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SACRED GEOGRAPHY OF A TOWN

I

DEFINITIONS, SUBJECT OF ANALYSES

Since the publication of the *Dictionnaire de géographie sacrée et ecclésiastique*,¹ the term ‘sacred geography’ has become dominant in French studies of the history of the Church and Christian culture. However, over the course of recent decades the horizons of research dealing with the issues embraced by the *Dictionnaire* have undergone a fundamental change. The contemporary definition of the notion ‘sacred geography’ has been most affected by the anthropology of religion and culture and religious studies that understand it as actions (and their results) taken up by traditional societies in order to co-ordinate the material framework of their environment with the supra-material rules that govern human life.² The concept of ‘sacred geography’ is

¹ L. Benoist de Matougues (ed.), *Dictionnaire de géographie sacrée et ecclésiastique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1848–54).

² In recent years the literature of this subject has greatly developed, but it mainly concerns the ‘sacred space’. I will confine myself to selected works devoted to the Middle Ages, or those essential to the research into sacred geography: Joshua Prawer, *The Crusader’s Kingdom: A Colonial Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 195: definition of the sacred geography of the Holy Land; Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Bibliothèque des Histoires, Paris, 1987); Gilles G. Granger, *La pensée de l’espace* (Paris, 1999); Francesco Remotti, Pietro Scarduelli and Ugo Fabietti (eds.), *Centri, ritualità, potere: Significati antropologici dello spazio* (Bologna, 1989); *Uomo e spazio nell’alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 50, Spoleto, 2003); David E. Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves and Audhild Schanche (eds.), *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places* (London, 1994); Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 15, Turnhout, 2006); of great significance is also Dominique Iogna-Prat’s monumental work, *La maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l’Église au Moyen Âge*

regarded as universal and as such – through its spatial orientations and the festivals calendar – it is supposed to discover the meaning of existence. In more recent historical research the notion of ‘sacred geography’ differs from ‘sacred topography’ and especially ‘ecclesiastical (social-institutional) topography’ in that it places emphasis on the perception of space and time, assumes an analysis of relations between those two categories and focuses on the symbolic hierophanies. In the case of research into the religious culture of the Middle Ages in Europe this has long, naturally so to speak, signified priority to the study of pilgrimage sites. The extension of the scope of that research is due to the development of historical anthropology and historical urban studies, as well as those of political culture.³

(Paris, 2006). Unfortunately, historians who conduct research usually do not realise the principal difference between the way space is understood today from the concept held in the early Middle Ages (see Alain Guerreau, ‘Structure et évolution des représentations de l’espace dans le haut Moyen Âge occidentale’, in *Uomo e spazio*, 91–115). The risk of committing an error is smaller in relation to the late Middle Ages (see Grzegorz Myśliwski, *Człowiek w średniowieczu wobec czasu i przestrzeni* [Warsaw, 1999]; Przemysław Tyszka, *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV–XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców* [Lublin, 2001]). Most anthropological and cognate deliberations concerning sacred space have taken as their point of departure the notions and assertions of Mircea Eliade, which have been treated like a dogma; see the contrary position of Robert A. Markus, ‘How on Earth Could Place Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places’, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, ii, 3 (1994), 257–71. Christianity, at least for the first three centuries was adverse to the idea of worshipping any physical place (which found its repercussions in the criticism of pilgrimages); a fundamental change in this attitude came about only in the 4th century, in connection with the cult of the martyrs, with its unusual consequence – the Christian sacred geography of the Holy Land.

³ Cf. esp. Polish studies: Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1993); *idem*, ‘Kościół św. Mikołaja we wczesnopiastowskich ośrodkach rezydencjonalnych’, in Stefan K. Kuczyński (ed.), *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, vi (Warsaw, 1994), 63–74; *idem*, ‘Prüm i Urbs Caroli. Monarsze fundacje na tle kultury politycznej wczesnych czasów karolińskich’, in Edward Opaliński and Tomasz Wiślicz (eds.), *Fundacje i fundatorzy w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej* (Warsaw, 2000), 11–35; Zbigniew Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremonia. Miejsce i uroczystości inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.* (Warsaw, 1996); Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, ‘O kulcie św. Gotarda w Polsce XII–XIII wieku’, in Kuczyński (ed.), *Spółczesność*, 75–90; Krzysztof Skwierczyński, ‘Custodia civitatis. Sakralny system ochrony miasta w Polsce wczesnego średniowiecza na przykładzie siedzib biskupich’, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, ciii,

Although Polish medievalists seldom use the term ‘sacred geography’, many of its concepts and conceptualisations have been present in the research carried out over the last forty years,⁴ and they appear more and more prominently in the work of archaeologists, to whom they have never been alien.⁵

To employ the term ‘sacred geography’ as well as to present a synthetic outline of the evolution and development of the sacred geography of medieval towns in Poland, we naturally have to adopt some initial assumptions. I will present them very briefly, without extensive explanations and exemplifications:

3 (1996), 3–51; Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Przestrzeń i polityka. Studium rezydencji władcy wcześniejszego średniowiecza. Przykład czeskiego Wyszehradu* (Lublin, 2000); see also my articles: ‘*Princeps fundator w przedlokacyjnym Wrocławiu. Od Piotra Włostowica do Henryka Brodatego*’, in Opaliński and Wiślicz (eds.), *Fundacje*, 37–57; ‘*Translatio Jerozolimy do Wrocławia*’, in Wojciech Brojer (ed.), *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych* (Warsaw, 2000), 63–76; and ‘*La topographie sacrée de la ville: le cas de Wrocław du XII^e au XV^e siècle*’, in Michał Tymowski (ed.), *Anthropologie de la ville médiévale* (Warsaw, 1999), 65–82; Marek Słoń, ‘*Problem fundacji szpitala w średniowieczu*’, in Opaliński and Wiślicz (eds.), *Fundacje*, 74–90. It is to be regretted that Polish research seldom takes into account a pioneering though short article by Marian Morelowski where he expounds the concept of a crossing of roads, ‘composed’ of monumental secular and ecclesiastical structures, raised along the main routes; cf. Marian Morelowski, ‘*Początki świadomej myśli urbanistycznej w Polsce przed kolonizacją XIII w.*’, in *Sztuka i historia. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Michała Walickiego* (Warsaw, 1966), 39.

⁴ Apart from the above-cited, cf. also: Aleksandra Witkowska OSU, *Kulty piętnastowiecznego Krakowa. Z badań nad miejską kulturą religijną* (Lublin, 1984); Stanisław Bylina, *Chryścianizacja wsi polskiej w późnym średniowieczu* (Warsaw, 2002); Zbigniew Pianowski, *Sedes regni principales. Wawel i inne rezydencje piastowskie do połowy XIII wieku na tle europejskim* (Architektura. Monografia, 178, Cracow, 1995); Jerzy Piekalski, *Od Kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast* (Wrocław, 1999); Jadwiga Kalinowska, ‘*Misterium septiformis ecclesiae*’, *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 23 (1991), 307–23.

⁵ Cf. esp. Sławomir Moździoch (ed.), *Człowiek, sacrum, środowisko* (Spotkania Bytomskie, 4, Wrocław, 2000); Tadeusz Makiewicz, ‘*Teoretyczne problemy badań religioznawczych w archeologii*’, *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 34 (1987), 233–51; Aleksander Posern-Zieliński, ‘*Inspiracja fenomenologiczna w archeologicznych studiach nad religiami społeczeństw pradziejowych. Refleksje etnoreligioznawcze*’, *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 30 (1982), 187–200; Roman Michałowski, ‘*Ranga stolic biskupich we wczesnym średniowieczu i jej podstawy sakralne. Wybrane zagadnienia*’, in Aneta Pieniądz-Skrzypczak and Jerzy Pysiak (eds.), *Sacrum. Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym* (Warsaw, 2005), 191–203; Marcin R. Pauk, ‘*Święci patroni a średniowieczne wspólnoty polityczne Europy Środkowej*’, in *ibidem*, 237–60.

– a town – both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages – arose *par excellence* as a community of worship; it spread over a consecrated area or was separated from the external world by such an area (at best, these were the walls – *res sacrae*, but this was not a necessary condition; this role could also be played by a watercourse, and probably also by a cemetery);

– the ideas and values professed by the community holding a given space are inscribed in the organisation of that space. The urban space creates a language whose vocabulary consists of buildings, public squares, streets and routes; its syntactic expressions are – the centre and peripheries, as well as prominent places; its syntactic structure is made up by social and cultural life (understood also as the ways and contents of constructing and expressing a cultural and ideological identity); its syntax consists of forms of action, for example liturgy, especially those forms that involve space and are expressed in space: the liturgy of the stations, processions, some pilgrimage rituals;

– sacred geography is mobile and dynamic. Not only is the number of sacred objects, patron-saints, feast-days increasing, but also the liturgy is developing and becoming richer; other factors concerned are: the temporal boundaries and different sacred intensity of *via sacra*, the desacralised space, sanctuaries deprived of relics, changes of *patrocinia*, etc.

– the cathedral, parish and monastery churches, chapels, altars, procession roads – are all elements both of the sacred ‘built-up substance’ and the sacred ‘population’ of the city. A special role is played in them by some communities of prayer (especially canons and nuns), as well as the *concursum populi* that constitutes the function of the *loca sacra*. Any change in this ‘built-up substance’ and this ‘population’ is a change in the sacred geography and the quality and evaluation of space;

– social and cultural identity depends, among other things, on the common perception of space (that is the understanding of the above-described language); in the Middle Ages this identity was expressed and realised among other things by religious symbolism (sacred buildings, relics and *loca sacra*, the ritual of religious feast-days and devotional practices);

– religious notions connected with space and its perception are subject to changes, which in the Middle Ages were several times very profound and resulted both from changes in religious life and

spirituality and from the understanding and perception of space and time. These notions reached Poland at the moment when the primary locations of sacredness were the church, consecrated altar, relics, the cross or icon, and there was a sharp, Gregorian distinction between *spiritualia* and *temporalia*, while the tendency for stabilisation (something never fully achieved) of the sacred place was increasing. Of principal significance to the sacred geography of the High and late Middle Ages was also the specification of the ontological status of *sacrum* (its transcendentalisation and spiritualisation);⁶

– according to the unanimous opinion of medieval people (especially forcefully advanced by the Cistercians), the realisation of the ideals and the fullness of religious life was possible only in a town, understood as an opposition to the state and conditions of savagery;⁷

– sacred geography, in some special circumstances may be detached from the topography of the city, as if extracted from it, as is testified by the accounts of the pilgrims to the Holy Land concerning Venice and Jerusalem itself, as well as by the late-medieval pilgrims' guide-books to Rome; in both cases most descriptions concern not the cities, but sanctuaries and relics.⁸

The notion 'sacred geography' as a subject of research embraces the location, architecture, decoration and furnishings of churches

⁶ In Polish medieval studies this was especially pointed out by Andrzej Dąbrówka in his book: *Teatr i sacrum w średniowieczu. Religia – cywilizacja – estetyka* (Wrocław, 2001).

⁷ This is an essential change that took place in the High Middle Ages as compared to the previous period; see Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, 'O wyższości miasta nad wsią na przykładzie kanoników regularnych z Żagania', in Moździoch (ed.), *Człowiek*, 235–40; cf. also my article: 'Religijność miejska', in Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (eds.), *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym* (Warsaw, 2002), 33 ff. Certainly, the monastery itself, regardless of where it stood, was a sacred place, a *locus* which through *antonomasia*, was a point of junction between the terrestrial, material world, and the spiritual world, and as such it was also the *locus* of power; see esp. Anselme Dimier, 'Le mot *locus* employé dans le sens de monastère', *Revue Mabillon*, 62 (1972), 133–54; Gregorio Penco, 'Un elemento della mentalità monastica medievale: la concezione dello spazio', *Benedictina*, 35 (1988), 35–71; Glauco M. Cantarella, 'Lo spazio dei monaci', in *Uomo e spazio*, 804–47.

⁸ I discuss this way of perceiving the city in my book: *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza* (Wrocław, 2008).

(with relics at the head), their (and their subordinate institutions') patron-saints, their institutional status, staff, calendar, liturgy, as well as the special roles played by *loca sacra* in time, space and society, etc. In the case of research into the earlier Polish Middle Ages this questionnaire is strongly subordinated to the source base and the current state of archaeological studies. In reference to the Polish towns⁹ from between the 10th and the beginning of the 16th century I propose three time-spans that correspond not only with socio-spatial changes, but also religious and cultural ones: 1. up till circa the middle of the 12th century (strongholds); 2. the middle of the 12th century – the middle of the 13th century (pre-foundation, polycentric settlements); 3. from the middle of the 13th to the beginning of the 16th century (founded towns). I focus on the few biggest cities that allow me to present these issues most comprehensively. To present the sacred geography of small, or even of a middle-sized towns would require the use of a different model.

II

'LOCALITY' AND 'UNIVERSALITY' IN THE SACRED GEOGRAPHY

OF THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD CENTRES IN POLAND (THE TENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY)

Sacred topography as a rule occupies an important or even central place in the studies of the organisation of the space and topography of early towns, as published by Polish historians and archaeologists over the last fifteen years.¹⁰ These studies focus mainly on the early strongholds (*grody*) of the highest, or for various reasons noted, ranking (*sedes regni principales*, bishops residences) centres relatively so highly pervaded by *sacrum*, that the possibility for generalisation is limited. The results of all the research carried out to date should be regarded as largely hypothetical, because a lot is based on the results of superseded archaeological research, especially as

⁹ I leave aside the discussion of the definition of a town; I take into account the chief pre-urban centres from the moment of Christianisation.

¹⁰ See above, notes 3 and 4, as well as Roman Michałowski, 'Translacja Pięciu Braci Polskich do Gniezna. Przyczynek do dziejów kultu relikwii w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej', in Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (eds.), *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* (Warsaw, 1995), 173–84.

regards the dating of churches. Also much doubt may be aroused by the assumption, willingly accepted by many researchers, that a stone church had been preceded by a wooden one, which allows us to move the origin of an ecclesiastical foundation to an earlier period. In a large number of cases, the archaeologist's reconstruction of a stone structure, based on a small surviving fragment of wall, is very uncertain.

Researchers are unanimous in their opinion that – especially in residential complexes – neither the place, nor the patron-saint, nor the institutional form (the architectural one is the subject of most heated dispute) of a church was a matter of chance. In fact, the construction of a sanctuary is always – and especially in a period of Christianisation – the establishment of a new order in a territory that has so far been unfriendly, either due to its nature ('wild', or 'uncivilised' areas) or to its situation (areas dominated by pagans). So the number of churches or monasteries was not simply the resultant of the number of inhabitants and a need for *cura animarum*. The endowment of the space – organised by man and sanctified by the churches and the relics housed in them – with symbolic meaning and sacred power was a universal phenomenon in the Europe of the early and High Middle Ages. The founders: bishops and rulers, as well as the chroniclers and hagiographers who wrote about their work, must have certainly been conscious of the special meaning and function of this kind of sacred topography.¹¹ The episcopal sees and monastic seats described by those writers appear to be well thought-out and consistently realised projects.

In centres as prominent as these, one of the elements that substantially influenced sacred topography was the fact that they possessed a cathedral, that is a church of the highest ranking in the region (especially because of its relics), as well as, apart from a few exceptions, the tomb of the ruler (the necropolises of monarchs), and that they were the scene of the ritual of his inauguration. According to Pianowski, what distinguished the residences of the

¹¹ See an anthology of such texts: Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lotharingen und Italien* (Berlin, 1938); cf. also: Julius von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1896); Victor Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au moyen âge, XI–XII siècles* (Paris, 1911).

Piasts was that they had two palace chapels (but perhaps not earlier than the 12th century).¹²

It is a generally accepted thesis that the sacred topography of strongholds in Poland was under the influence of the town-planning concepts of the Ottonian era, which adopted both the ideas of the early Middle Ages and the solutions of antiquity. In the early medieval cities these concepts found their reflection in concentrating an increasing number of sacred places (or more strictly speaking the holy protectors, for patron-saints and relics were mainly at stake), in the four cardinal points of the city, corresponding to the sides from which it was entered. The complexity of the town-planning concepts of the Ottonian era, has not had, however, much attention paid to it by the majority of Polish researchers, who, as a rule, confine their studies to some of their principles. Thus Roman Michałowski has discovered the convergence (imitation) of the ecclesiastical topography of 11th century Cracow to that of Charlemagne's Aix-la-Chapelle.¹³ Krzysztof Skwierczyński, in turn, acknowledges the cruciform location of churches, which clustered around two principal routes, as the chief model applied between the end of the 10th and the middle of the 12th century in Polish strongholds that were the residences of rulers and bishops.¹⁴ The application of this model was not confined to the spatial distribution of churches, but also embraced the selection of their *patrocinia*, so important for their symbolism. The inescapably hypothetical character of Skwierczyński's results becomes still more obvious when he goes on to extend this model up till the second half of the 12th century, with the first appearance of colonies of German merchants in those centres and the spreading in Germany and especially in the colonised territories of these new concepts: first the crossed roads and then the market place as elements that organised the urban space (these concepts matured in the urban foundations of Henry the Lion).¹⁵ Marian Morelowski, on the contrary, argues that

¹² Pianowski, *Sedes regni*, *passim*.

¹³ Apart from Roman Michałowski's cited book, see *idem*, 'Aix-la-Chapelle et Cracovie au XI^e siècle', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 95 (1989 [1992]), 45–69.

¹⁴ Skwierczyński, 'Custodia civitatis'.

¹⁵ Recently, Sławomir Gawlas has devoted a few works to foundation town-planning, and especially the genesis of the central square; see their last recapitulation and correction: 'Przełom miast lokacyjnych w dziejach miast środkowoeuro-

the stone churches in the early and principal Polish towns were located on the principle of a crossing of roads.¹⁶ It seems that both models functioned in Poland, though probably one after another, which, unfortunately, cannot be established at this stage of research.

The sacred geography of the chief and major stronghold centres in the state of the first Piasts was part of the system to ensure the security of a monarchy which had replaced the old pagan system (while at the same time adopting many of its elements).¹⁷ This gave rise to the major ecclesiastical foundations, and later to the 'condensation of sanctity' in the centre of that power – probably emphasised by the monumental character of buildings. This centre was surrounded by a ring of important sanctuaries on the boundaries of the country,¹⁸ and perhaps even three rings: 1. in 'Greater Poland' (the centre of the Piast domain) in the earliest period of Christianisation; 2. a territorially wider one (including Kalisz, Łęczyca, Włocławek, Kałdus and probably Płock) in the Gniezno state; and finally: 3. of a diocesan range – for Boleslav the Brave's state and the Polish archdiocese. If Gniezno, as we presume, was to be the centre of the pagan cult, it is quite comprehensible that both the body of St Adalbert and the relics of the Five Martyr Brothers were translated there. The establishment of the metropolitan see in Gniezno – tantamount to the introduction of a new hierarchy of churches and a new liturgy – changed not only the sacred geography of that centre but also of the whole country. To a lesser extent – the establishment of the diocesan seat changed the sacred geography of the episcopal see and of the whole diocese. However, among the elements that created the highest sacred quality of a stronghold and its environs, of the ruler's domain and the state-ecclesiastical province, was not only the new, Christian symbolic imagination but also the spatial imagery (partly derived from the pagan era), concerning, among other things, the relation between: centre-peripheries, roads, salient and boundary places (especially watercourses).

pejskich', in Tomasz Jurek (ed.), *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania* (Poznań, 2005), 133–62.

¹⁶ Morelowski, 'Początki'.

¹⁷ Cf. Dalewski, *Władza, passim*.

¹⁸ Zofia Kurnatowska, 'Elementy sacrum w topografii tworzonej przez pierwszych Piastów domeny i jej głównych ośrodków', in Moździoch (ed.), *Człowiek*, 111–23.

This system, where the central role was played by Poznań and Gniezno, was destroyed at the turn of the 1040s as a result of the devastation brought about by the invasion of the duke of Bohemia, Břetislav, and the return of paganism; the sacred geography of the state and its political centre were then deprived of one of its fundamental elements – relics and the initial cult of the patron-saint.¹⁹ It seems that the reconstruction of this system – of necessity based on different elements – was in fact the construction of a new system, with its centre based on Wawel Hill, whose sacred topography (7 sanctuaries) might invoke both the model of Rome and Jerusalem.²⁰ The city that probably sustained its prominent role in sacred geography was only Poznań, possibly as a result of the tombs of the first Christian rulers.²¹

Only from the last decades of the 11th century are we able to establish the role of the magnates and bishops in the construction of the sacred geography of stronghold centres, including the *sedes regni*. The foundations made by laymen (churches, monasteries, canonries), *patrocinia*, the imported relics, indicate that the founders belonged to the ruler's cultural circle, shaped by the strict elite of the clergy, among whom were also people derived from important Western reformatory milieus.²² The engagement of the magnates in

¹⁹ Cf. Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvetius (eds.), *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles* (Turnhout, 1999).

²⁰ These are easy, and therefore perhaps 'strained' references. Pianowski perceives in Cracow a similarity to Rome, Kalinowska rather the model of Jerusalem. The Roman *ad instar* finds a very strong confirmation in Prague, expressed directly in the texts of that era: *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, in MGH, SS rer. Germ., n.s., ii (Berlin, 1923), 17; *Chronicon Bohemicarum auct. Anonymo* ('Et in die foundationis Wratislaus rex [m. 1092] 12 cophinos lapidum, ad modum quondam Constantini imperatoris, propriis humeris suis portans, aedificorum prima posuit fundamenta, et Wyssogradensem ecclesiam ad similitudinem ecclesiae Romanae s. Petri construxit ... in qua propriam sepulturam elegit'), cit. from Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen*, 1674–5; *Continuatio Gerlaci abbatis Milovicensis*, anno 1173, *ibidem*, 683. For references and copies cf. Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 1–33.

²¹ According to a later source, a mysterious voice spoke to their descendant, Duke Casimir the Restorer, the architect of a new monarchy, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Ludwik Ćwikliński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (hereafter: MPH) (repr. Warsaw, 1961), iii, 621–3.

²² Cf. Krzysztof Skwierczyński, 'Fundacje możnowładcze w Polsce XI i XII wieku. Moźni i ich fundacje jako problem badawczy', in Halina Manikowska and Wojciech

the foundation of monasteries of the new orders (the Cistercians and Premonstratensians), realised in major early-urban agglomerations, changed fundamentally their sacred geography, and in some cases (Wrocław) influenced it in a greater degree than the actions of the ruler and bishops.

What reached Poland together with the Christianisation and occidentalisation of its culture was certainly a new symbolic imagination that found its expression in the topography of early-urban centres and their sacred geography, and which was one of the elements that constituted this topography. The interpretative proposals of Polish historians recapitulated above allow us to grasp the phenomenon that I term 'ideo-topography', that embraces not only religious beliefs and symbolic meanings connected with space and its perception, but also, and chiefly, just such a system of the sacral organisation of space that subordinates it – apart from realising ecclesiastical-institutional purposes – to political aims and the construction or promotion of a cultural identity that is new in a given territory (or community).

We may see that the hypotheses cited above use three categories: those of similarity, imitation and assimilation, both as instruments of cognition and elements of the town-planning concepts of the era. The main instrument of cognition is similarity, assumed and discovered by researchers in the spatial location of churches with established dedications (with respect to its size and the shape of land), or at least in the grouping of definite *patrocinia* in one place (stronghold, settlement agglomeration). Apart from the above-cited examples of the similarity of Cracow to Aix-la-Chapelle and Rome, researchers draw attention to the spatial distribution of the churches of St Adalbert and St Godehard,²³ as well as those dedicated to St Nicholas, and of the dedications of churches in castellan

Brojer (eds.), *Animarum Cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warsaw, 2008), 63–93, with more bibliographic references.

²³ Apart from the above-cited articles by Młynarska-Kaletynowa and Michałow-ski, see also: Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, 'Z dziejów kultu św. Wojciecha w Polsce na przełomie XI/XII w. i w XII w.', in Moździoch (ed.), *Człowiek*, 137–52; Tomasz Jasiński, 'Uwarunkowania lokacji Poznania', in Jurek (ed.), *Civitas*, 163–72, where the interpretation of the appearance of dedications to St Gothard in Poznań and Greater Poland, repeated after Wolfgang H. Fritze, differs from that of Młynarska-Kaletynowa, see below.

strongholds.²⁴ The category of similarity, in my opinion, however, should be applied with more caution, especially in studies of a narrow scope.²⁵ I would also advise taking into consideration – for example – the settlement changes and the influx of colonists, even more because the dating of many churches, especially those whose *patrocinium* was established relatively late, is uncertain. A frequent, and in my opinion, unwise, tendency on the part of archaeologists to use ready interpretative schemes is equally evident. This can be exemplified by attributing those churches in Poznań and Wawel dedicated to the Virgin Mary to the influence, or even acceptance, of Byzantine and/or Carolingian court traditions. It is not quite clear why researchers do not mention the influence of Rome, so important at the time of Christianisation.

Imitation – another of the mentioned categories – was until late antiquity not only a fully legitimate, but also to a certain extent a privileged instrument of constructing sacred space and geography. St Jerome, in the era that saw the birth of the Christian sacred geography of the Holy Land, underlined that there were some distinguished places where *imitatio Christi* might be best realised (Jerusalem, Rome). According to it, it was a duty to transform one's place into a 'better' one. I would go as far as to perceive the construction of sacred topography in the shape of a cross, in precisely this context.

Assimilation is a more narrow category than imitation; we may even accept it as its sub-category. However, we can only gain certainty that a given centre assimilated itself to another, which served as its

²⁴ Aleksander Gieysztor, 'Politische Heilige im hochmittelalterlichen Polen und Böhmen', in Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 42, Sigmaringen, 1994), 330 ff.

²⁵ We deal with the ideas, concepts, and symbols that were part of the Christian imagination between the times of Constantine the Great and Michelangelo or Luther. Historians, unfortunately, seldom take into account the fact that these ideas changed and functioned in different contexts; consideration is also seldom given to the fact that the concept of sanctity and the perception of *sacrum* were not the same all over the long period of the Middle Ages. The interpretation of the symbolic meaning of Jagiello's foundation – Wilno Cathedral and seven churches in the provinces – as a direct reference to the foundation work of Constantine in Rome and his use of the symbolism of number seven with reference to Heavenly Jerusalem, and its later adoption in Rome (and later in the West, but also in Constantinople) – would require a profound study focused not only on Constantine (Charlemagne, etc.), but on the biblical exegesis and Christian symbolism at the time of the Christianisation of Lithuania.

model, when we have obtained a clear indication of this fact in the sources: *ad instar, ad similitudinem*; the sources relating to Poland do not offer such indications. In vain would we have to look for the note ‘*ad similitudinem construxit*’ that would allow us to seek analogies and models in Germany or Bohemia. Cosmas supposed that the initiator of the construction of St Wit’s Rotunda on the model of a Roman church was St Wenceslas. The Roman model was also invoked by Břetislav II, who founded one of the churches ‘*ad similitudinem ecclesiae Romanae s. Petri*’ in Vyšehrad. In the second half of the 12th century Ladislav II ‘*montem Ztrgow mutavit in montem Sion, et de spelunca latronum faciens domum orationis erexit ibi talem fabricam, cui vix similis invenitur in ordine nostro*’.²⁶ We need not bother about the inexactness of the architectural and topographical replicas treated by medieval people as faithful copies of the Holy Sepulchre, or St Peter’s Basilica (merely because they were built on a cross-plan or imitated the plans of Roman churches), although they in no way resemble the originals. Richard Krautheimer has proved that copying did not consist of repeating the plan and shape of a building (regardless of its scale), but of repeating the elements that identified its symbolic programme.²⁷ Sometimes the use of the same *patrocinium* sufficed to show the *similitudo*, as in the case of the church in Prague founded by Břetislav II. If we assume – despite a lack of direct source data – that assimilation understood in this way was realised also in the Polish lands, we have to be aware of its temporal boundaries. The basic changes that from the 12th century occurred in the West in the understanding and perception of space, as well as the gradual change of symbolic imagination, to which we refer in reconstructing the stronghold centres of the early Piast era, also influenced the topography and form of *ad instar* buildings.

Due to the application of these three categories to the analysis of the topography of stronghold centres we have gained the most valuable reconstructions of the sacred topography of the politico-ecclesiastical centres of the early Piast era. An important part of these reconstructions was the interpretation of the symbolic meaning of dedications, their assimilation to other western centres of the highest ideo-topographic significance, and the imitation of models which

²⁶ See note 20.

²⁷ Krautheimer, ‘Introduction’.

'came' to the Polish lands together with the clergy and relics, as well as due to the family-political contacts of rulers and their consorts. Most of the models thus established may be accepted. We should only add to them the dedication to St George in Gniezno, probably on the pattern of Prague, but the cult of this patron-saint in the second half of the 10th century was also important in Cologne and Ratisbon. It is also probable that the most complete, finished realisations of the 'ring of churches' (or more strictly speaking their *patrocinia*) reflect the principle that sets the choice of saint patrons in hierarchical order: Christ, the Virgin Mary, archangels, patriarchs and prophets, apostles and Evangelists, martyrs and confessors.²⁸

Still, we also have to take into account the catastrophe of the 1030s–1040s, since it might have led to a change of the earlier dedications of ruined and desacralised churches. The rebuilding of churches is an important and extremely difficult problem for the interpretation of the ideo-topography of stronghold centres. At what moment did the whole reconstructed complex of churches function together, and how? That is, in other words: when did the Cracow agglomeration become assimilated to Aix-la-Chapelle (the contention of Michałowski), and Wawel to Rome (not to mention its similarity to Cologne). Thus the reconstructed picture of necessity has the defect of being static and does not render the developmental dynamic of sacred geography in Poland in that period. The latter becomes a bit more tangible only from the second half, and possibly the end of the 11th century, that is the period when, after the confusion of the 1030s and 1040s new relics were imported, when as a result of the execution of Bishop Stanislas there arose a new, extremely important *locus sacer* in Cracow,²⁹ and when the magnates' foundations started to grow in number.

No attention has so far been paid to one more feature of the earliest and early dedications (before the beginning of the 12th century), that is their Roman character. Dedications to the Virgin Mary, St Peter, St John the Baptist, St Lawrence refer not only, as most historians say, to universal cults, but also, in my opinion, to *par excellence* Roman ones

²⁸ So says Skwierczyński, 'Fundacje'; however, Aleksandra Witkowska holds a different view, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1999), esp. 49–58.

²⁹ In the church 'na Skalce' (on the Rock). The situation of this place in the sacred geography of Cracow soon changed as a result of the translation of Bishop Stanislas' particles to the Cathedral (1088?).

and emphasise the connection of the Polish Church to Rome. In the case of the cult of St Bartholomew, this connection is more complicated, because his relics were brought to Rome by Otto III and placed in the church on Isola Tiberina, where also the relics of St Adalbert were laid. The fact that these particles were placed in one church and on the emperor's instruction, suggests that local politico-religious considerations (that is those connected with Polish-Imperial relations) might have caused to some extent the transplantation of the cult of this apostle to Poland. It is, however, difficult to establish when it started, and Gallus Anonymus' note about the celebration of St Bartholomew's Day may be only this chronicler's invented interpretation of the date and circumstances of the siege of Głogów (1109).³⁰ We also have to consider that this 'Roman character' of a few of the most important and early dedications might have played a different role at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries than a hundred years later; it might also have focused on other *patrocinia*. The earliest confirmation of the dedication of Wrocław Cathedral is found on Boleslav the Bold's *denarii* where we see the image of St John the Baptist; it cannot be ruled out, however, that a) there occurred a change of the earlier dedication (the one to St Peter); b) that this was a demonstration of independence from Magdeburg (to which the Wrocław diocese had for several decades been subordinated).

Generally speaking, the choice of *patrocinium* in the period of the Christianisation of the Polish lands and the restoration of the state and its ecclesiastical organisation (second monarchy) was determined by: the universal character of the cult of a given saint (with special emphasis on its Roman character) and its significance in the missionary fields, resulting from the ecclesiastical tradition and symbolic imagination. This conclusion is confirmed by the dedications of the earliest cathedrals, with the exception, it seems, of that in Cracow (to St Wenceslas), as well as by such *patrocinia* as St Michael and St George. This general framework was, however, always filled by local specificities, made up by: models imported by missionaries and

³⁰ 'It was the feast-day of St Bartholomew the Apostle when the emperor was crossing, and the whole population of the city was hearing divine service', see *Gesta principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, transl. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Central European Medieval Texts, 3, Budapest and New York, 2003), 233 (Latin text, 232); a similar mention of the battles fought for Nakło and St Lawrence's Day.

cathedral and, gradually, monastic communities; models taken over by rulers and magnates as a result of the influence (e.g. due to family relationships) of political and ecclesiastical-religious ideas, as well as specific fashions; and above all the cult of St Adalbert. The dedication of churches to this saint became, however, more widespread perhaps only at the beginning of the 12th century,³¹ and the churches bearing his name were usually raised outside the stronghold, near a market-place, and near important trade routes.³²

Already during this period the most important politico-ecclesiastical centres probably started to influence other strongholds as models that provided 'lists of dedications' and at least to a certain extent as models for the spatial distribution of churches. In that period equally the role of the magnates in shaping the sacred geography of early-urban centres was growing, and a few examples of the biggest foundation enterprises testify to the fact that they were aware of the Western town-planning concepts and symbolic constructions involved in the sacralisation of space. The opinion is held, however, based mainly on the location of St Andrew's Church in Cracow, that the magnates could not realise their foundations (also for ideological and symbolic reasons) in the area of a stronghold reserved for the ruler.³³

Because the dating of many churches of that period is uncertain and controversial, and we cannot be sure about their dedications, our analysis cannot properly grasp either their foundation programmes or such important phenomena as the influence of Gregorian Reform on the sacred geography of urban centres of the turn of the 12th century. Also because the sources concerning the liturgy, and the testimonies relating to relics are very few and accidental, the picture of the sacred geography of this whole first period must be even more incomplete and hypothetical than of its sacred topography. In reconstructing it, however, we may refer to Western analogies, not only in the countries that were Poland's neighbours. In fact, we can assume that the solutions introduced in the Polish lands were dictated by the clergymen

³¹ This is the opinion of Gerard Labuda: this dedication could be used by Duke Zbigniew for the legitimisation and consolidation of his domain; the most important fact was the announcement about finding the head of the saint in the year 1127; see *idem*, 'Święty Wojciech w działaniu, tradycji i w legendzie', in Rev. Kazimierz Śmigiel (ed.), *Święty Wojciech w tradycji i kulturze europejskiej* (Gniezno, 1992), 57–97.

³² Młynarska-Kaletynowa, 'Z dziejów kultu św. Wojciecha', *passim*.

³³ Skwierczyński, 'Fundacje możnowładcze', 73–7.

who came here from various European religious centres and that – as magnates' foundations, among others, show – the models imitated were sometimes magnificent. We also do not risk much in supposing that, where possible, endeavours were made to obtain relics suitable for the dedication of a given church. This seems to be indirectly indicated by the six, or eight reliquaries in Cracow Cathedral in 1100, or Princess Salomea's gift for Zwiefalten,³⁴ which allow us to move back in time the dates of the appearance of many relics documented only in the late Middle Ages. The acquisition of glorious and renowned relics consequently led to a change of the earlier *patrocinium*, one now deprived of this *raison d'être*. A good example of which may be the choice of a new dedication for the Benedictine Abbey in Ołbin in Wrocław, after St Vincent's relics were brought there from Magdeburg by its founder, Piotr Włostowic. One can also hardly imagine that places of the highest sacral rank could acquire a suitable liturgical framework (before it was provided by the canons), in any other way than by the settling of groups of monks at the cathedrals and palace chapels.³⁵ A handful of source records, concerning the pilgrimages of Boleslav the Wry-mouthed for instance, also entitle us to employ freer analogies to say more about the 'national' sanctuaries and the procession ritual, or to reconstruct the *sanctorale* of a concrete centre.³⁶

To sum up, we have to deal here with politico-religious centres which in respect of their dimensions and... landscape were situated on the periphery of the Christian world. Their sacred geography seems, however, to be situated a little closer to its centre, especially in respect of the concepts realised. This sacred geography is also one of the few tangible elements of the religious culture of the dynasty and court. However, what essentially differentiates the sacred geography of Polish ecclesiastical sees from that of the cities ranked among the

³⁴ Szymon Wieczorek, 'Zwiefalten i Polska w pierwszej połowie XII w.', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, ciii, 3 (1996), 23–55.

³⁵ For a more detailed and extensive discussion of this question, see Marek Derwich, 'Mnisi w polskim mieście średniowiecznym', in Manikowska and Zaremska (eds.), *Ecclesia et civitas*, 144 ff., where reference to other literature and the author's studies.

³⁶ Cf. esp. recently Zbigniew Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics: Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 102–59, where numerous European analogies. Also the Cracow *sanctorale* has been reconstructed: Henryk Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz ksiąg liturgicznych Krakowa do połowy XVI w.* (Lublin, 1995).

most important centres of 10th–12th century religious life in the West, is the small number of local cults in the former, to which we should add the drama of Gniezno, plundered of its most important relics. The only really privileged city in respect of its sacred power was, from the end of the 11th century, Cracow. The lack of local saints (who north of the Alps were mainly the holy bishops), was also an important problem for the posterior towns founded under German law, whose communal identity, consequently, had to be based on a weaker sacred foundation than in the West. This lack of local patron-saints also accounts, in my opinion, for the ease with which colonists introduced their own cults to these centres.

III

THE SACRED GEOGRAPHY OF DUCHY CAPITALS (MID-TWELFTH – MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

Although our source documentation for this period is richer, the state of research is worse than for the first. In fact, apart from the question of the topography of the first mendicant convent foundations, little interest has been aroused by the issues here under analysis.³⁷ A difficult research problem is the universally accepted assumption, based on the polycentric development of early-urban agglomerations, that the location of the church and settlement were closely linked in that period. This allows us to date both topographical phenomena, so to say, reciprocally. The earliest date of the origin of a settlement established by archaeologists designates the date of the church situated in it, and *vice versa*. Another problem is the reconstruction of the architecture of ecclesiastical buildings, sometimes surviving in

³⁷ The monographs of individual cities, certainly, always reconstruct the ecclesiastical topography that preceded the redevelopment of a town after its foundation under German law. Cf. esp. the latest research on Wrocław (the last reconstruction: Cezary Buško and Michał Kaczmarek, in Cezary Buško, Mateusz Goliński, Michał Kaczmarek and Leszek Ziątkowski, *Historia Wrocławia, i: Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich* [Wrocław, 2001], 67–91), on Poznań (Hanna Kočka-Krenz, ‘Najstarszy Poznań’, in Jurek [ed.], ‘Civitas’, 27–42) or Gniezno (Gerard Labuda, ‘Gniezno stolicą wczesnopiastowskiego państwa polskiego’, in Andrzej Wojtowicz [ed.], *Gniezno i Poznań w państwie pierwszych Piastów* [Poznań, 2000], 33–60, where is a recapitulation of the literature). However, as we know, ecclesiastical topography is not the same thing as sacred geography.

mere fragments of the foundations; such reconstruction is usually based on multi-level hypotheses concerning their ideological programmes and symbolic meanings. All this is of paramount significance and consequence for any conclusions concerning the sacred geography of concrete centres.

Duchy capitals, before their foundation under German law, at least partly retained the town-planning concepts and symbolic imagery of the previous period, which coincided with the new perception of space and the principles of its organisation that were coming from abroad. These were brought by clergymen, among others bishops, who at that time were responsible for the realisation of a few immense building undertakings, with an architecture which is still comprehensible, and above all by the religious orders with specific spatial-architectonic programmes (like the Cistercians). These concepts also reached Poland together with the German colonists. All those groups of incomers and their innovations paved the way for the solutions which were to be applied in the day of the towns' foundation.

The changes that occurred in sacred geography in the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century were very profound. They were caused by: the shaping of the parish organisation; the foundations of collegiate churches and monasteries, especially since some towns were abandoned by the Benedictines; and the introduction to Poland of the first local indulgences (1214), connected not only with the foundations realised at that time, but also, with relics and this with immediate effect.³⁸ Historical sources allow one to substantiate and visualise in detail the connection between the ruler's seat and the sacred place.³⁹ There appeared a model, the earliest and easiest to establish was in Silesia, of the inauguration of a duchy's ruler, accompanied by the founding of a church, envisaged to be his necropolis, initially, however, not necessarily in the capital: these were the Cistercian monasteries

³⁸ The document of Polish bishops who granted indulgences on the occasion of the consecration of a crypt in the church of Cistercian nuns, then dedicated to St Bartholomew, at Trzebnica, mentions magnificent relics: Karol Maleczyński and Anna Skowrońska (eds.), *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, 3 vols. (Wrocław, 1951–64), ii, no. 162, p. 121 f.

³⁹ For example jurisdiction, and especially proclamation of the law; see information about a juridical meeting headed by Henry the Bearded in Cracow (1229): 'in monte modico ad ecclesiam sancti Michaeli', *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, part 1, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1875), no. 1, p. 14–15.

at Lubiąż, Trzebnica, and probably also at Henryków (in connection with the admission of Henry the Pious to rule), and the Franciscan convent in Wrocław.⁴⁰ Finally, the oldest surviving synodal legislation, dating precisely from this period, allows us, without referring to foreign analogies, to define how the sacred space (or holy place) was understood in Poland, and what quality of privileges (also legal) and legal protection it enjoyed.⁴¹

The greatest change in the sacred geography of early-urban agglomerations, when compared to the previous period, was its considerable complication. The polycentric system of settlement found its reflection in sacral polycentrism. Probably as early as the turn of the 13th century, that is several decades before the spatial reorganisation of the town-planning system, the earlier, and at least partial coherence of the towns' sacred geography and its symbolic meanings was disturbed by the distinct sacred geographies of Polish, German, and Jewish settlements. This is a matter that largely escapes our possibility for analysis; we can only perceive this incoherence and heterogeneity in the ecclesiastical topography and the maps of settlements reconstructed by researchers. Research into Silesian towns points to the rise of a new system of settlement, which at the turn of the 13th century coincided with the old one, and was introduced by colonists who settled *segregatim a Polonis*. We may fairly safely assume that they introduced the cult of their saints, and consequently their own sanctoral calendars, as well as – where local conditions allowed – spatial solutions, the essential element of which was the market-place as the centre of a settlement. These changes in sacred geography caused by the influx of colonists are well exemplified by St Gotthard's churches.⁴²

⁴⁰ Other foundations were not examined in this respect. The problem is the documentation of that period, full of gaps (and forgeries), that makes the dating of foundations difficult. And without it, the 'inauguration' character of some of those establishments cannot be determined. Tomasz Ginter's study of the foundations of Mieszko III the Old shows that this could be the character of the foundation of the Cistercian monastery at Łąd, dated by that researcher at 1175, two years after seigneurial power was assumed by the duke, see *idem*, *Działalność fundacyjna księcia Mieszka III Starego* (Cracow, 2008), 101–58.

⁴¹ Cf. esp. Myśliwski, *Człowiek*, 117–24.

⁴² The analysis of these foundations and their location carried out by Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, who detected in them symbolic meanings, does not rule out Wolfgang H. Fritze's hypothesis (supported by Tomasz Jasiński) that in such

The cult of 'new' saints (the provenance of which is much easier to establish) that appeared in Poland in this period as equally towards the end of the previous one, was accompanied at least in a few cases by the introduction of appropriate relics. Sources confirm the initiatives of rulers, bishops and magnates, concerning, for example, the bringing of the relics of St Vincent, St Gotthard, St Sigismund, and St Florian. The ceremonial framework for those translations (constituting *par excellence* actions occurring in space), the foundations and re-foundations connected with them, at times connected with a change of dedication, allow us to overcome the limitations resulting from our scarce source basis and permit us to reconstruct, also in undocumented cases, the *proprium festivum* that more and more differentiated the Polish towns and was to be only better illustrated by the sources in late-medieval calendars.⁴³

Towards the end of the previous and at the beginning of the second period (before mendicants were brought to Poland), the sacred geography of the biggest and politically and ecclesiastically most important early-urban centres was differentiated by another element, that is monastic foundations, realised in the town itself or in its nearest environs mainly by the magnates.⁴⁴ What really mattered was not the sheer number of these foundations in a concrete centre, but the differentiation of monastic rules. No less important was the kind of spatial connections between these monasteries and the town, for their situation in the city itself or in its nearest vicinity changed the

centres as Poznań, Kruszwica and Włocławek (Szpetal) they were connected with the attempts – made at first by Boleslav the Wry-mouthed to bring the merchants from Hildesheim (probably in connection with his pilgrimage to this city soon after the canonisation of the holy bishop) in order to open the trade route leading through the Polish lands to Rus', see Wolfgang H. Fritze, 'Hildesheim – Brandenburg – Posen. Godehard-Kult und Fernhandelsverkehr im 12. Jahrhundert', in Wilfried Schich (ed.), *Beiträge zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Stadt Brandenburg im Mittelalter* (Berlin and New York, 1993), 103–30; Jasiński, 'Uwarunkowania'.

⁴³ Apart from the above-cited work by Wąsowicz, see Paweł Szczaniecki, 'Sacramentarium dedicationis'. *Obrzęd poświęcenia kościoła i jego znaczenie w dziedzinie religijnej, obyczajowej i kulturalnej na podstawie źródeł polskich z XII wieku* (Rozprawy Wydziału Teologiczno-Kanonicznego. Studia Kościelnohistoryczne, 3, Lublin, 1979), 84 ff.

⁴⁴ The readers are advised to refer to my article: 'L'aristocrazia nelle sedes regni principales della Polonia del secolo XII', in Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini (eds.), *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*, 2 vols. (Roma, 2002), i, 341–58.

liturgy, the liturgical calendar and the pantheon of local patrons. The Cistercian Mogiła and the Benedictine Tyniec were situated much farther from Cracow⁴⁵ than the abbeys founded by Piotr Włostowic in the Wrocław complex of settlements: of Canons Regular on the Isle of Piasek (Insula Arena) and the Benedictines (and from the end of the 12th century Premonstratensians) on the Isle of Ołbin. However, what definitely changed the sacred geography of Cracow were not the new foundations, but the new cults, introduced here since the translation of St Florian's relics. Due to the canonisation of St Stanislas (1253) and the double location of his cult, Cracow, as the only city in Poland, acquired a solution as that of Rome from the 8th century, i.e. two sacred places: the *locus sacer* connected in the general consciousness with the martyrdom of this bishop-patron, which was his initial sepulchre, now empty (St Michael's Church on Skałka [the Rock] found itself after the town's foundation under German law *extra muros*), and another sanctuary – in the Cathedral, where his body was laid and which consequently gained another patron-saint. This second period also saw the establishment of the first hospital foundations, which perhaps can be associated with the influx of colonists (Poznań), and sometimes even with the organisation of their commune (Wrocław).⁴⁶

Only in that period are we able to appraise more clearly what was the sacral and symbolic function of cemeteries in the sacred geography of early-urban centres. They might perform the function of a sacred boundary of such a town, something illustrated, in the light of new excavations, by their location in Wrocław, Cracow, and above all the Poznań agglomeration. Cemeteries in Poznań were placed:

- in a naturally exposed terrain;
- outside the territory of the settlements they served (the dead from the Cathedral's Isle were transported over the bridge!

⁴⁵ Most closely connected with the settlements of Cracow was the convent of Premonstratensian nuns.

⁴⁶ Marek Słoń, *Die Spitälerei Breslau im Mittelalter* (Warsaw, 2001), 278–80, and other works by the same author, esp. *Klasztor – szpital – miasto Wrocław w średniowieczu*, in Marek Derwich and Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (eds.), *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym* (Wrocław and Opole, 2000), 269–75; *idem*, 'Hospital and Old Age in Late-Medieval Wrocław', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 84 (2001), 31–52; *idem*, 'Die Breslauer Spitälerei als Zeichen des Prestiges einer mittelalterlichen Stadt', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, xlv–xlvi (2004–5), 9–24.

to the cemetery at Śródka that served both the stronghold and its settlement);

– on the opposite side of a road (or river) in relation to the settlement;

– their sacred power could be strengthened by the chapels connected to them (not something, however, that in each case is easy to confirm by evidence).⁴⁷

The cemeteries of that period, while sacrally separating the settlement (or settlements) from their environs, were not, however, churchyards, and their territory was later used during the town's foundation, so that even the centre of the town could be situated there (as in the Poznań Śródka, Wrocław or Cracow).

Towards the end of the second period the biggest towns – even before their spatial reorganisation connected with foundation under German law – saw the rise of the first mendicant convents: of the Dominicans and Franciscans. There is a growing tendency in recent research to associate the foundation of the first hospital (this does not relate to Poznań) and the first monastery of a mendicant order with the period of the initial legal organisation of the commune, one not confirmed by any privilege, being at times connected with a reorganisation of the urban space.⁴⁸ What supports this assumption is the temporal connection between a monastic foundation and the undoubted foundation under German law of several towns, for example the two biggest duchy capitals: Wrocław (the Crusaders of the Red Star brought from Prague) and Cracow (the Cyriacs Order – canons regular; probably in this case also brought from Prague). However, the spatial situation of the first convents, especially Franciscan, is not always certain, while their later transference is quite probable (the Dominicans were almost as a rule granted one of the existing parish churches; in Cracow this relates also to other monasteries). So far only in Wrocław can we associate the Dominican and Franciscan convents (the latter without much certainty) with the new topography of the town, established ca. 1230. So we cannot yet be

⁴⁷ Paweł Pawlak, *Cmentarzyska przedlokacyjnego Poznania*, in Jurek (ed.), 'Civitas', 43–58.

⁴⁸ Apart from the works by Marek Słoń, cf. also Krzysztof Ożóg, 'Klasztorna geografia średniowiecznego Krakowa', in Derwich and Pobóg-Lenartowicz (eds.), *Klasztor*, 223 ff.

sure as to whether the peripheral situation of many new monasteries in relation to the later centre of a town was the realisation of the town-planning concepts of mendicants, applied by them in the first period of their installation in the towns. In Poland the application of solutions accepted in Italy and other old cities, with a stable centre and sometimes a great number of monasteries, that is placing a convent as a rule outside the town wall, was disturbed by the later transformation of urban topography connected with the town's foundation under German law. There is much to show that the towns undergoing spatial reorganisation either immediately incorporated within their area the existing mendicant monastic structures, or soon after foundation enlarged it by adding the area occupied by those monasteries,⁴⁹ or, finally, the convents themselves changed their location. We know of convents which moved in this way several times in the West,⁵⁰ so this could also have happened in Poland.

What marked thirteenth-century mendicant foundations in Polish towns, and generally in Central Eastern Europe, was that – despite their relatively low cost – they were created at the initiative or at least with the decisive support of rulers and bishops, and sometimes with the participation of the magnates, a fact which, naturally, influenced their location. In the early-realised Franciscan foundations in Silesian towns the location of monasteries is topographically connected with the seat of the duke (or the territory of his domain);⁵¹ this rather points to the sacralisation of the space reserved for the ruler than of the suburban space (the same solution could be observed elsewhere, e.g. in Buda; anyway, in the first period of their activity the relations between the convents and monarchic courts were very close). In the middle of the 13th century, a complex of ducal foundations, clearly delineated in the landscape and separated from the founded town by a wall of buildings, arose in Wrocław. What points, on the one

⁴⁹ The Franciscans in Toruń first settled outside the urban fortifications; see Tomasz Jasiński, 'Toruń XIII-XIV wieku', in Marian Biskup (ed.), *Historia Torunia, i: W czasach średniowiecza (do 1454 r.)* (Toruń, 1999), 129; *idem*, 'Początki klasztoru dominikańskiego w Toruniu', *Zapiski Historyczne*, liv, 4 (1989), 34.

⁵⁰ Cf. the 'wanderings' of mendicant monasteries in Arles; Louis Stouff, 'Ordres mendiants et société urbaine: l'exemple d'Arles (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)', in Noël Coulet and Olivier Guyotjeannin (eds.), *La ville au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), 145–58.

⁵¹ Gabriela Wąs, *Klasztory franciszkańskie w miastach śląskich i górnośląskich w XIII-XVI w.* (Wrocław, 2000), *passim*.

hand, to the close connection of mendicant houses with the ducal court, and on the other, to their small share in the sacred geography of towns in the first period of their activity, is also the limited size of their churches.

These foundations (especially 13th century Franciscan ones), as created in Polish towns, confirm one important topographical fact: that mendicant orders in Europe spread along routes; in Poland, for the Dominican convents these were rivers.⁵² At the turn of the 1240s the two biggest Polish towns, Wrocław and Cracow, before their final spatial organisation saw a clear, and quite understandable influence of the model realised in Prague mainly by Saint Agnes of Bohemia (two monasteries and a hospital).⁵³

IV FOUNDED TOWN

We are not in possession of detailed sources that would reflect the total magnitude of the changes introduced to the built-up substance and topography of the chief Polish towns through foundation under German law.⁵⁴ Our basic 'reading' of the towns of that era must rely on their spatial plans as reconstructed by archaeologists and historians of town-planning. The picture of the sacred geography of a town between the middle of the 13th and the beginning of the 16th century presented below is based on the analysis of chief towns, representing two different types: a single town, in the late Middle Ages performing the function of a provincial capital and episcopal see (Poznań); and a multi-componential town, that is made up of a several founded towns, each of which performed a different politico-administrative function (Wrocław, Cracow, Toruń). Sandomierz constitutes a case of

⁵² Cf. esp. the findings of Jacek Wiesiołowski, 'Dominikanie w miastach wielkopolskich w okresie średniowiecza', in Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1975), i, 195–269.

⁵³ Ożóg, 'Klasztorna geografia', 221–5; Mateusz Goliński, 'Kształtowanie miasta komunalnego', in Buśko, Goliński, Kaczmarek and Ziątkowski, *Historia Wrocławia*, i, 105–7.

⁵⁴ One of the few records is the laconic mention in *Annales Cracovienses* under the year 1257: 'Cracoviensis civitas iuri Theutonico traditur et situs fori per advocatos et domorum et curiarum immutatur'; *Annales Cracovienses*, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, in MPH, s.n., v (Warsaw, 1978), 86.

the specific development of sacred topography and geography, being transferred to a new place.

The town's foundation entailed a fundamental change of its ecclesiastical topography, and consequently – its sacred geography. At the same time, however, it restored to the town its former coherence, now based on new principles and concepts, and on new relations (including ecclesiastical and religious ones) that were gradually established between the constituent parts of the urban agglomeration: the town's area within its territorial and legal boundaries (a single or multi-componential town, enclosed by the town-wall, and its suburbs); the seat of the bishop and the chapter (and the territory granted to them); and the seat (territory) of the ruler and his governor. The Jewish community, which also strove for a certain territorial coherence, remained outside this sacred geography, and created its own.⁵⁵ This, however, did not rule out the topographic, and sometimes also temporal crossing of both sacred geographies (e.g. Kazimierz town within Cracow's agglomeration).

In the third period under analysis the changes in sacred geography concerned the whole agglomeration (embraced by the same name), as well as the settlements that were not included in the town's territory or enclosed by town fortifications. However, the greatest changes as a rule, though not always, occurred in the territory enclosed by the town wall. Though both the ruler and bishop were engaged in the process of the spatial-sacral reorganisation of the town connected with its foundation, the 'old-date', economically independent monasteries (founded by monarchs, bishops or magnates) and connected with the centres of ecclesiastical and secular power, did not take part in it; their seats remained outside the area of the town.

Sacred geography became one of the chief elements and instruments that constructed the town's identity, not only in the period of the consolidation of the communal system at the turn of the 14th century, but also later. This was confirmed by the religious initiatives and foundations realised by the town authorities more and more often in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁶ In double and multi-componential towns, the dominant role was usually played by the

⁵⁵ Cf. Hanna Zaremska's article in the present volume.

⁵⁶ More extensively on this subject, see my article 'Religijność miejska', cited above.

sacred geography of the main town. The different situation in Cracow, resembling that of Prague, seems to have resulted mainly from the scale and rank of monarchic foundations, realised relatively evenly all over the agglomeration consisting of three founded towns, and from the ideological and symbolic power of the sanctuaries situated there.

While considering the sacred geography of a town, we also have to take into account the seats of bishops and monarchs, remaining outside the town wall, as well as the suburbs, which developed from the end of the 14th century. The cathedral, and the churches dating back to the early Piasts (though not all still operating) that surrounded it, the suburban parish churches, clusters of monasteries and what were sometimes chief pilgrimage sanctuaries, all played different roles in conducting worship and pastoral work among the burghers; they were not included in the procession system of the town in the same way, and finally, they created a hierarchy of sacred places that was subject to change during the liturgical year. Of special significance were the days on which indulgences were granted, and miracles were promulgated (usually on the same days, but also on the chief feast-days of the ecclesiastical year).

Thus the ecclesiastical topography of the towns under analysis differed greatly and resulted from differences in the development of their parish and monastic network, the situation, character and function of the older clusters of churches, monasteries and clergy, not enclosed by the town-wall, and finally from the different stage of the development of their suburbs, not included *intra muros*.

The centre of the sacred geography of a town was the parish church (regardless of its location) or the chief parish church of the main town. The relations between the religious centre and the periphery as well as the suburbs depended on whether the town was single, or multi-componential. They also depended on the character and functions of individual church buildings and the holy places. The relation of the urban community to the cathedral, situated externally to its territory, and not visited on a regular basis, changed on some special days when, as the centre of the diocese, it assembled large congregations.

In this period the network of monasteries (especially the houses of mendicants, women Tertiaries and Beguines) grew denser; in the middle of the 15th century the Franciscan Observants (together with the women Tertiaries) settled in the suburbs. Generally speaking, after the issue of the bull of Pope Clement IV *Quia plerumque* (1268),

the distribution of mendicant houses had to respect the minimal distances between them, established by the bull. The Dominican foundations in Poland followed this order's general policy of settling in centres of considerable potential, while the Franciscans also installed themselves in small towns. As far as we know, only the Franciscan Observant monasteries in all towns chose the same kind of location in relation towards the town centre.⁵⁷ However, everywhere the mendicant houses, and especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, substantially changed the sacred geography of the town, mainly because their chief task was preaching; so their teachings were detached from the church building, going out into the squares and streets of the town.

In towns where Poor Clare houses were located in the period when they were allowed to beg in the streets – in Poland this was certainly the case in Wrocław⁵⁸ – a radical change of sacred geography was also caused by the bull of Pope Boniface VIII (*Periculoso*, 1298), which imposed enclosure on all female convents and changed them into monastic communities of prayer. However, the place of the sanctuary of a female convent in the sacred geography of a town has been excessively marginalised by Polish historians. It depended, among other things, on the number of churches in the town, the number of female convents, and their legal position in relation to the towns authorities.⁵⁹ Because we know very little about the location of the women Tertiaries and Beguines houses, we find it difficult to appraise the role of both regular and other female religious communities in towns. Nor can we generalise the observation that the groups of women who lived in chastity – in the first place, of course, the choir sisters in enclosed convents – were situated on the periphery of the towns: near the town-wall or outside of it. This, however, is indicated

⁵⁷ Cf. esp. Małgorzata Maciszewska, 'Klasztory bernardyńskie w miastach Królestwa Polskiego i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach 1453–1514. Procesy fundacyjne i lokalizacja', in Derwich and Pobóg-Lenartowicz (eds.), *Klasztor*, 567–82.

⁵⁸ This is confirmed by *Vita sanctae Hedwigis* (in MPH, iv, 659) where we find information about the begging sisters of the monastery of St Damian and St Clare.

⁵⁹ Cf. my article 'Les couvents féminins dans les villes médiévales de l'Europe du Centre-Est', in Perrine Mane, Françoise Pignonier, Małgorzata Wilska and Marta Piber-Zbieranowska (eds.), *La femme dans la société médiévale et moderne* (Warsaw, 2005), 113–40, where literature of the subject; and Krzysztof Kaczmarek, *Przyczynek do badań nad duchowością środowisk zakonnych średniowiecznej Polski*, in Manikowska and Brojer (eds.), *Animarum Cultura*, 381–406.

by the solutions adopted in Wrocław, at least at the beginning of the 15th century, confirmed by sources where we have information about women Tertiaries and Beguines houses. If this also held true for other places, we may suppose that equally in Polish towns the convents of virgins and houses of women Tertiaries constituted a late-medieval variant of ensuring the sacred security of a town.⁶⁰

As a result of the towns' foundation under German law and the later development of their sacred topography, the early-medieval *custodia civitatis* was replaced by a new system where a concrete topographic fact ousted earlier symbolic notions, though it was not completely deprived of them. The sacred security of the town was now ensured both by the sacred buildings constructed at its gates, including some clusters of monasteries, by hospitals, each with a chapel or church, whose inmates were obliged to pray for their benefactors, and by the sanctuaries, frequently provided with valuable miracle-performing relics, more or less regularly located in the suburbs. An excellent example of filling the suburbs and settlements connected with the town with such a 'sacred' protection is the late-medieval Poznań agglomeration. In that period all the towns subject to detailed analysis saw the rise of *loca sacra* (pilgrimage centres of various territorial and social influential scope), that substantially affected their sacred geography.⁶¹

Hence the conviction that the late Middle Ages saw a decline of the role of symbolic imagination in the construction of sacred geography, seems to me an oversimplification. The adherents of this view contend that sacred geography was replaced by pragmatic sacred topography, based on physical geography. This view, however, is not confirmed either by Gothic architecture, or the projects of such dimensions and symbolic charge as the New Town of the Prague of Charles IV. Other examples are: the Christian sacralisation of road and bridge⁶²

⁶⁰ Cf. esp. Richard C. Trexler, 'Le celibat à la fin du Moyen Âge: les religieuses de Florence', *Annales E.S.C.*, xxvii (1972), 1332–7; Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginité in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001), 107–60.

⁶¹ About Cracow, which was an exception also in this respect, see Witkowska, *Kulty pątnicze*; and eadem, *Ośrodki kultowe w geografii sakralnej średniowiecznego Krakowa*, in Manikowska and Brojer (eds.), *Animarum Cultura*, 133–47.

⁶² Especially important was the mendicant interpretation of Christ as a Road, Bridge; in late-medieval times indulgences were granted for repairing or constructing them, and pious legacies were assigned for those purposes.

(that is places inscribed 'in-between' the urban topography), or the 15th century conviction that 'St Florian' (i.e. relics from the church dedicated to him) protects Cracow against the Prussians, and 'St Stanislas' against the pagans, or, finally, the references (most frequently only fragmentary) made to Jerusalem. However, we have to add that the late-medieval imitation of Jerusalem was something different from the symbolic invocation of Heavenly Jerusalem, even if elements of the old *ad instar* techniques were present in it. This imitation may be termed as 'mimetic naturalism', which was visible in the replicas of *via crucis* and sacred mounts (calvaries). This kind of thinking may, for example, be detected in the action of Archbishop John Laski; to add to the sacredness of the Gniezno cemetery, he sprinkled some earth there he had brought from the Roman Campo Santo Teutonico where St Helen, according to legend, was to have sprinkled the earth from the Potter's Field; due to this act he obtained suitable indulgences.⁶³ In the late Middle Ages a certain literality was necessary, to explain the whole plan of Jerusalem. Let us add that in those times a 'decent' town (at least one of its churches) had to possess a relatively rich collection of relics from the Holy Land.

In the late Middle Ages the sacred geography of towns was enriched by schools. I do not have in mind another type of ecclesiastical institutions, but the role of the *schola* in the liturgy, especially in the funeral ritual. As usual, Cracow distinguished itself from amongst other Polish towns, for its main 'school' – the University – influenced sacred geography more powerfully and comprehensively, than the parish schools.

A new phenomenon in a founded town were parish cemeteries with chapels. They were situated in a different way, some of them in the centre of the town, and played an important role in Sunday and feast-day procession rites.

From about the middle of the 14th century, the sacred geography was in an increasing degree shaped by the burghers. The foundations, realised by them until the Reformation, illustrated the expanding trend of the 'democratisation of worship' – beginning with hospitals, through churches (rarely), but above all family chapels (like those of the nobility, meant to demonstrate prestige), up to altar ministries and the purchase of indulgence privileges, or

⁶³ More extensively about it in my book *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela*, 267.

modest legacies that supported existing or new foundations.⁶⁴ These foundations had a decisive significance for the development of the liturgy of the parish church, and above all for the urban *sanctorale*. The role of the ruler's and bishop's power in shaping the sacred geography of the late-medieval urban territory was simultaneously decreasing. The Cracow agglomeration was again an exception, for till the end of the period under analysis, its sacred geography was to a great extent shaped by the monarch. The foundations realised by Casimir the Great, Ladislas Jagiello and Queen Hedwig in the towns of Cracow show, until the beginning of the 15th century, the strong influence of the Prague model. This influence was to cease with the Hussite Revolution.

Due to the much greater number of sources, the sacred geography of a late-medieval town may be treated as a framework which encompassed the urban religion that was an essential element and determinant of the urban style of life. This was the framework in which the perception of Christian sacred time took place (as *continuous* – the Sunday liturgy according to the succession of Sundays; and *manifested* – especially strongly in the period of the Holy Week).

These frameworks were different in different towns not simply in relation to the size of town, which must be considered in all its dimensions equally the ecclesiastical-religious ones as well as the prosperity of its inhabitants. We do not obtain any interesting results by simply comparing the sacred geography of any town, for example, in Kujawy with that of any town under my analysis, because of the gap that divided them. This framework also differed, and perhaps mostly, because of the different network of ecclesiastical institutions that determined to a large extent the intensity and richness of religious life and the opportunity for absorbing religious novelties. In my opinion, however, the number of those institutions (parishes, monasteries) did not matter as much as their variety and completeness, as well as the counteraction of the parish and monastic forms of *cura animarum*. One of the chief consequences of this differentiation was a wide range of

⁶⁴ Cf. latest research: Elżbieta Piwowarczyk, *Dzieje Kościoła Mariackiego (XIII-XVI w.)* (Cracow, 2000); *eadem*, 'Legaty na kościół Panny Marii (Mariacki) w Krakowie (XIV-XV w.). Przyczynek do badań nad religijnością miejską', *Rocznik Krakowski*, lxxii (2006), 5–23; and many works by Piotr Oliński on the foundations of Toruń and Gdańsk burghers.

pilgrimage places and a different 'indulgence capacity' of churches, which just as much as the diocesan and local liturgical calendar determined the *proprium festivum* of each town.

This framework was also influenced by the migration waves and international contacts of urban society that were the vehicles of many devotional practices. The best example would be the influence of Hanseatic religious culture, clearly visible in the towns of Prussia, as well as the influence of the Wrocław model on Toruń. These contacts also produced some changes in the sacred geography of foreign centres, for, as Wrocław sources show, the merchants founded and maintained altars dedicated to their native saints in the towns where they developed their business.⁶⁵ John Capistran's visits to Cracow and several Silesian towns, on the other hand, produced 'revolutionary' changes in the sacred geography of many Polish towns.

Contacts that influenced the town's sacred geography included also, and of far from secondary importance, pilgrimages to more distant places – beginning with those to relatively close domestic and foreign sanctuaries, up to the most distant, like those of the Holy Land. The local clergy maintained contacts with the papal curia and the local monks took part in the general chapters of religious orders. The pilgrimage 'horizon', and 'potential' of each of the towns under analysis was different, but this has to date not been properly examined .

Finally in the late Middle Ages the town's sacred geography was influenced by individuals or families of the burgher class, whose options concerning worship, forms of piety, and the special preferences for some religious practices were dictated by their cultural horizons and religious emotions.

The changes in spiritual life, organisation of religious life, and forms of piety that in that period occurred all over Europe, and influenced the sacred geography of Polish towns, were above all:

1. A great development of liturgy and parish pastoral work.
2. The rise and development of religious confraternities (connected with guilds, parishes and monasteries). The towns under analysis differed largely in this respect, especially as regards the number of

⁶⁵ The merchants of Wrocław maintained an altar of St Hedwig of Silesia in Antwerp; see Ludwig Petry, *Die Poplaw: Eine schlesische Kaufmannsfamilie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1935), 63.

confraternities, their situation with respect to urban churches and their foundations – chapels, altars, paraments, indulgences obtained, etc.

3. What exerted the greatest impact on the differentiation of the sanctoral calendars in individual cities, constructed on the basis of universal, metropolitan and diocesan cult of saints, was the development of urban cult of patron-saints, most rapid from the 12th–13th centuries, and visible in Polish towns from the last quarter of the 13th century, as well as the increasing body of the urban ‘choirs of saints’. A significant role in this process was played not only by the religious orders that settled in the towns, but also by the successive (beginning with the pre-foundation period) waves of immigrants and the popularity of some universal cults, both old and new, specific for individual regions (for example of the Magi, St George or St Bridget of Sweden). Characteristically, however, the cult of the founders of the chief mendicant orders finds little confirmation in the *patrocinia* or proper names of Polish (but also Silesian) burghers.

4. As regards the cult of relics and the pilgrimage-indulgence ritual, each of the towns under analysis represented an individual sacred geography. The rhythm of participation in the services was dictated not only by the local sanctoral calendar, but also by the kermis calendar, which is very difficult to reconstruct in full without insightfully detailed research.⁶⁶ This was, however, a very important element, equally because at the height of the pilgrimage tide the urban space was filled by crowds of people, among whom was a considerable group of those with disabled mobility, who organised this space in their own way.⁶⁷ The pilgrimage-kermis rhythm was enriched by solemn *ostensiones reliquiarum*, which gained the setting of great religious celebrations, however, only in some cities (as, for example, the exposition of the relic of St Stanislas’ arm in the St Michael Church on Skałka in Cracow, or of the relics in the Ołbin Abbey of Wrocław). From the end of the 14th century onwards, some urban churches were included in the Roman Jubilee indulgences, which could be

⁶⁶ Wrocław is easier to examine, due to this city’s *Liber indulgentiarum* (see my article ‘Wrocławski *Liber indulgentiarum* z końca XV w.’, in *E scientia et amicitia. Studia poświęcone profesorowi Edwardowi Potkowskiemu w sześćdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej* [Warsaw and Pułtusk, 1999], 131–44).

⁶⁷ Cf. André Vauchez, ‘Reliquie, santi e santuari, spazi sacri e vagabondaggio religioso nel Medioevo’, in *idem* (ed.), *Storia dell’Italia religiosa, I: L’antichità e il Medioevo* (Roma, 1993), 455–83.

obtained without a pilgrimage to the Eternal City. The wealth of relics and indulgences in a given town decided on its ranking, as we are told by Długosz and Schedel.⁶⁸ In a late-medieval city the cult of relics became one of the chief expressions of identity of various kinds of communities, overshadowing (perhaps, apart from Cracow, or Gniezno) the initial foundation role this cult had played earlier for a dynasty or the local Church. And finally, the collections of relics in urban and suburban sanctuaries served as the reservoir of particles necessary for new altar foundations.

5. What gains great significance in late-medieval urban liturgy is the rhythm of processions, in Polish towns especially the theophoric ones, which made the territory of the cemetery a regular and necessary part of the sacred space of the church, re-establishing again and again the relations between the living and the dead.⁶⁹

6. The cult of the Passion – this 15th century devotional European *lingua franca*, which dominated spiritual life in the late Middle Ages – did not find the same reflection in all Polish towns. The fragmentary information extracted with difficulty from the documentation concerns the processions held on Palm Sunday, sometimes connected with the liturgy of the Stations, chapels of Gethsemane, these substitutes of the Way of the Cross, mysteries, and the liturgy of the Way of the Cross, especially rich in the monasteries of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁰ The 16th century saw the development of ‘calvaries’,

⁶⁸ *Joannis Długossi Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. Jan Dąbrowski et al., 11 vols. (Warsaw, 1964–2005), lib. i; Hartmann Schedel, *Liber cronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493, Anton Koberger), folio npag. (description of Cracow).

⁶⁹ In view of a very scanty source base that up till the middle of the 15th century almost exclusively gives evidence of Sunday and feast-day processions from the altar to the cemetery, all research concerning the urban, communal aspect of processions boils down to those held on Corpus Christi and only towards the end of that era (see Hanna Zaremska, ‘Procesje Bożego Ciała w Krakowie w XIV-XVI w.’, in Bronisław Geremek [ed.], *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza* [Wrocław, Warsaw and Cracow, 1978], 25–40). The Sunday processions led by Abbot Jodok in Our Lady’s Church in Wrocław’s Piasek went to the opposite church of St Ann, since ‘ante erectionem prefate ecclesie, cimiterium pro sepultura hominum fuit’ (*Cronica abbatum Beatae Mariae Virginis in Arena*, ed. Gustav A. Stenzel, in *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum oder Sammlung Schlesischer Geschichtsschreiber*, ii (Breslau, 1839), 204, 224).

⁷⁰ Cf. Jakub Kostowski, “...da unser Herr im Garten knieet ...” *Dawna kaplica Krappów przy kościele Świętej Elżbiety we Wrocławiu*, in Jerzy Rozpędowski (ed.),

however, this gradually abandoned the churches and the area enclosed by the town-wall (the Cracow Emaus) in favour of the sacred mounts erected outside of it.

7. The development of the cult of the Eucharist, with its culmination on Corpus Christi, has not yet been sufficiently examined. It seems that one procession for the whole town was introduced in the Polish lands late, about the middle of the 15th century. In a late-medieval town this practice turned urban society into a genuine worship community, the participation in which was confirmed by the great work of larger and minor foundations of church paraments suitable e.g. for Easter processions ('to the grave'). The single procession held on Corpus Christi for the whole town introduced into the urban space a *via sacra*, which observed the hierarchy of individual sanctuaries and other places in the sacred geography.

8. Of special significance were the new forms of the cult of the Virgin Mary (for example, Rosary confraternities), and especially the cult of miracle-performing pictures.

9. In the late Middle Ages the concern for salvation found its expression in the development of the funeral and commemorative ritual that in the case of sumptuous funerals and large legacies for Gregorian Masses, anniversaries, etc., embraced more than one church. Its result was the great development of Mass legacies, altar foundations and ministries, and a permanent inclusion of Ember Days in the urban calendar. The ring of chapels owned by families, guilds and confraternities that developed in the 15th century, the growing number of side altars in the church (with various dedications, number of relics and indulgences, as well as paraments), complicated the earlier simple meaning of the internal division of the church into the nave and the chancel, the high and side altars (relatively few until the beginning of the 15th century; even in the Virgin Mary Church in Cracow only 11 side altars had been confirmed by 1400). At the same time the sacred geography of a city extended beyond its walls, connecting some families with remote churches and monasteries, where they

Świątynia (Architektura Wrocławia, iii, Wrocław, 1997), 112, 116; Rev. Kazimierz Dola, 'Liturgia Wielkiego Tygodnia w katedrze wrocławskiej w XV w.', *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego*, 7 (1979 [1980]), 179–215; Maria Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warsaw, 1999), 165–70.

directed their legacies assigned for commemorative services. In fact, the family necropolis created another type of ties within the family, in its relations with society and between the living and the dead.

10. The development of the ecclesiastical calendar and concern for salvation were not the only elements that affected the interior of churches and the number of services held there. In the late Middle Ages another aspect that affected them was the individualisation of religious life characterised by an attitude of exclusivity (of kin, corporation and magistrate).⁷¹ Although Polish town-halls rarely possessed chapels that were structurally separate in architectural terms, there would appear portable altars for the conducting of services. As a result of all this process, not only towns, but also, and even more so, individual churches in a given agglomeration differed largely in respect of the number of altars, altar ministries, dedications, indulgence 'offers' and the character and size of the legacies for the church.

11. A special feature of the sacred geography of a city was that even its private aspect was subordinated to the aim of the salvation of the whole (parish, urban) community; on Sundays and important feast-days the Eucharist was accompanied by a procession, the blessing of bread and water; the Sunday Mass was celebrated at the high altar – that of the whole parish community. So, despite the 'privatisation' of the church interior, the order established by the altars that were in private possession was subordinated to that dictated by the high altar.

12. *Angelus*, gradually introduced to Polish dioceses from ca. 1320, was to change the rhythm of the weekday, proclaiming with its ringing the sacred time designed for the prayer to be said by the whole community.

13. The researchers willingly raise the problem, one still to be clarified to this day, of late-medieval daily 'profanation' (and even desacralisation, defilement) of sacred time and space, a phenomenon that co-existed with the emotional piety of that time which highly

⁷¹ See Manikowska, 'Religijność miejska', where discussion with Polish researchers, especially Roman Czaja, who in recent years has devoted much attention to the exclusiveness, equally religious, of the town authorities: *idem*, 'Korporative Formen der Religiosität des Patriziats in den preußischen Großstädten', *Questiones medii aevi novae*, 2 (1997), 107–20; cf. also *idem*, 'Die Identität des Patriziats der preußischen Großstädte im Mittelalter', in Stefan Kwiatkowski and Janusz Małek (eds.), *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Toruń, 1999), 208–29.

valued *loca sacra*. The Polish sources seem to suggest that defilement (from the 13th century considerably mitigated and rationalised) of the sacred space occurred rarely;⁷² on the other hand, however, the conflicts of the rulers and burghers with the Church, during which churches were attacked, show that in such situations the sanctity of place was disregarded (this problem became the order of the day during the Reformation).

In his 'reading' of the Italian communal cities as 'cities of God' Augustine Thompson O.P. analyses some principal elements that are the pivot of his thesis: 1. the network of churches in the city, with an emphasis on the cathedral – *ecclesia matrix* – which in Italian cities performed (together with baptistery) the function of the centre of a parish district, embracing the whole city and its suburbs; 2. the structures of the penitence movement, which turned Italian burghers into deeply religious citizens who due to their conversion also changed their city and its sacred geography; 3. the cult of the patron-saints, the most important element of the identity and unity of the commune; 4. social structures of the religious ritual: family, neighbourhood and the city as a whole; 5. the town's saints and their functions in society, as well as the urban *loca sacra*.⁷³ So his point of reference is not space, but communal society immersed in religion, its images of holiness and the structures, in the first place social, of this holiness. If Polish sources were as rich as the Italian, one might try and overcome (a task difficult even with regard to the end of that era) the limitations imposed on research into sacred geography by its earlier stage – the studies of ecclesiastical topography. One thing is certainly possible – we may detach ourselves from the enclosed space of churches, with their 'internal' liturgy, and fill the urban space equally with what was happening outside.

transl. Agnieszka Kreczmar
(proofread by Guy Torr)

⁷² Cf. esp. Myśliwski, *Człowiek*, 121 ff.

⁷³ Augustine Thompson O.P., *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park, 2005), part I.