a trace of the dynastic links between Poland and Scandinavia. However, this view is untenable.⁴⁴⁾ The oldest works with the image of Stanislaus date from as late as the middle of the following century. It was surely in direct connection with the 1254 celebrations that the pilgrim's badges struck in lead, and in some cases probably also gilt, were minted (Ill. 1).⁴⁵⁾ The obverse of a disc with four loops which permitted its fastening to the clothes bears the likeness of St Stanislaus *in pontificalibus*. The bishop is accompanied by four eagles (two on either side) turned towards him with their beaks, and above there is a star in a semicircle, from which five flame-like rays descend towards the hierarch's head. Below walls with towers are marked symbolically. The disc is surrounded by the inscription (I quote it after expanding the abbreviations): SANCTUS STANISLAUS MARTIR ET EPISCOPUS DE CRACOVIA. The reverse is divided into two parts by a vertical line and encircled by a trochaic quatrain: ECCE FRUSTATIM CONCISUS / PER AQUILAS CUS/TODITUS ET DE CELO RADIATUS / CR/AS FUT REINTEGRATUS. To date seven such badges are known, four of them having been found in Bohemia and Moravia and single pieces in Silesia, Kuyawy, and Cracow (the last one on Wawel Hill in



Ill. 6: Cracow, Wawel Castle; the western front of Cracow Cathedral in the 14th century, modern reconstruction; photo Stanisław Michta.

the layer from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries).⁴⁶⁾ The image of Stanislaus on the obverse of a pilgrim's badge became the "official" representation of the new saint, ranking as a model for copying. The iconographic pattern itself had probably been elaborated a year earlier and used for the first time on the canonization banner during the celebrations at Assisi⁴⁷⁾. According to the description given by Wincenty of Kielcza, when the pope ascended to the pulpit in order to pronounce the canonization formula, opposite him went up a *vexillum*, *habens nomen et impressam imaginem beati Stanislai protomartiris Polonorum. Cuius vexilli rubor representavit effusionem preciosi sanguinis et imago gloriosum antistitem sive personam individui patientis*.⁴⁸⁾ The expression *personam individui patientis*, the image of the unquartered martyr, indicates that on the banner, similarly as in the texts relating to the canonization (*cras fuit reintegratus!*), the most important miracle connected with the

1995, pp. 37–59; *Idem*, Władza – przestrzeń – ceremonial. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w., Warszawa 1996, pp. 184–185.

42) S. Kutrzeba, Koronacje królów i królowych w Polsce, Warszawa 1918, p. 13; M. Jagosz, Procesje ku czci św. Stanisława z Wawelu na Skalkę w okresie przedzoborowym, "Analecta Cracoviensia", XI, 1979, pp. 608 ff.; *Idem*, Przedzoborowe procesje wawelskie ku czci św. Stanisława biskupa i męczennika, "Studia Claromontana", XVII, 1997, pp. 74–90.

43) Joannis Długosii seu Longini canonici cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae libri XII, tomus IV, in: Joannis Długosii senioris canonici cracoviensis opera, tomus XIII, Cracoviae 1877, p. 51; U. Borkowska, Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza, Lublin 1983, p. 76; *Eadem*, The Polish Church in the Writings of Jan Długosz, in: The Christian Community of Medieval Poland. Antologies, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1981, p. 198.

44) Recently: J. Svanberg, The Legend of Saint Stanislaus and King Boleslaus on the 12th Century Font in Tryde, Sweden, "Folia Historiae Artium", Seria Nowa 5–6, 1999–2000, pp. 25–42; M. Walczak, O chrzcielnicę w Tryde raz jeszcze. Uwagi na marginesie artykułu Jana Svanberga, The Legend of Saint Stanislaus and King Boleslaus on the 12th Century Font in Tryde, Sweden, "Folia Historiae Artium", Seria Nowa 5–6: 2001, pp. 25–42, "Folia Historiae Artium", Seria Nowa 7, 2001, pp. 107–111.

45) Traces of gilding, though not unquestionably original, have been preserved on the badge found near Sobótka in Silesia; A. Żurek, Materialne ślady pielgrzymek Ślązaków w średniowieczu. Komunikat, in: Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy, (ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zarembka), Warszawa 1995 (Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, II), p. 335, n. 31.

46) Recently: S. K. Kuczyński, Znaki pielgrzymie. Komunikat, in: Peregrinationes..., pp. 324–327; Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu Państwa Polskiego, Katalog wystawy w Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie, 26 czerwca – 15 października 1995, Warszawa 1995, cat. I 9, p. 225, ill. 8; M. Fraś – J. Natkaniec-Fraś, Wawelski znak pielgrzymi z wizerunkiem świętego Stanisława, in: Polonia Minor mediaevi. Studia ofiarowane Panu Profesorowi Andrzejowi Żakiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, (ed. Z. Woźniak, J. Gancarski), Kraków-Krosno 2003, pp. 445–453; Placa de peregrino con la imagen de san Estanislao, in: Galitzia en Galicia. El arte de Cracovia y la Pequeña Polonia, Santiago de Compostela 2004, pp. 126–127 [text by D. Gabryś].

47) J. Pietrusiński, Jak wyglądał wizerunek kanonizacyjny św. Stanisława?, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", XVII, 1988, pp. 35–41.

48) Vita Sancti Stanislai..., o. c. in n. 18, p. 437.



Ill. 7: Cracow, cathedral treasury; the chasuble donated by Piotr Kmita the Elder, before 1505; photo Stanisław Michta.

saint was emphasized – that of the reintegration of his quartered body.⁴⁹⁾

As has been proved by Wojciech Mischke, the image on the pilgrims' badges glorified the sainted martyr, showing his communion with God, because the walls at the feet of St Stanislaus should be interpreted as the New Jerusalem. Thanks to their depiction the image almost literally illustrates the words of the canonization bull issued by Innocent IV: *Letetur igitur* [Ecclesia – M.W.] (...), *quod iam sue prolis fecunditate celestis muri Jerusalem cicatrix obducitur...*⁵⁰⁾ Similar words are used in the Hymn composed by Wincenty of Kielcza: *Sic Stanislaus pontifex / Transit ad celi curiam*.⁵¹⁾ A strong impact of the first attempts to "build" the iconography of the new saint is evidenced by numerous

representations, including that on the denarius ascribed to Duke Boleslas the Chaste⁵²⁾. Most of them, however, are connected with foundations by Church hierarchs for whom Stanislaus was gradually becoming a paragon to imitate. This is the case of the portal in the parish church at Stry Zamek in Silesia (ca. 1257–1260), which was probably commissioned by Tomasz, bishop of Wrocław,⁵³⁾ and of the seal of Cracow Cathedral (1264) and the counterseal (*contrasigillum*) of the bishop of Cracow, Prandota (1266).⁵⁴⁾

On the seal of Leszek the Black (Czarny), Duke of Cracow, the bishop is depicted by the altar, as he is lifting the Host in the ritual of the Elevation (Ill. 2). The duke himself, his hands folded in prayer, is kneeling humbly on the other side of the mensa. The margin of the seal die bears the inscription S[IGILLUM] LESTCONIS DEI GRA[TIA] DUCIS CRACOVIE[NSIS] SANDOMIRIE[NSIS] [ET] SIRADIEN[SIS], while the banderole on the field is inscribed with the words S[ANCTUS] STANISLA[US]. The latter inscription in particular, which is rarely encountered on seals, indicates how great importance its author attached to the proper identification of the persons depicted on the seal⁵⁵⁾. It may be assumed that the saint is shown here as a follower of Christ and that the Eucharist celebrated by him is an allusion to his martyr's death. The duke himself is attending the liturgy, simultaneously venerating the saint and his sacrifice.⁵⁶⁾ Associated with this ruler is a stained-glass pane depicting St Stanislaus, which was intended for the Dominican church in Cracow.⁵⁷⁾ Leszek the Black is known to have particularly protected Friars Preachers, and it was in their church that his body was laid to rest in 1289.⁵⁸⁾

When in 1295 Duke Przemysław II finally won the crown, he placed on his seal a crowned eagle with the inscription: REDDIDIT IPSE P[OTENS] V[ICTRICIA] SIGNA POLONIS⁵⁹⁾.

52) R. Kiersnowski, Wstęp do numizmatyki polskiej wieków średnich, Warszawa 1964, p. 102; B. Paszkiewicz, Mennictwo Władysława Łokietka, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", XXX, 1986, nos. 1–2, p. 50; Z. Piech, Święty Stanisław szafarzem korony Królestwa Polskiego. Ze studiów nad średniowieczną sfragistyką miasta Krakowa, "Rocznik Krakowski", LVII, 1991, p. 8, ill. 5.

53) J. Pietrusiński, Portal św. Stanisława..., o. c. in n. 27, pp. 345–355; *Idem*, Jak wyglądał wizerunek kanonizacyjny..., o. c. in n. 47, p. 39, ill. 2.

54) Z. Piech, Święty Stanisław..., o. c. in n. 52, in n. 52, pp. 7–10, ill. 6, 7.

55) F. Piękoski, Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich, vol. I: Doba Piastowska. Kraków 1899, no. 182, pp. 124–125, ill. 140; Z. Piech, Pieczęć Leszka Czarnego..., o. c. in n. 31, p. 333; *Idem*, Studia nad symboliką zjednoczeniową pieczęci książąt piastowskich w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV wieku, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ", DCCCVII, Prace Historyczne, vol. 84, 1987, pp. 43–46; *Idem*, Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów. Kraków 1993, pp. 28, 120–122, 131–134, no. 30, ill. 28.

56) Z. Piech, Pieczęć Leszka Czarnego..., o. c. in n. 31, pp. 334–335; W. Mrozowicz, o. c. in n. 26, p. 118; M. Janocha, Missa in arte Polona. Ikonografia Mszy świętej w średniowiecznej i nowożytnej sztuce polskiej. Warszawa 1998, p. 24. The unification message in the seal of Leszek the Black has recently been questioned by P. Wiszewski, Ikonografia i polityka – czy Leszek Czarny dążył do zjednoczenia Polski?, in: *Imago narrat. Obraz jako komunikat w społeczeństwach europejskich*, (ed. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski). Wrocław 2002 (Acta Universitatis Vratislaviensis, no. 2478, Historia CLXI), pp. 298–299.

57) L. Kalinowski, Die ältesten Glasgemälde der Dominikanerkirche in Krakau, in: *Bau- und Bildkunst im Spiegel internationaler Forschung*, Berlin 1989, p. 116; Z. Piech, Święty Stanisław..., o. c. in n. 52, p. 8; recently: M. Szyma, Kościół i klasztor dominikanów w Krakowie. Architektura zespołu klasztorowego do lat dwudziestych XIV wieku. Kraków 2004 (Ars vetus et nova, XV, ed. W. Batus), p. 212.

58) M. Szyma, o. c. in n. 57, p. 25, n. 30, pp. 35, 97, 212–214.

59) According to some researchers the word POTENS should be replaced by PRONIS or DEUS; B. Nowacki, Przemysław II 1257–1296. Odnawiciel

49) J. Pietrusiński, Jak wyglądał wizerunek kanonizacyjny..., o. c. in n. 47, p. 41, n. 16.

50) Innocentego PP. IV bulla kanonizacyjna świętego Stanisława oraz bulla delegacyjna dla Jakuba z Velletri, tekst łaciński wstępem, komentarzem i przekładem polskim opatrzył R. Zawadzki, "Analecta Cracoviensia", XI, 1979, p. 32.

51) Cf. n. 36; W. Mischke, Pierwotny schemat ikonograficzny przedstawienia św. Stanisława ze Szczepanowa. Krakowski znak pielgrzymi z Czech i Moraw, "Ciechanowskie Studia Muzealne", II, 1990, pp. 37–68; *Idem*, Kanonizacyjny typ wyobrażenia św. Stanisława Biskupa, in: 150 lat Muzeum Archeologicznego w Krakowie, Kraków 2000, pp. 247–253.

For the ruler who came from Great Poland (Wielkopolska) providence, that is, God Himself (*ipse potens*), was the guarantor of the return of the *victorious signs of the Poles*⁶⁰. A dozen-odd years later, just before the coronation of Ladislas the Short in 1320, the elements known from the "prophecy" of Wincenty of Kielcza were combined on the seal of the city councillors of Cracow (Ill. 3). It bears the image of the saint, an eagle and a crown separated from it in an almost ostentatious manner, and below is the outline of city walls. According to Zenon Pilch, the separation of the crown from the eagle was probably meant to emphasize that *their reconnection is only possible through Stanislas*. The outline of city walls and the legend giving the name of the city suggest that this fact is only possible in Cracow.⁶¹

The objects created after the coronation of Ladislas the Short in 1320 no longer carry the unification message. Shortly before his death the king issued the denarii on which the portrait of the patron saint is accompanied by the king's personal coat of arms.⁶² At about the same time gold ducats were also struck which bore the likeness of the king enthroned on the obverse and St Stanislaus on the reverse (Ill. 4), this emission being usually associated with the coronation of Ladislas or with the anniversary celebrations – the so-called jubilee of St Stanislaus proclaimed by Pope John XXII in 1330 for the purpose of raising funds for the war against the infidel.⁶³ The portrait of the saint together with the inscription S STANISLAVS POLE (undoubtedly the abbreviation of the word Poloniae)



Ill. 8: Cracow, Wawel Castle; a panel of the retablo, *The Punishment of the Unfaithful Wives by King Boleslas*, early 16th century; photo Stanisław Michta.

clearly emphasizes that he ceased to be the guarantor of unification and became the patron of the revived Kingdom instead⁶⁴. It has recently been held that the issue of these coins sealed the *inseparable links between the martyrdom of St Stanislaus, the miraculous reintegration of his*

korony polskiej. Poznań 1997 (Publikacje Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, nr 15), pp. 150–151.

60) H. Andrzejewicz, *Geneza Orła Białego jako symbolu Królestwa Polskiego w r. 1295*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", XIII, 1968, pp. 14–15; Z. Piech, *Święty Stanisław...*, o. c. in n. 52, p. 12; Z. Piech, *Ikonomia pieczęci...*, o. c. in n. 55, pp. 136–139, no. 99, ill. 19–20.

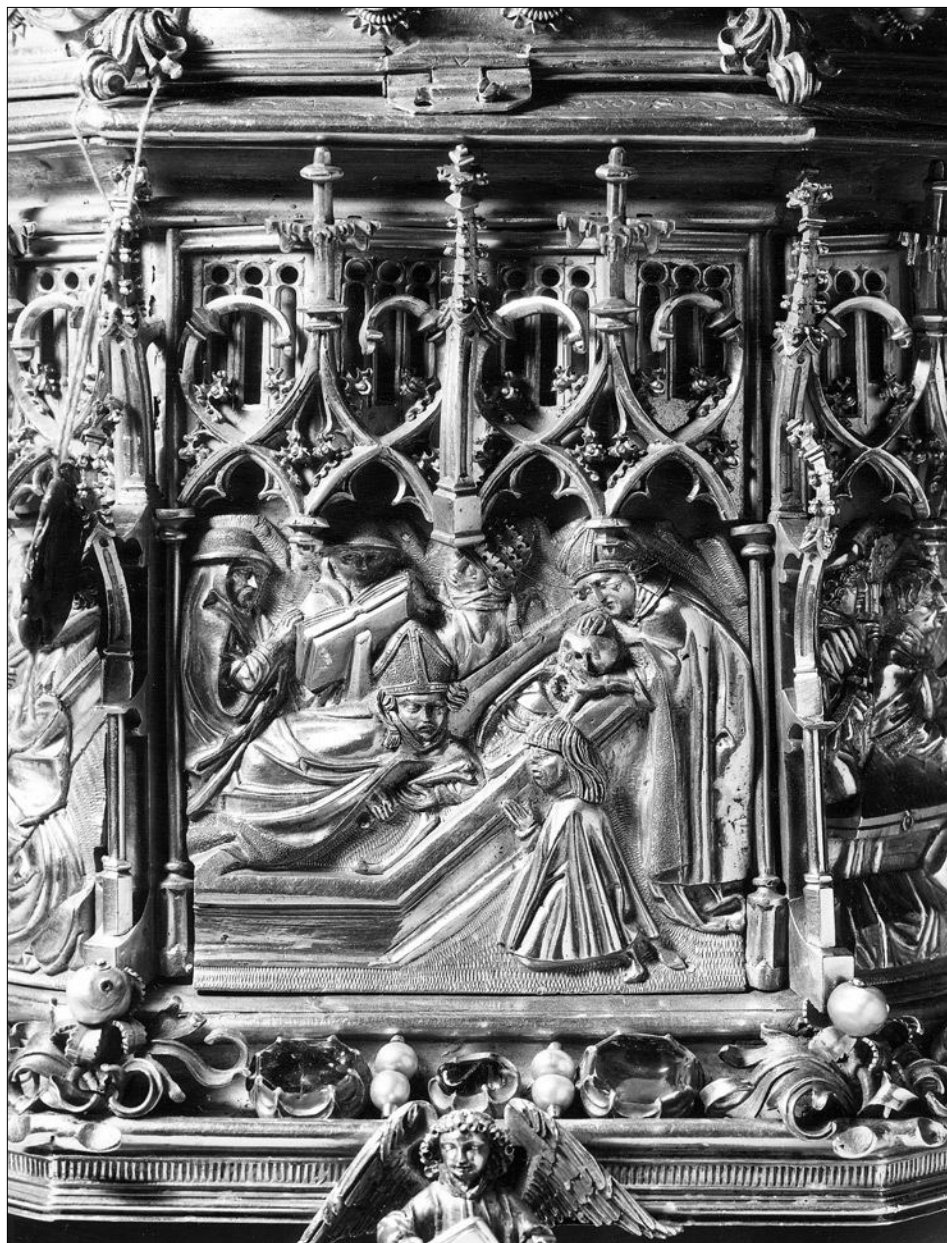
61) F. Piekosiński, o. c. in n. 55, no. 351, pp. 205–206, ill. 232; Z. Piech, *Święty Stanisław...*, o. c. in n. 52, p. 13; *Idem*, *Wokół genezy Orła Białego jako herbu Królestwa Polskiego*, in: *Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu...*, p. 27.

62) B. Paszkiewicz, o. c. in n. 52, pp. 49–53; Z. Piech, *Święty Stanisław...*, o. c. in n. 52, pp. 9, 16.

63) R. Kiersnowski, *Dukaty Władysława Łokietka*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", VIII, 1964, nos. 1–2, pp. 23–41, esp. p. 37; B. Haczew-

ka, *Św. Stanisław na dukacie Władysława Łokietka*, "Rocznik Krakowski", L, 1980, pp. 203–205; L. Morawiecki, *Dukat Władysława Łokietka – interpretacja legendy*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", XXV, 1981, no. 1, pp. 38–42; R. Kiersnowski, *Dookoła inskrypcji S. Stanisława Pole*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", XXV, 1981, no. 1, pp. 43–47; *Idem*, *Moneta w kulturze wieków średnich*, Warszawa, 1988, p. 379; B. Paszkiewicz, o. c. in n. 52, pp. 80–82; J. Wyrozumski, *Kazimierz Wielki*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1982, p. 152; Z. Piech, *Symbole władcy i państwa w monarchii Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego*, in: *Imagines Potestatis...*, p. 138, ill. 1a–1b; *Kurtyka*, o. c. in n. 30, p. 72.

64) Z. Piech, *Symbole władcy i państwa...*, o. c. in n. 63, pp. 136–139.



Ill. 9: Cracow, cathedral treasury; reliquary of the head of St Stanislaus, Canonization of St. Stanislaus, before 1505; photo Stanisław Michta

quartered body and, finally, his canonization and the coronation of Ladislas the Short and the unification of the country...⁶⁵⁾

In the history of the reborn Polish Kingdom the construction of the cathedral church in Cracow from 1320 to 1364 was of particular ideological significance.⁶⁶⁾ In the chancel built before 1346, the bosses bear – beside Christ Enthroned above the high altar – SS. Stanislaus and Wenceslas (Ill. 5). The bishop was accorded a more hon-

ourable place than the duke of Bohemia who after all was the first patron saint of the church.⁶⁷⁾ At a slightly later time the choir walls were decorated with dozens of huge painted figures of saints among whom St Stanislaus certainly occupied an important place.⁶⁸⁾ Part of these Bohemizing paintings survived till the end of the 19th century, when they were scraped off, which as a matter of fact caused a scandal in Cracow's conservation circles.⁶⁹⁾ The places connected with the cult of St Stanislaus were respected during the reconstruction of the nave (before 1364), thus his grave under the crossing being preserved as well as (probably) two chapels in which the relics of the saint's head and hand were kept.⁷⁰⁾ It was probably for "historical" reasons that also the three-aisled Romanesque western crypt along with portions of the towers flanking this part of the church were retained⁷¹⁾. The western entrance to the cathedral contains a clearly expressed, succinct political programme: the stone statue of Stanislaus on the gable dominates the large coat of arms of the Kingdom, pointing to the state, monarchic character of the saint's patronage (Ill. 6).⁷²⁾ Below, above the portal, a small embowed shield bears the Poraj arms of Bodzanta, bishop of Cracow, and still lower, on the wrought-iron doors is the crowned letter K – the per-

65) P. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego Królestwa*. Książę Leszek Czarny, Warszawa 2000, p. 492, ill. 19.

66) Recently: M. Walczak – K. Czyżewski, *Die Krakauer Kathedrale und die Marienkirche in ihrer Funktion für Hof und Stadt*, in: Krakau, Prag und Wien. Funktionen von Metropolen im frühmodernen Staat, Hrsg. M. Dmitrieva, K. Lambrecht. Stuttgart 2000 (GWZO, Leipzig, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropas, Bd. 10), pp. 103–111; A. Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Theatrum Passio [sic] Sancti Stanislai*. Some Thoughts on the Role of Kraków Cathedral as the Shrine of St Stanisław, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia", IX, 2003, pp. 155–175.

67) Z. Piech, *Średniowieczne herby w katedrze wawelskiej*. Treści i funkcje, in: *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu*. Kraków 1996, pp. 129–134. It should be noted that the basic publications: *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. IV: *Miasto Kraków*, part 1: *Wawel*, (ed. J. Szablowski). Warszawa 1965, p. 65, ill. 514, 515; Z. Piech, *Symbole władcy i państwa...*, o. c. in n. 63, p. 138, give the wrong succession of the bosses, situating St Wenceslas near Christ Enthroned in the apse.

68) Such suggestions were made by: A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Treści ideowe kultu św. Stanisława w plastyce średniowiecznej i renesansowej*, "Znak", 31, 1979, pp. 352–357; P. Crossley, o. c. in n. 40, pp. 59–60.

69) Opinions on this issue have recently been reprinted in: *Wokół Wawelu*. Antologia tekstów z lat 1901–1909, ed. J. Krawczyk. Warszawa – Kraków 2001, p. 33, n. 3, pp. 39, 51.

70) P. Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*. Church Architecture in Lesser Poland 1320–1380, Kraków 1985 (Biblioteka Wawelska, 7), pp. 48–50, 378.

71) M. Walczak, *Dlaczego król Kazimierz Wielki zachował od zniszczenia wawelską rotundę Najświętszej Marii Panny?* in: *Lapides viventes*. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej. Kraków 2005, p. 97–98.

72) Z. Piech, *Średniowieczne herby...*, o. c. in n. 67, pp. 137–138; M. Walczak – K. Czyżewski, o. c. in n. 66, p. 103.

sonal initial of King Casimir the Great – repeated many times.

During the post-canonization celebrations in 1254 the relics of the saint were laid on the altar *in medio ecclesiae*.⁷³⁾ Unfortunately, nothing is known about the appearance or furnishing of the place of the new cult. The altar of the saint, described in sources as *Ara patris*, was situated at the intersection of the axes determined by two entrances to the church – from the west and from the south.⁷⁴⁾ During the Gothic rebuilding its structure was connected with that of the rood screen over which a huge triumphal cross was set up. Abutting on the screen was also the altar of St John the Evangelist with a stone mensa and a painted retable bearing the image of the Resurrected Christ.⁷⁵⁾ It was surely not without reason that the altar dedicated to the Apostle was decorated with a picture whose subject was not connected with that saint's life. The image of the Risen Christ constituted a logical supplement to the monumental sculpture of Christ above the screen.⁷⁶⁾ The location of the shrine of the martyr in the place which in the Middle Ages was reserved for the altar of the Holy Cross is rather exceptional.⁷⁷⁾ All the same, it surprises by its theological pertinence and the coherence of the message conveyed. After all, the combination of three elements – a grave, a monumental cross, and an open space for the congregation – appeared as early as the 4th century in Jerusalem (the courtyard with the cross on Golgotha and the Rotunda of the Anastasis).⁷⁸⁾ The ideological significance of such a so-



Ill. 10: Cracow, Wawel Castle; a panel of the retable, Canonization of St. Stanislaus, early 16th century; photo to Staniastaw Michta.

73) M. Rożek, o. c. in n. 19, p. 439.

74) *Ibidem*, pp. 452–459.

75) Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej na Wawelu, Wizytacja Bernarda Maciejewskiego, 1602, no. 20, pp. 389–390; on the altar see also: B. S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. I, Kraków 1998, p. 351.

76) K. J. Czyżewski – M. Walczak, *Z badań nad gotycką katedrą w Krakowie*, "Studia Waweliana", VIII, 1999, p. 28; P. Crossley, *Bohemia Sacra...*, o. c. in n. 40, pp. 65–66; A. Rożnowska-Sadraei, o. c. in n. 66, p. 164, n. 41.

77) J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200*, Oxford 2000.

78) G. Bandmann, *Früh- und Hochmittelalterliche Altaranordnung als Darstellung*, in: *Das Erste Jahrtausend*, Textband I, Düsseldorf 1962, pp. 397–402, 407; J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Bd. 1, München 1924, pp. 101–105; J. A. Jungmann, *Missarium Solemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der*

lution is best illustrated by A. Weckwerth's opinion: *Das Heiligengrab war ja Sinnbild des höchsten Opfers der Nachfolger Christi. Ihr Opfer war gewissermassen eine Gabe, eine Hingabe an Christus und steht darum mit der Idee des Altares in engster Verbindung*.⁷⁹⁾

It is quite commonly believed that Kinga [Cunegund], Duchess of Cracow, had the altar of St Stanislaus decorated, commissioning on the occasion of his canonization a silver coffin with the first, "model" cycle of scenes from the martyr's life. The reliquary survived until the 17th century and is known from a number of fairly detailed descriptions. According to them, it was a rectangular chest measuring ca.

Römischen Messe, Bd. 1, Wien – Freiburg – Basel 1962, pp. 334–335; S. Komm, *Heiligengräbmäler des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich. Untersuchung zu Typologie und Grabverehrung*, Worms 1990, p. 122.

79) A. Weckwerth, *Tisch und Altar*, "Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte", XV, 3, 1963, p. 237.



Ill. 11: *Stare Bielsko*, parish church; a panel of the retable, Canonization of St. Stanislaus, fitt early 16th century; after Gadomski.

176 × 88 × 44 cm and covered with a gable cover. The corners were provided with buttresses, and the walls contained as many as 16 ornamented panels probably enclosed by sumptuous architectural frames. The framework was made of wood overlaid with decorations and figural scenes cast in silver.⁸⁰ The archival sources published recently clearly indicate that this was the gift of Elizabeth, daughter of Ladislaus the Short, who ruled in Cracow in the name of her son Louis of Hungary from 1370 to 1375.⁸¹ In all likelihood

80) E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Ze studiów nad ikonografią legendy św. Stanisława Biskupa*, "Folia Historiae Artium", VIII, 1972, p. 178; M. Rożek, o. c. in n. 19, pp. 439–442; M. Kochanowska-Reiche, *Najstarsze cykle narracyjne z legendy św. Stanisława biskupa*, "Ikonothea. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego", III, 1991, pp. 27–48; K. J. Czyżewski, *Srebrne wyposażenie średniowiecznego ołtarza św. Stanisława w katedrze krakowskiej*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia", IX, 2003, pp. 18–27, esp. 20–21.

81) This was suggested, without scriptural source foundation, by I. Polkowski, *Grób i trumna św. Stanisława Biskupa i Męczennika na Wawelu*, "Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce", III, 1884, p. 32. That this was Elizabeth's donation is confirmed by the inscription recorded in the published notes of the Reverend Jan Wielewicz,

there existed an earlier reliquary that may even have been ordered for the canonization, but we have no information on this object.

In this situation, it must be assumed that the three oldest narrative cycles from the life of St Stanislaus that are known to us originate from as late as the 14th century. The earliest of them has been preserved in the so-called *Angevin Legendarium* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 8541; usually dated to the 1330s).⁸² The fact that the manuscript contains as many as eight scenes devoted to the Cracow martyr directs our attention again to Charles Robert's wife, the more so as the *Martyrdom* scene in the *Legendarium* betrays the author's (donor's?) familiarity with the *Tradunt Life*. Evidently, Elizabeth, brought up at the Cracow court in the period of Ladislaus the Short's struggle for the crown, preserved in Buda a particular veneration of the martyr. Another painted cycle, probably by Puccio Capanna, dating from ca. 1337–1338, is kept in the Chapel of St Stanislaus in the lower part of the Church of St Francis at Assisi. Here only the *The Knight Piotr Rising from the Dead* and the *Quartering of the Saint's Body* are depicted.⁸³ However, Jan

Diennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie 1630–1639, vol. V, Kraków 1999,

pp. 97–98: "cista [...] a regina Poloniae, matre Ludovici regis, fuisse comparatum plusquam a ducentis annis"; *Ibidem*, p. 104: "Porro cistam hanc maiorem, ut ex eius inscriptione manifestum est, Elisabeth Hungariae et Poloniae regina, regis Ludovici Hungari mater, ante annos plusquam 200 S. Stanislae Cracoviensi episcopo miserat".

82) *Węgierskie Legendarium Andegaweńskie*, (ed. F. Levárdy), Wrocław – Budapest 1978, pp. 20, 25–26, 39, pl. XXXI/1–8; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Krytycznie o Węgierskim Legendarium Andegaweńskim* (recenzja węgierskiej edycji Legendarium, Budapest 1973), "Studia Źródłoznawcze", XXII, 1977, pp. 232–233; the author upholds the later dating to ca. 1340; M. Kochanowska-Reiche, *Najstarsze cykle...*, o. c. in n. 80, pp. 39–47; J. S. Pasierb, *Życie, męka i chwała św. Stanisława w "Legendarium Andegaweńskim"* (BAV vat. lat. 8541), "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", XIX, 1992, pp. 45–63.

83) Cf., e.g. E. Lunghi, *The Basilica of St Francis at Assisi. The Frescoes by Giotto, His Precursors and Followers*, London 1996, pp. 184–187; K. Estreicher, recenzja z: M. Gębarowicz, *Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji, Lwów, Ossolineum 1927*, p. 176, IV tablice, "Rocznik Krakowski", XXII, 1929, pp. 170–171, made a conjecture that one of the Assisi scenes literally illustrated Gall Anonymus' statement that the king had sentenced Stanislaus to "truncatio membrorum" – dismemberment; the Assisi paintings would have been based on some lost Life of St Stanislaus, today unknown; M. Kosiriska, *Zarys ikonografii św. Stanisława na podstawie zabytków krakowskich do połowy XVI w.*, "Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk", XVI, 1949, p. 97, questioned such an in-

Długosz, who had visited Assisi, wrote about the Chapel of St Stanislaus: *in qua suum gloriosum martyrium extat desculptum*.⁸⁴⁾ Thus originally the set included at least one more, sculptured, scene.

The next cycles, in chronological order, oscillate between two most important events: the miracle of the resurrection of the comes Piotr and the Martyrdom.⁸⁵⁾ They depicted *The Purchase of a Village by the Bishop*, *The Knight Rises from the Dead*, *The Resurrected Knight Testifies before the King*, *The Murder of Stanislaus*, *The Quartering of the Body of the Future Saint*, *The Body of Stanislaus Miraculously Grows together* or *The Eagles Guarding the Reintegrated Body*, *The Interment of the Holy Remains*, and finally *The Canonization at Assisi*.⁸⁶⁾ Sometimes, as, for example, in the retablo at Kobylin in Great Poland and in one of the miniatures in the *Pontifical of John Olbracht*, the Murder scene depicted, in accordance with the text of Kadłubek's *Chronicle*, the king's myrmidons miraculously felled to the ground.⁸⁷⁾ The majority of these sets do not exceed four to five scenes, but there must have existed other, more developed, cycles. For instance, as many as seven scenes appear on the chasuble donated by Piotr Kmita the Elder to Cracow Cathedral (Ill. 7).⁸⁸⁾ This is also evidenced by the late (ca. 1520–1530?) and artistically poor retablo from the church at Szczepanów, the bishop's birthplace. Perhaps it imitates a cycle intended for Cracow or is an exceptionally developed compilation. It shows 12 scenes, among them *The Birth* and *The Baptism of Stanislaus* and *The Flight of King Boleslas to Hungary*.⁸⁹⁾ The retablo (early 16th century), which probably originates from the church on the Rock (the place of the bishop's martyrdom), includes a scene which has no analogy in the entire iconog-

terpretation of the scene, claiming that it showed the legend of the quartering of the bishop's body after his death; a similar, extensively-founded view is held by M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy...*, o. c. in n. 4, pp. 45–48 (according to him, the Italian artist must have received the information from a Cracow clergyman). A. Kartowska-Kamzowa, *Św. Stanisław czy Maureliusz? Problem identyfikacji malowidła ściennego w dolnym kościele Św. Franciszka w Asyżu*, "Informationes", II, 1980, pp. 29–35, contested the traditional identification of the scenes, considering them to be episodes from the life of St Maurelius. This thesis was rightly criticized by M. Kochanowska-Reiche, *Ikonomia kanonizacyjna św. Stanisława biskupa*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", 49, 1987, pp. 73–85.

84) J. Długosz, *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai Cracoviensis Episcopi*, in: Joannis Długosii senioris canonici cracoviensis opera, cura A. Przeździecki, tomus I, Cracoviae 1887, pp. 142, 338; J. Długosz, *Życie świętego Stanisława biskupa krakowskiego*, ed. S. Belch, London 1953, p. 150.

85) Cf., e.g. A. Kartowska-Kamzowa, *Wyobrażenia męczeństwa biskupa Stanisława Szczepanowskiego (do połowy XVI wieku)*, in: *Interpretacja dzieła sztuki. Studia i dyskusje*. Warszawa – Poznań 1976, pp. 23–46; R. Knapirski, *Titulus ecclesiae. Ikonomia wezwań współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*. Warszawa 1999, pp. 509–525; Z. Kłitś, *Średniowieczne cykle przedstawieniowe życia, męczeństwa i cudów św. Stanisława, biskupa*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia", IX, 2003, pp. 85–97.

86) M. Kosińska, o. c. in n. 83, pp. 96–99.

87) A. S. Labuda, *Malarstwo tablicowe w Wielkopolsce. Szkice do dziejów kształtowania się środowiska artystycznego na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowych*, in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Wielkopolsce. Studia o dziełach i ludziach*, (ed. A. S. Labuda). Poznań 1994, esp. pp. 100–105.

88) T. Kruszyński, *Ornat Piotra Kmita i ołtarz św. Antoniego fundacji Kmitów w katedrze wawelskiej*. Kraków, nd (Skarbiec katedry wawelskiej i muzeum katedralne, vol. 6); M. Walczak, *Ornat fundacji Piotra Kmita Starszego*, in: *Wawel 1000-2000. Kultura artystyczna dworu królewskiego i katedry. Katedra krakowska – biskupia, królewska, narodowa*, Katalog wystawy, vol. 1, (ed. M. Piwocka, D. Nowacki), Kraków 2000, cat. no. 1/241, pp. 249–251, ill. 311.

89) R. Knapirski, o. c. in n. 85, p. 519.



Ill. 12: Warsaw, National Museum, a panel of the retablo from Pławno, *The Preparation of Canonization Materials of St Stanislaus by the Hierarchs of the Polish Church* (?), 1st quarter of the 16th century; after Dobrzeński.

raphy of the saint – *The Punishment of the Unfaithful Wives by King Boleslas* (Ill. 8). This event was to be a hotbed of the conflict between the bishop and the impetuous monarch.⁹⁰⁾

The monotonous choice of the scenes showing the life of Stanislaus is in striking contrast to depictions of his canonization (Ill. 9–13).⁹¹⁾ At least seven episodes connected with the canonization of the bishop are illustrated in the works known today. Among them one can easily identify: *A Plea for Canonization Presented to the Pope*, *St Stanislaus Appears to Cardinal Reginald of Ostia Who Doubts His Sanctity*, *Cardinal Reginald's Plea for the Canonization of Stanis-*

90) J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*. Warszawa 1995, p. 29, n. 148; K. Secomska, *Krakowska legenda św. Jana Jaluźnika. Problemy stylu i warsztatu*, "Folia Historiae Artium", XXVII, 1991, p. 108.

91) M. Walczak, *Kanonizacja św. Stanisława jako temat historyczny w sztuce Krakowa*, "Studia Waweliana", XI/XII, 2002/2003, pp. 5–41.



Ill. 13: Cracow, Cathedral treasury, the chasuble donated by Piotr Kmita the Elder, Canonization of St. Stanislaus, before 1505; photo Stanisław Michta.

laus, *The Pope Debating with the Cardinals* (secret consistory?), *Stanislaus is Proclaimed Saint at Assisi*, and *The Elevation of the Relics in Cracow*. The scene depicted in the retable from Pławno (ca. 1520–1530?), traditionally described as *The Preparation of Canonization Materials by the Hierarchs of the Polish Church*, raises some doubts (Ill. 12). Nor is the scene on the chasuble donated by Piotr Kmita the Elder (before 1505), linking the Italian episode of the celebrations with the *elevatio reliquiarum* in Cracow, quite clear (Ill. 13).

A growing interest in the canonization and a marked revival of the cult in the early 16th century are usually associated with the 250th anniversary of the canonization which fell in the years 1503–1504.⁹² Around the same time the saint began to be consistently depicted as the patron of the state, of the successive kings, and of the entire Jagiellonian dynasty. The donations made by Elizabeth of Habsburg (Rakuska) and Sigismund the Old occupy a particular place here. They are characterized – in Urszula Borkowska's words – by *some monotony in the choice of the images of saints*.⁹³ Zenon Piech counted about 30 such represen-

92) Among other works, M. Goetel-Kopfowa, *Z badań nad rozwojem tematów ikonograficznych w małopolskim malarstwie pierwszej ćwierci XVI wieku*, "Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych PAN, Oddział w Krakowie", styczeń-czerwiec 1965, pp. 183–184; J. Gadomski, o. c. in n. 90, p. 29.

93) U. Borkowska, *Królewskie modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej*

tations⁹⁴. However, many of them have not survived. For example, around 1503 Alexander the Jagiellon had gold ducats minted which bore the image of St Stanislaus and which were probably patterned on Hungarian florins with the portrait of St Ladislas.⁹⁵ None of these coins is preserved, but their descriptions afford the information that they bore the image of the saint together with the resurrected *comes* Piotr at his feet.⁹⁶ A symbolic significance is attached to the magnificent miniature in the *Lives of the Archbishops of Gniezno*, painted between 1530 and 1535 (Ill. 14). It constitutes a recapitulation of reflections on the saint's patronage over the Polish Kingdom. It shows Stanislaus as beneath his mantle he is shelter Sigismund the Old, Piotr Tomicki, bishop of Cracow, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Grand Chancellor of the Crown, and the Cracow canon Jerzy Myszkowski along with a number of other people among whom some researchers recognize the Treasurer Mikołaj Szydłowiecki and the royal secretary Justus Decjusz.⁹⁷ The angel standing on the saint's left holds a flag with

the Eagle of the Polish Kingdom entwined by the initial of King Sigismund.

Cults of evidently political character are undoubtedly a timeless phenomenon. Occasionally, however, they surprise by their long duration and renaissance each time in new

epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku). Lublin 1999, p. 208; M. Walczak, "The Jagiellonian Saints": Some Political, National and Ecclesiastical Aspects of Artistic Propaganda in Jagiellonian Poland, in: *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie am der Wende zur Neuzeit*, Hrsg. D. Popp, R. Suckale. Nürnberg 2002 (Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Bd. 21), pp. 139–149.

94) Z. Piech, *Darstellungen des Heiligen Stanislaus als Schutzheiligen des Herrschers, des Staates und der Dynastie der Jagiellonen*, in: *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints...*, pp. 125–160.

95) M. Gumowski, *Moneta złota w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Kraków 1912, pp. 98–101; R. Kiersnowski, *Aleksandra Jagiellończyka królewskie dukaty*, in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 251–258; *Idem*, *Moneta*, o. c. in n. 63, pp. 379–380; Borkowska, *Królewskie modlitewniki...*, o. c. in n. 69, p. 240.

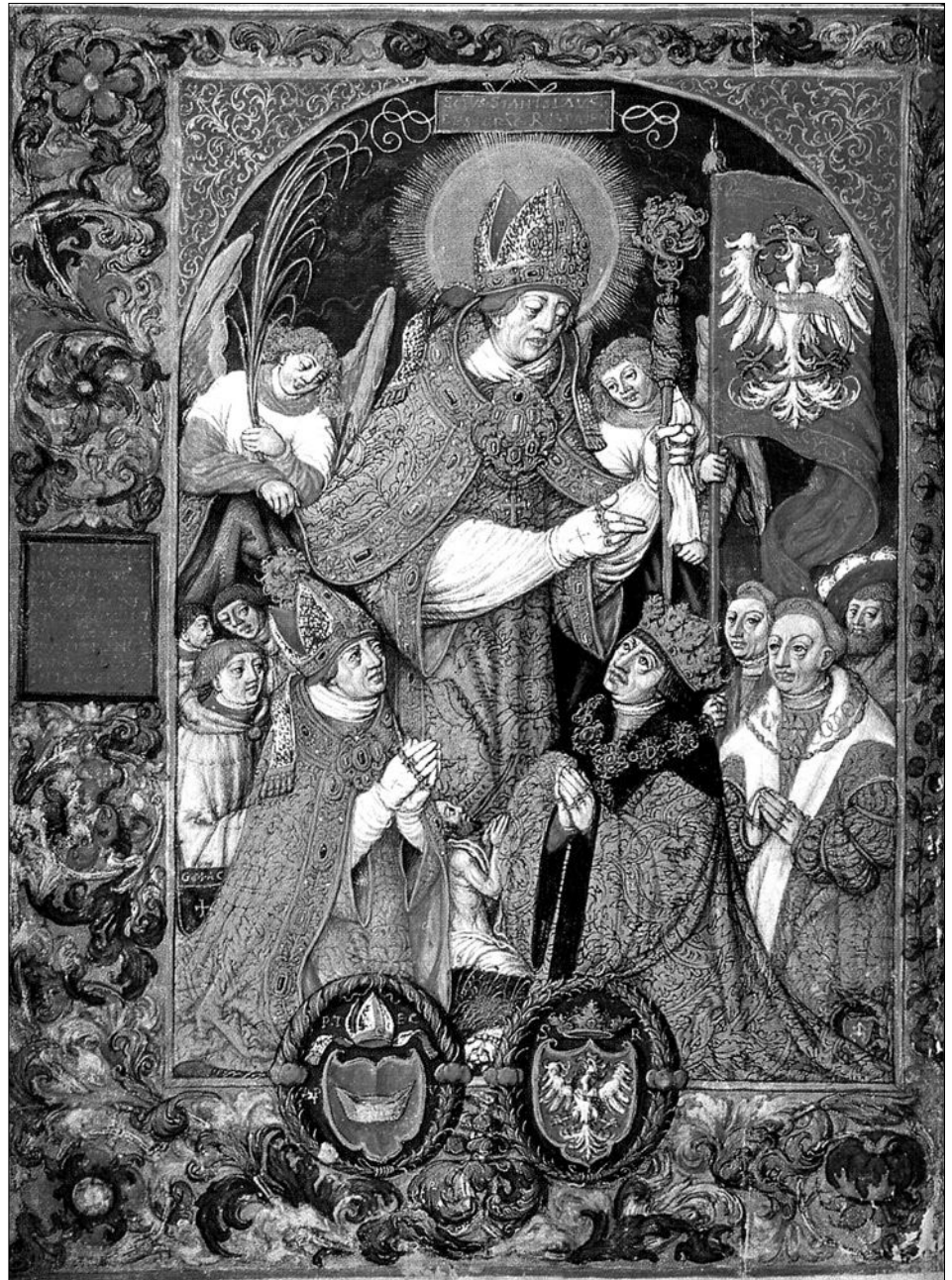
96) This coin is known from two references in the 16th and 18th centuries; according to them, the obverse bore the crowned coat of arms of Poland and the inscription ALEXANDER D.G.R. POLONIE, and the reverse the image of St Stanislaus flanked by the letters C-M and the words S. STANISLAUS EPS in the margin.

97) B. Miodoriska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika*, Warszawa 1983, no. 24, pp. 96–97; Z. Piech, *Herrscher und Staat in der ikonographischen Quellen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen*, in: *Die Jagiellonen...*, pp. 41–42, ill. 7.

context. In 1979 the Communist Party authorities of the Polish People's Republic did not give their consent to Pope John Paul II's first pilgrimage to Poland in May – the month of the celebrations in commemoration of the death of St Stanislaus. In a note from the meeting with representatives of the Episcopate in February 1979, Kazimierz Kąkol, head of the Department for Religions, wrote: *for years on end Cardinal Wojtyła personally engaged in the interpretation of the figure of the bishop [St Stanislaus] in terms of dissidence.*⁹⁸⁾ As we know, the Pope came a few months later and paid homage to his predecessor both at his grave in the cathedral and at the site of his martyrdom, in the church on the Rock. Some researchers into recent history believe that this visit has altered the face of Europe.

98) Cit. after A. Domostawski, *Pielgrzym nadziei i nakazów* (1) 1979: *Drugi Chrzest Polski*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", no. 121 (2414), 26th May, 1997, p. 19.

Ill. 14: Warsaw, National Library; Jan Długosz, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum gnesnensium*, a miniature by Stanisław Samostrzelnik, 1530–1535; after Miodońska.



KULT SV. STANISLAVA NA DVOŘE PIASTŮ A JAGELLONCŮ

Krakovský biskup Stanislav ze Szczepanova zahynul roku 1079 v Krakově jistě v kostele sv. Michala Na Skalce za okolností, jež jsou už téměř dvě stě let předmětem vědeckých sporů.

Zásadní obtíž je spojena s faktem, že nejstarší prameny, jež o události informují, byly napsány ex post a reprezentují dva zcela rozdílné pohledy. Kult Stanislavův postupně rostl po smrti Boleslava Krivoústého a po rozdělení polského království na úděly roku 1138. Patrně mu prospěly boje mezi knížaty a zejména vyhnání Vladislava II., stíženého klatbou hnězdenského arcibiskupa Jakuba ze Žnina. Přesvědčení o mučednické smrti královského biskupa se ujalo v církevních kruzích nejpravděpodobněji pod vlivem zpráv o vraždě canterburského arcibiskupa Tomáše Becketa.

Ve 13. století počínají snahy o Stanislavovu kanonizaci, k níž došlo roku 1253. Vyhlášena byla 8. března v bazilice sv. Františka v Assisi. V krakovské katedrále ji slavnostně vyhlásili 5. května a relikvie světce byly přeneseny do středu chrámu. Dominikán Vincenc z Kielczy při té příležitosti napsal světcovu Vita minor a pak její přepracovanou verzi Vita maior sancti Stanislai. Nejlepším příkladem politického využití legendy je část Vitae maioris, v níž Vincenc rozvinul pověst o závažném srůstu rozčtvrceného mučednickova těla. Pojal tak tragickou událost jako téma zločinu a trestu: vraždu biskupa Bůh potrestal ztrátou koruny a rozpadem státu. Nicméně zůstala naděje, že scelení Stanislavových údů je znamením budoucího spojení rozděleného polského království. Bůh zachoval královské insignie v pokladu katedrály v Krakově, hlavním městě a sídle králů „*usque dum ille veniat, qui vocatus est a Deo tamquam Aaron...*“ (pokud nepřijde ten, který je povolán od Boha jako Aaron).

Toto proroctví nalezlo živý ohlas v písemnictví sklonku 13. století, v čase, kdy vize sjednoceného království se pozvolna začala realizovat. Následující piastovská knížata hleděla propagačně využít Stanislavovy osobnosti. Po královské korunovaci Vladislava Lokýtky roku 1320 bylo kultu užito pro ideové zdůvodnění práv nového vládce i zdůraznění kontinuity monarchie – to zejména proti nárokům, jež si na polský trůn činil Jan Lucemburský.

Důsledkem těchto snah může být přepracování Vincenciovy Vitae maiori do tvaru legendy Tradunt, napsané patrně v polovině 20. let 14. století. Jde o kompilaci starších textů, ovšem s podstatnými doplňky. V časech panování Kažimíra Velikého (po polovině 14. století) kult sv. Stanislava poněkud poupadl – důvodem mohly být neustálé spory krále s krakovskou hierarchií. Ve své funkci „*správce koruny*“ mohl být sv. Stanislav králi vskutku nepohodlný. Skutečně také někteří představitelé církve se ve sporech se světskou vládou na smrt krakovského biskupa odvolávali. Mezi nimi zaujímal přední místo Zbigněv Olešnický (1423–1455), který se ve svých sporech s Vladislavem a Kažimírem Jagelloncičky přirovnával mnohokrát ke svému umučenému předchůdci.

Pro rozvoj jeho kultu v následujících staletích mělo rozhodující význam, že se světce byl spojen aspekt nacionální. Již v památkách liturgických veršů ze 13. století byl biskup osloven jako Pater Patriae. Slavný hymnus Vincence z Kielczy začíná invokací zemi, aby se radovala ze svého slavného syna: „*Gaude mater Polonia, prole fecunda nobilis!*“ (Raduj se, matko Polonie, ze svého požehnaného syna).

Následující etapy rozvoje kultu sv. Stanislava mohou ilustrovat umělecká díla rozličného ideového poslání. Přes všechnu snahu se dosud nepodařilo nalézt zpodobení světce z doby před kanonizací. Zachovalo se jen pár znázornění z časů válek o sjednocení království, jež ukazují biskupa jako garanta toho procesu či správce („*šafáře*“) polského království. Teprve z doby posledních Piastů a Jagellonců pocházejí zobrazení, jež sv. Stanislava ukazují jako patrona národa, dynastie a jejich jednotlivých vládců.

POPIS OBRÁZKŮ

Obr. 1: Krakov, hrad Wawel, poutnický odznak sv. Stanislava, kolem 1254 (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 2: Pečeť Leška Černého (Leszek Czarny), vévody krakovského, před 1289 (podle Piekosińskiego).

Obr. 3: Pečeť městských radních v Krakově, rané 14. století (podle Piecha).

Obr. 4: Zlatý dukát Ladislava Krátkého, avers, revers, po 1320 (podle Paszkiewicz).

Obr. 5: Krakov, katedrála, svorník klebny v presbytáři se sv. Stanislavem, před 1346 (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 6: Krakov, hrad Wawel, západní průčelí katedrály v Krakově, stav ve 14. století, moderní rekonstrukce (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 7: Krakov, Katedrální poklad, kasule darovaná Piotrem Kmitou Starším, před 1505 (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 8: Krakov, hrad Wawel, deska oltářního retabula „Potrestání nevěrné ženy králem Boleslavem“, rané 16. století (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 9: Krakov, Katedrální poklad, Relikviář v podobě hlavy sv. Stanislava, „Kanonizace sv. Stanislava“, před 1505 (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 10: Krakov, hrad Wawel, deska oltářního retabula, „Kanonizace sv. Stanislava“, rané 16. století (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 11: Stare Bielsko, farní kostel, deska oltářního retabula, „Kanonizace sv. Stanislava“, rané 16. století (podle Gadomského).

Obr. 12: Varšava, Národní muzeum, deska z retabula z Plawna, „Příprava kanonizačních spisů sv. Stanislava představiteli polské církve“, 1. čtvrtina 16. století (podle Dobrzeńického).

Obr. 13: Krakov, Katedrální poklad, kasule darovaná Piotrem Kmitou Starším, „Kanonizace sv. Stanislava“, před 1505 (foto S. Michta).

Obr. 14: Varšava, Národní knihovna, Jan Długosz, Catalogus archiepiscoporum gnesnensium, miniatura Stanislawa Samostrzelnika, 1530–1535 (podle Miodońské).

(Z polského jazyka přeložil Ivo Kořán)