

A TURN TO FRATRES MINORES: THE FRANCISCANS IN THE 13. CENTURY LESSER POLAND AND THE PATRONAGE OF THE DUKE BOLESLAUS THE CHASTE

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The second and third quarters of the 13th century are the time of a rapid mendicant orders expansion in Central Europe. The Franciscans and the Dominicans – along with their female branches – quickly arrived to the most important towns in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. What was extraordinary in those lands is the fact, that the mendicants, friars as well as nuns, from the very beginning had the rulers' patronage. This phenomenon is clearly visible in Hungary where king Bela IV had founded a Dominican convent in Buda for his daughter Margaret and was himself buried in Franciscan church in Esztergom. In Prague king Venceslaus I and his sister Agnes established a double monastery for both the Poor Clares and the Friars Minor, where Agnes spent the rest of her life and which also became their mausoleum². Thus in both of the most powerful kingdoms in Central Europe in the mid-13th century especially the Franciscans gained special relations with the ruling dynasties. On the other hand, those relations were not always long-lasting. E.g. the grandson of Venceslaus I, Vencelsaus II did not follow this tradition and founded a Cistercian monastery in Zbraslav as his burial place³.

In Poland situation was far more complex.

At the time the former kingdom did not actually exist, as it had been divided into several duchies ruled by the members of the Piast dynasty. Position of Cracow duchy in this order was very particular – a fact crucial for this paper. In 1138 the realm was divided between the sons of duke Boleslaus the Wrymouth. Each of them had received their own duchy, which was to be hereditary, but Cracow was excluded from this arrangement. Instead the city, along with its land, was to be an additional possession of the oldest member of the dynasty alive at the time, who was also to be a *princeps*, having superior power over the other Piasts⁴. In the 13th century this system had been no longer in use, however Cracow was still considered a key to rule over the whole Poland and aim of a constant civil war. On the other hand, the youngest son of Boleslaus the Wrymouth, Kazimirus II the Just, convinced the clergy and the nobility to accept his hereditary rule in Lesser Poland duchies of Cracow and Sandomierz.

The Franciscan friary in Cracow

The Franciscan friars arrived in Poland in year 1236 and settled in Wroclaw, the capital city of Silesia, and Cracow. In previous studies their arrival from Prague was considered to be resulting from the initiative of Henry the Bearded, duke of Silesia, who also ruled Cracow as a warden of juvenile duke Boleslaus the Chaste⁵. As it was

¹ Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

² Helena Soukupová, *Anežský klášter v Praze* [The Agnes' monastery in Prague] (Praha: Vyšehrad 2011).

³ Klára Benešová, „Aula Regia près de Prague et Mons Regalis près de Paris”, *Cîteaux : Commentarii cistercienses* 47 (1996): *Les Cisterciens dans le royaume médiéval de Bohême: Actes du colloque de Kutna Hora ; 9-13 juin 1992*, 231-243; Benešová, „Architecture at the Crossroads: Three examples from Bohemia circa 1300”, in *The Year 1300 and the creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols 2008), 156-158.

⁴ See Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1: The Origins to 1795 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), 19-52.

⁵ E.g. Gerard Labuda, „Kto był fundatorem-założycielem klasztoru franciszkanów w Krakowie?”, [Who was the Founder of Franciscan friary in Cracow?] in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej, cz. 1. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski (Kraków 1983), 369-381; Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich* [Cracow until the end of the Middle Ages] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 1991), 124-126. The person considered to be the executor of Henry's will was voivode Teodor. Recent excavations under the western wing of the cloister proved that the monastery had been erected on the same site as an older stone building. This structure of unknown application could be Teodor's manor donated to Franciscans but it could also be an episcopal property. See Marcin Szyma, „Relikty kamiennej budowli pod zachodnim skrzydłem klasztoru Franciszkanów w Krakowie” [Remains of

demonstrated by Adam Zwiercan the friars' appearance was more likely a result of the apostolic mission lead by Saxon provincial Giovanni of Pian del Carpini⁶. Thus Boleslaus, who was then eleven years old, had nothing to do with the Franciscans' arrival in his domain. Nevertheless, in the following years the friars played a significant role in the process of consolidating Boleslaus' authority.

It is uncertain when the Franciscan church in Cracow was constructed. It is usually dated around the mid-century. Some scholars, e.g. Zwiercan, proposed that the entire structure had been completed before 1249, when the Polish-Bohemian province chapter took place in Cracow⁷. This argument is not very convincing if one considers the fact that the previous chapter in Poland took place in 1245 in Sandomierz, only two years after establishing the convent⁸, and it is certain that the friars did not erect any durable buildings. On the other hand, some details (especially choir traceries) suggest that work had not been completed until the third quarter of the 13th century. However, Waldemar Niewalda and Halina Rojkowska suggested that aforementioned traceries were added in another phase, perhaps in the process of arranging the artistic setting of

.the stone building beneath the western wing of the Franciscan cloister in Cracow] in: *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana prof. Klementynie Żurowskiej*, ed. J. Gądomski et al., (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego) 2005, 149-157.

⁶ Antoni Zwiercan, „Pierwotny kościół Franciszkanów w Krakowie” [The Original Franciscan Church in Cracow], *Nasza przeszłość. Studia z dziejów kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce*, 60 (1983), 77; Zwiercan, „Nowe spojrzenie na początki franciszkanów w Polsce” [A new look at the Franciscans' beginning in Poland], *Nasza przeszłość*, 63 (1985), 5-51; Zwiercan, „Franciszkanie w Krakowie” [Franciscans in Cracow], *W nurcie franciszkańskim*, 1 (1987), 19-23; similar opinion in Zdzisław Gogola, „Rys historyczny bazyliki Franciszkanów w Krakowie” [Historic outline of the Franciscan Basilica in Cracow], in *Studia z dziejów kościoła Franciszkanów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Unum 2006), 27.

⁷ Zwiercan, Pierwotny kościół.

⁸ „Rocznik Małopolski” [The Annals of Lesser Poland], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 2, ed. Augustyn Bielowski (Lwów 1872), 168.

Boleslaus' burial⁹. Other elements, especially ceramic arcade friezes, seem to be connected with the horizon shortly before the middle of the century (fig. 1)¹⁰. Decoration of the sacristy, stylistically different and usually considered to be the oldest part of the complex, has been compared with the Poor Clares monastery in Prague¹¹. Thus it seems certain that the church was constructed during the independent reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, between 1243 and 1279. This conclusion also harmonizes with the convent tradition considering Boleslaus as the founder and patron; moreover the duke, after his death, was buried right in the Franciscans' choir¹².

Reconstruction of the original church is even more controversial. During the last 150 years scholars proposed various visions of the

⁹ Waldemar Niewalda and Halina Rojkowska, „Średniowieczny kościół franciszkanów w świetle ostatnich badań” [Medieval Franciscan church in light of the latest research], in *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, ed. Krzysztof Ożóg, Tomasz Gałuszka (Kraków: Espirit 2008), 289.

¹⁰ Such kind of frieze was common in early brick architecture in Lesser Poland (Cistercian church in Mogiła, Premonstratensian church in Cracow, Dominican church in Sandomierz), Silesia (St. Giles church in Wrocław, parish church in Środa Śląska-Probostwo) and Central Poland (Strońsk). The Dominicans usually used a more elaborate version of the frieze with pearl ornament on the arcades and reversed fleurs-de-lis in the lower part (see Marcin Szymba, “Fryzy z motywem lilii w kościołach dominikańskich w Polsce” [Friezes with fleurs-de-lis motive in the Dominican Churches in Poland], *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 72 (2004), 3, 95 – 108.

¹¹ Tomasz Węclawowicz, *Cocto latere nobilitavit: O ceglanych murach kościołów średniowiecznego Krakowa* [On the Brick Walls of Medieval Churches in Cracow] (Kraków: Krakowskie Towarzystwo Edukacyjne 2013), 97.

¹² Boleslaus' grave was never discovered. The oldest source speaking about his burial is so called *Dzierzwa's Chronicle*, probably written by Franciscan friar from Cracow monastery in early 14th century. According to its text Boleslaus was buried 'in choro fratrum Minorum ante maius altare'; *Kronika Dzierzwy*, ed. Krzysztof Pawłowski, (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 2013), 82; see also Wojciech Drelicharz, “Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik”, *Questiones Medii Aevii Novae*, 8 (2003): *Intellectual Millieu*, 231-288.

church, which was extended several times, especially at the end of the 13th century and during the 15th century. Since the first 19th century study by Józef Kremer the form of the original church had been considered to be based on a Greek cross plan, with chancel, nave and transepts each composed of a single square bay, with another crossing bay in the center (fig. 2-3)¹³. According to some researchers this form was extended with the long nave with one asymmetrical aisle around the end of the 13th century¹⁴. A new polygonal apse was added to the chancel in the 15th century, however the cross shape of the oldest part is still readable. Nevertheless, some scholars presented different visions - especially Tomasz Węclawowicz and Andrzej Włodarek, who proved that the long nave is an original element. In their opinion at first the church was composed of a single, three bays long choir and a long nave with an aisle. In the second phase, related to the arranging of Boleslaus' mausoleum, side annexes of transepts were added in the middle of the choir¹⁵. Either

¹³ Józef Kremer, *Podróż do Włoch*, [The Journey to Italy, vol. 2 (Wilno: Józef Zawadzki 1859), 72-73, note without number.

¹⁴ Marcin Szyma supposed that extension of the church had been carried out during the Bohemian king Venceslaus II's reign in Lesser Poland; this way the church had been prepared to be used by another convent - Poor Clares which Venceslaus had been going to move from Zawichost (see below in this paper). Szyma considered this action as an attempt to legitimize Venceslaus' authority in Cracow by taking care of Boleslaus' mausoleum; Marcin Szyma, "Kościół Franciszkanów w Krakowie na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku" [Franciscan Church in Cracow circa 1300], in *Artifex Doctus: Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Gadomskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, vol. 1 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 2007), 253-260.

¹⁵ Tomasz Węclawowicz and Andrzej Włodarek, „Krakowski kościół oo. Franciszkanów w wieku XIII” [Franciscan Church in Cracow in the 13th Century], *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych Krakowskiego Oddziału PAN*, 33/2 (1989), 329-331; Węclawowicz and Włodarek, „Kościół św. Franciszka i klasztor oo. Franciszkanów” [Church of St. Francis and the Franciscan Monastery], in *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, ed. Teresa Mroczo and Marian Arszynski, (Warszawa: DiG 1995), 129-130; Węclawowicz and Włodarek, “Architektura krakowskiego kościoła

way, after recent architectural research carried out by Niewalda and Rojkowska, it is virtually incontestable, that the whole eastern section of the church, which forms a shape of a Greek cross, had been its oldest part, and the longitudinal nave was added somewhat later¹⁶. Nevertheless the question whether this newer part of the church had been planned from the beginning remains open. If not, the original Franciscan church in Cracow was in fact the only mendicant church based on a central plan.

This unique form caused many troubles for the scholars. It was present in several central Gothic churches - for example the Teutonic Order church in Prejmer (Ger. Tartlau), Our Lady church in Trier or the parish church in Bolków (Ger. Bolkenhain), but its interpretation is different for every case¹⁷. Szczęsny Skibiński recognized that the church had been designed from the beginning as a ducal mausoleum and the Greek cross plan was a memorial contents expression. He observed patterns suggesting such a solution in the late Antique and early Christian burial and memorial architecture, including

Franciszkanów w wieku XIII. Problemy i hipotezy badawcze, proponowane rekonstrukcje” [The architecture of Franciscan Church in Cracow in 13th Century: Problems and Research Hypothesis, Proposed Reconstructions], in *Studia z dziejów kościoła Franciszkanów*, 45-80; Węclawowicz, *Cocto latere*, 93-108; similar opinions were presented by Paweł Pencakowski (“Średniowieczna architektura kościoła oo. Franciszkanów w Krakowie” [The Medieval Architecture of Franciscan Church in Cracow], *Rocznik Krakowski*, 56 (1990), 41-63) and Stanisław Pasiciel (“Kościół franciszkański w Krakowie w XIII wieku” [Franciscan Church in Cracow in the 13th century], *Rocznik Krakowski*, 68 (2002), 5-52).

¹⁶ Niewalda and Rojkowska, *Średniowieczny kościół franciszkanów*, 277-283.

¹⁷ Especially the plan of Our Lady church in Trier was interpreted in different ways; Wolfgang Schenkluhn and Peter van Stipelen, „Architektur als Zitat. Die Trierer Liebfrauenkirche in Marburg“, in *700 Jahre Elisabethkirche in Marburg 1283-1983: Die Elisabethkirche: Architektur in der Geschichte*, (Marburg: Elwers 1983), 19-54; Mark C. Schurr, „The Liebfrauenkirche in Trier: Form and Meaning in Early Gothic Architecture in the Holy Roman Empire“, in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity. Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, ed. Zoe Opačić, Achim Timmermann, (Turnhout: Brepols 2011), .111-122.

famous Galia Placidia's Mausoleum in Ravenna and sanctuary of saint Simeon Stilites in Kalaat Semaan¹⁸. Contrary to this thesis, Andrzej Grzybowski demonstrated that cruciform plans were popular in Franciscan architecture in Italy, e. g. Friars Minor churches in Asisi, Pavia and Viterbo. In Grzybowski's opinion the organization of those churches' eastern sections explains the form applied in Cracow well enough, even despite the lack of a long nave¹⁹. On the other hand, a seemingly necessary question arises: what was so special about the convent in Cracow, that it received a unique central form? This issue becomes even more apparent when one considers that all the other earliest mendicant churches in Poland, the Franciscan as well as the Dominican ones (the Friars Minor in Wrocław, Zawichost, Nowy Korczyn and Kalisz, the Dominicans in Kraków, Wrocław, Sandomierz, Sieradz and Poznań) received completely different, quickly unified plan with a long choir and a separate spacious nave²⁰. None of them has a transept. Moreover, the church in Cracow in its Greek cross shape would be the smallest of them. Thus it is highly probable, that from the very beginning the church had been designed to be composed of both, the cross-shaped eastern part and the long nave, but the second part was erected after a hiatus, perhaps connected with Boleslaus' death. In any case, the Cracow friary should be considered as a typical royal monastery founded by the ruler as a place of his eternal rest. In Lesser Poland such a foundation was a new idea. Boleslaus' predecessors did not take similar

¹⁸ Szczęsny Skibiński, *Pierwotny kościół Franciszkanów w Krakowie* [The Original Franciscan Church in Cracow], (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza 1977).

¹⁹ Andrzej Grzybowski, „Centralne gotyckie jednonawowe kościoły krzyżowe w Polsce” [The Central Gothic Single-Nave Cross-Shaped Churches in Poland], in Grzybowski, *Między formą a znaczeniem. Studia z ikonografii architektury i rzeźby gotyckiej*, [Warszawa: DiG 1997], 23-24.

²⁰ See Grzybowski, „Early mendicant architecture in Central-Eastern Europe. The present state of research”, *Arte Medievale*, 1 (1983), 135-156; Grzybowski, „Das Problem der Langchöre in Bettelordens-Kirchen im östlichen Mitteleuropa des 13. Jahrhunderts”, *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst*, 13 (1983), 152-168.

actions. His father and grandfather, Leszek the White and Kazimirus the Just both were buried in the Cracow Cathedral²¹. Kazimirus had supported the foundation of the Cistercian monasteries in Sulejów and Koprzywnica, but later none of them played any significant role for him²². It is more striking when one compares Lesser Poland with Silesia and its great series of ducal Cistercian monasteries in Lubiąż (Ger. Leubus), Trzebnica (Trebmitz) and Henryków (Heinrichau)²³, or East Pomerania where duke Sambor I funded a monastery in Oliwa²⁴. In this context Boleslaus' foundation is even more significant – and the Cracow church was only the beginning of his Franciscan foundations.

The Friars Minor and the Poor Clares double monastery in Zawichost

Other Boleslaus' foundations for the Franciscans were not researched as intensively, however at least one of them seems to be equally important. In 1245 Boleslaus' sister Salomea became the first woman in Poland to join the Poor Clares order. Salomea was not only the duke's sister, but also Coloman of Lodomeria's widow, former queen of Halych and the duchess of Slavonia, over 30 years of age at the time. Some time after Coloman's death, during the Mongol invasion in 1241, she took her veil at the

²¹ The only source speaking about Kazimirus the Just's burial in the cathedral is mid-15th c. chronicle by Jan Długosz (*Ioannis Dlugosii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol 6 (Warszawa: PWN 1981), 156); the exact location of the grave is unknown; it was probably destroyed in the 14th century, when the new cathedral was constructed. Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [Genealogy of the first Piasts], (Warszawa-Wrocław: PTPN 1992), 265 considered Długosz's version as highly probable.

²² Józef Dobosz, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego* [Kazimirus the Just's Patronage] (Poznań: Instytut Historii 1995).

²³ Ewa Łużyńska, *Architektura klasztorów cysterskich. Filie lubiąskie i inne cenobia śląskie* [The architecture of Cistercian monasteries. Daughter houses of Lubiąż and other Silesian cenobia], (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Wrocławskiej 2002), *passim*.

²⁴ Dariusz A. Dekanski and Leszek Wetesko, „Oliwa”, in *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, vol. 2, ed. Andrzej Wyrwa et. al. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 1999), 268-269.

Franciscan chapter in Sandomierz²⁵. After that Salomea and Boleslaus founded a monastery in the town of Zawichost located in North-Eastern Lesser Poland, close to the border with Ruthenia and Lithuania. The convent had been first mentioned 1254²⁶, but scholars usually agree that it was founded just after Salomea's accession. In 1255 Boleslaus founded a hospital next to the cloister and endowed it generously²⁷. The nuns stayed in Zawichost only until 1257, when their convent was moved to Prądnik Valley²⁸. Their cloister was taken over by the friars who moved from Sandomierz, although some sources suggest, that a group of friars had been present in Zawichost also before that date. However before 1257 a male monastery was only mentioned once. In 1255 Boleslaus issued a document in Zawichost and its list of witnesses includes Adalbertus, *frater ordinis minorum domus de Zawichost*²⁹. Adalbertus, Salomea's private confessor, was mentioned many times as her companion. Jan Długosz, mid-15th century historian, thought that both monasteries had been created at the same time, but the deserted Clarisian one was destroyed in the early 15th c. along with the hospital³⁰.

What was preserved in Zawichost, is a church with a long rib-vaulted chancel with three bays and a single nave with a flat ceiling, as well as some remains of a single cloister wing within the walls of a later building (fig. 4-6). This wing is connected with the church on the level of choir eastern bay. Józef Jamroz, who researched the cloister and the church during the rebuild after World War II damages, discovered remains of a cloister with the passage to the church and, what is a crucial fact in this context, a longitudinal room situated next to the choir, on its northern side. This room, 6 meters long and 3 wide had

two doors – one leading to the cloisters passage and another to the next chamber in the row, identified as the chapter house. On the opposite side there was no door to the choir, however both spaces were connected by a grilled window. On the southern side of the choir there was a parallel chamber of sacristy, which had no direct passage to the cloister on the north. Jamroz also discovered remains of a massive choir screen separating the nave from the choir (fig. 7)³¹.

Many premises suggest that from the beginning Boleslaus and Salomea were going to found two cloisters in Zawichost – for both the Poor Clares and the Friars Minor. A papal bull containing information about taking over a recently completed monastery by the friars was issued in April 1257³² – one month after Boleslaus' diploma about the translation of the nuns' convent to Prądnik Valley. The founders must have requested the pope's approval much earlier – it is clear if one considers that the papal acceptance of the nuns' transfer was sent in 1260³³, so the whole process took three years. And, as it was already stated, friars *domus de Zawichost* was mentioned just in 1255; both original monasteries were also known to Długosz. Jamroz, referring to the results of his research, suggested that the nuns and the friars were to use the same church. He explained that the nave was intended for secular people, the long choir for the friars and the aforementioned room with the window opened to the choir interior was the nuns' oratory. Jamroz believed that the primary male cloister was situated on the southern side of the church and connected with the sacristy³⁴. It was demolished, along with the hospital building, in the early 15th century. Długosz claimed that the separate nuns' church had also been destroyed at that time³⁵. In his narration that church was

²⁵ See note 8.

²⁶ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski* [The Diplomatic Codex of Lesser Poland; further referred to as KDM], vol. 2 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności 1886), no. 444.

²⁷ KDM, vol. 1, (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności 1876), no. 446.

²⁸ KDM, vol. 1, no. 57.

²⁹ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Katedry Krakowskiej* [The Diplomatic Codex of Cracow Cathedral], (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności 1874), no 43.

³⁰ See note 35.

³¹ Józef Jamroz, „Kościół pofranciszkański w Zawichoście” [The Former Franciscan Church in Zawichost], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 10 (1948), 185-230.

³² *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1 (Rzym and Lublin: École française de Rome 1982), no. 641b.

³³ KDM, vol. 1, no. 54.

³⁴ Jamroz, *Kościół pofranciszkański*, 222.

³⁵ Długosz claimed that the nuns' church and monastery, which had been earlier damaged by Mongolians and Lithuanians, were eventually

dedicated to saint Elisabeth, but such *patrocinium* is unknown in older sources; own diplomas call the nunnery 'monastery of saint Damien order', keeping quiet about the church. What is also important, this theory explains the church's plan with a spacious, long choir, typical for male mendicant churches in Central Europe, e.g. the oldest group of Dominican churches in Poland (Poznań, Sieradz, Wrocław). Moreover, the church in Zawichost was constructed on almost the same plan as another friars' church founded by Boleslaus in Nowy Korczyn, which took place a short time later³⁶. According to this theory the church must have been mostly completed in 1257, only 12 years after establishing the convent³⁷. In 1258 Boleslaus and Salomea's

demolished in 1412 by voivode (palatinus) Michał of Czyżów, who took the stone to built his castle. Joannis Długosz, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis, ed. Alexander Przewdziecki, vol. 3: *Monasteria* (Cracoviae: Typographia Kirchmajeriana 1864), 309-310.

³⁶ Józef Frazik, „Kościół i klasztor Franciszkanów w Nowym Korczynie” [The Franciscan Church and Monastery in Nowy Korczyn], in *Symbolae Historiae Artium: Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane*, (Warszawa: PWN 1986), 235-256; Paweł Pencakowski, „Sanktuaria minoryckie w Zawichoście i Nowym Korczynie. Dwie fundacje związane z księciem Bolesławem Wstydlwym i jego rodziną” [Friars Minor's Sanctuaries in Zawichost and Nowy Korczyn: Two Foundations connected with Boleslaus the Chaste and his Family], *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 37 (1992), 133-143.

³⁷ Maria Pietrusińska, „Zawichost: Kościół i klasztor Klarysek i Franciszkanów” [catalogue entry], in: *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do chyłku XIII wieku* [Polish Art: Preromanesque and Romanesque Art Until the End of the 13th Century], vol. 2: Katalog i bibliografia zabytków (Warszawa: PWN 1971), 787-788. Such interpretation was accepted also by authors, who did not believe in existence of a double monastery or did not voiced this question; e.g. Grzybowski, *Gotycka architektura murowana w Polsce* [Stone Gothic Architecture in Poland] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2014), 38, 39. On the other hand, Pencakowski (Sanktuaria minoryckie, 121-127) thought that Długosz was right about the existence of two separate churches, including the Clarisian one, destroyed in the 15th century. In his interpretation the preserved church was always used by friars only and had been raised in

mother, duchess Grzymisława was buried in the Zawichost church³⁸, but it is impossible to determine, whether or not it is a trace of a wider dynastic necropolis conception.

Jamroz's interpretation seems convincing. On the other hand, he states that Boleslaus and Salomea founded a double Franciscan monastery, which was an absolutely singular act, especially in the middle of the 13th century. However, since that time, no-one noticed that such manner of foundation has a very clear precedent, which is also one of the most important royal cloisters in Europe.

Not later than in 1231 Agnes of Prague and king Wenceslaus I, children of the Bohemian king Premysl Ottokar I, established a house of Poor Clares in Prague, which was the first one in Central Europe. The first nuns came from Italy, but shortly (in 1234) some girls of noble families and Agnes herself joined the order as well. At first there had only been a female cloister connected with the hospital, but after 1237 a male cloister was added. In its final form, completed circa 1245, the whole complex consisted of a church with one asymmetrical aisle and a long choir³⁹. Female cloister was situated on its northern side, with the

two phases; originally the whole church had only consisted of the present nave and the long choir was added after 1257 on the occasion of the funeral. The premise was the alleged stylistic difference between simple, vault-less and devoid of any decoration nave and the rich, vaulted choir, but he noted that both parts of the church are bounded and built with the same bricks. However, such a 'difference' was typical and common for mendicant churches, where choir was a space for the friars, while secular people could only enter the nave; comp. Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden: Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag 200), passim. Moreover, during the 13th century both the Franciscans (on general chapter in 1260) and the Dominicans formulated a number of rules about the appearance of churches, including a ban on vaulting the church, except for the presbitery; see Richard A. Sundt, “*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*”: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46, (1987), 394-407.

³⁸ *Rocznik Małopolski*, 169.

³⁹ Soukupová, *Anežský klášter*, passim.

nuns' oratory on the tribune inside the nave and an additional Virgin Mary chapel constructed along the presbytery, connected with Agnes' private oratory (fig. 8)⁴⁰. The friars' cloister had been located on the southern side of the church. In this layout especially the location of Agnes' oratory is striking. As it was demonstrated by Caroline Bruzelius, in the first period of the Order's history and particularly before the translation of the Assisi convent from San Damiano church to Santa Chiara, there was no one pattern of nuns' oratory position⁴¹. Many of the first convents were located in preexisting buildings and their functional plans had to be adapted to their layouts. Moreover, even later the communication between convents was limited and there were no widely followed patterns. This way, if Jamroz's reconstruction is correct, on a basic level the monastery in Zawichost was more than similar to the Prague one, with a big church with a long choir in the center, nuns' cloister on the northern side and friars' cloister on the southern side. In both complexes a hospital, endowed in place of the nunnery⁴², was an important part. Also the uncommon location of

the oratory on the north side of the choir is analogous, although in Prague it was position of exclusive space for Agnes, not for all the nuns. Such placement of the oratory seems to be useful for the Clares; window situated close to the altar made the liturgy audible for them. But most importantly, in both cases, the Prague and the Zawichost foundations, the personal context was the same – in both examples a ruler founded a double Franciscan monastery for his sister who joined the Poor Clares.

The Prague convent quickly became a true royal monastery. It was founded as a royal mausoleum, but during the following decades its significance increased even more. The monastery became a kind of a symbol of the Premyslid dynasty. As it was demonstrated by Helena Soukupová, the successors of Venceslaus I, Premysl Ottokar II and Venceslaus II, consistently founded double Franciscan monasteries in those towns where they gained direct rule. It seems that the double monasteries in Cheb, Znojmo and Opava were treated as symbols of Premyslids' domination just because of their similarity to the royal monastery in the capital city⁴³. This political aspect, however, cannot be the key to understanding the meaning of Zawichost monastery. Theoretically it could be a manifestation of a political alliance with Premyslids, but such an alliance did not exist. Boleslaus was keeping close relations with Hungary and the Arpads which had been established by his father. They dominated his politics, but also had a more personal level. He married the daughter of king Bela IV - Kunegund. And even before that Salomea had been Coloman's wife. In this context it is surprising that they chose Bohemian, not Hungarian pattern. It should be mentioned at this point that the extension of Prague monastery was completed in 1245. In the same year Salomea received her veil during the chapter of Bohemian-Polish province in Sandomierz, and the person who gave her nun's cloth was the Provincial Superior

⁴⁰ The functional plan of the extended monastery was reconstructed this way by Soukupová, who discarded older theory which considered Virgin Mary chapel as nuns' oratory. However it was indicated by Carola Jäggi (*Frauenklöster im Spätmittelalter. Die Kirchen der Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag 2006) 202-203) that Soukupová's interpretation is doubtful.

⁴¹ Caroline Bruzelius, „Hearing is Believing: Clarissan Architecture, ca. 1213-1340”, *Gesta* 31 (1992), no. 2: *Monastic Architecture for Women*, 83-91; Bruzelius, „Nuns in Space: Strict Enclosure and the Architecture of the Clarisses in the Thirteenth Century”, in *Clare of Assisi: A Medieval and Modern Woman*, ed. Ingrid Petersen, (New York: Franciscan Institute 1996), 53-73.

⁴² It was noticed early, that the hospital's income was in fact being collected by the convent, which at that period was not allowed to possess its own property (especially Janina Stoksik, „Powstanie i późniejszy rozwój uposażenia klasztoru Klarysek w Krakowie w XIII I XIV wieku” [Establishing and Later Development of the Clarissan Convent in Cracow's Funding], *Rocznik Krakowski*, 35 (1961), 94); Jamroz (Kościół pofranciszkański, xx) noted that this solution was similar to the Prague one.

⁴³ Helena Soukupová-Benáková, „Premylovské mauzoleum v klásterě blahoslavené Anezky na Frantisku”, *Umění* 24 (1976), 193; Carola Jäggi, *Frauenklöster im Spätmittelalter*, 110-111.

Remundus⁴⁴. Boleslaus and Cracow bishop Prandota were present and some delegation of Bohemian friars must have been there too. Even if the concept of the Prague monastery was not translated this way, it was probably well known as an attractive pattern of royal Franciscan monastery; it was more clear because of the parallel relation between the both rulers and their sisters as well as a suitable frame for piety of highborn women.

What should be stressed is the fact that the similarity to the Prague monastery is limited only to the plan and function. It is enough to treat Zawichost as an 'iconographic copy' as it was defined by Richard Krautheimer⁴⁵. On the other hand, this does not indicate any strictly artistic connections. Contrary, heavy, multiplied composite shafts with massive frontal half-columns with bell capitals covered by huge impost blocks, as well as a vault supported by prominent transverse arches and mixed wall boundary with bricks and stone (fig. 5 and 9) have not much in common with far more Gothic forms of the Prague monastery. The style of Zawichost church was compared locally with the Cistercian church in Mogiła near Cracow and in wider context with the Cistercian monastery in Maulbronn, which generally seems accurate⁴⁶.

It should be mentioned that Zawichost was not the only double Franciscan monastery in

the the 13th century Poland. Another one was created in Gniezno. A friary was established in 1259 by duke Boleslaus the Pius, perhaps as his burial place. Shortly after 1280 this monastery was expanded with a nunnery founded by Boleslaus' nephew and successor, Przemysław II⁴⁷. Personal and dynastic connections seem to be decisive again. The most important inhabitant of the new convent was duchess Yolenda, who was Boleslaus the Pius' widow and sister of Kunegund, Boleslaus the Chaste's wife. Disposition of the monastery, with the friary north-east of the church, nunnery in front of its western facade and nuns' oratory in a room along the nave was different; Stanisław Pasiciel suggested disposition of double monastery in Znojmo as its pattern⁴⁸.

Lapis Sanctae Mariae – a new convent in Prądnik Valley

Regardless of its origin, the female convent in Zawichost did not survive. Twelve years after foundation of the monastery and only two after the creation of its hospital, in 1257, Boleslaus moved the nuns to a new location on the top of a high rock in the valley of Prądnik, about 30 kilometers from Cracow. According to the information in translation document and younger Clarissian tradition the reason for this action was the danger of Lithuanian and Mongolian attacks on Zawichost. Although, if that was the case, it is hard to understand why Boleslaus and Salomea did not translate the convent to Cracow or Sandomierz, which were the capitals of his duchies. The chosen location was a secluded place, situated near a significant route from Cracow to Silesia on the bottom of the valley, but far away from any town. Moreover, the convent was situated on a small platform on the peak of a rock, just on the verge of a high cliff, where there was simply no space for a complex that would be in any way comparable to the one in Zawichost (fig 10). Privileges, which Boleslaus granted to the convent, were also unusual. The nuns received a permission to build a castle and locate a town.

⁴⁴ See note 8.

⁴⁵ Richard Krautheimer, „Introduction to an „Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture””, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, (1942), 1-33.

⁴⁶ Scholars, who suggested that churches in Mogiła and Zawichost were constructed by the same workshop are Pencakowski (Sanktuaria minoryckie, 130) and Krystyna Białoskórska, „Le caractère et les idées du décor sculpté architectonique des monastères cisterciens polonais du XIII^e siècle et sa position en regard des traditions et de la spiritualité de l'ordre”, in *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen Age et Temps modernes: Actes du Premier Colloque International du L.A.E.H.C.O.R.*, Wrocław-Książ 30 novembre-4 décembre 1994, vol. 2 (Wrocław: Institut d'Histoire de l'Université de Wrocław 1995), 615-649. Massive, multiplied hanging shafts, very similar to the ones in Zawichost, are present in mid-13th choir of the parish church in Sławków, but different details point rather towards an inspiration than a direct workshop connection.

⁴⁷ See Stanisław Pasiciel, *Zespół klasztorny franciszkanów i klarysek w Gnieźnie* [Franciscan and Poor Clares monastery complex in Gniezno], (Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego 2005), 16-63.

⁴⁸ Pasiciel, *Zespół klasztorny*, p. 100.

In the translation act the new location is described as *locus tuciores* which translates to 'safe' or 'well defensive' place. This care for the nuns' safety however does not explain such extraordinary location outside any town. The answer is probably connected with the name of this place, and the monastery itself. The translation act informs that the new place was popularly called *Scala* which literally means 'the Rock'⁴⁹. This name was adapted by the monastery, called *Lapis Sanctae Mariae* – Rock of Saint Mary. The name was used in all the convent's documents and on its seal. Also the town, to location of which the nuns were entitled and which was finally located in 1267, received the name Skała⁵⁰.

The monastery's name is probably the key to understanding this action. We know several sources informing about Skała castle being raised circa 1228 by Henry the Bearded, the duke of Silesia. Moreover, in 1235 Konrad of Masovia, during the war of Cracow, kidnapped and imprisoned juvenile Boleslaus and his mother. Henry rescued them and gave them a safe shelter right in the castle Skała⁵¹, where they spent four

years while remaining legislatively active; we know a document signed by Boleslaus, written up *in Skała*⁵². Thus it seems that the convent's name being the same as the castle's was not a coincidence.

Alas, the exact location of castle Skała is unclear. It is not even certain how many castles Henry constructed in the valley. Some scholars suppose that the castles of Skała and Przeginia, which are known from several sources, are the same place, but others consider them to be two different structures. It should be also stressed, that castles of Przeginia and Skała were never listed together⁵³. In fact it is unclear what 'Przeginia' meant in this case; contemporary it is the name of a village, but Janusz Kurtyka suggested that until 15th century it could had been used as the name of a whole forest complex north-west of Cracow⁵⁴. This way the possible locations of castle Skała are both, a place called Grodzisko, where convent from Zawichost was moved to, as well as an archaeological site in the village Sułoszowa, situated a few kilometers farther, with some remains of an early castle. Another possible (but

⁴⁹ See note 28; „Hinc est, quod nos Bolezlaus (...) monasterium dicti ordinis per nos olim in Zawichost fundatum et congruis dotatum prouentibus, de conensu Venerabilis patri domini Prandote Cracouiensis episcopi, et baronum terre nostre propter crebros insultus gentilium in **locum tucioem, qui Scala wlgariter dicitur**, duximus transferendum (...) et ceterarum guerrarum emergentes molestias in dicto loco castrum forte edificare valeat (...)”. Original diploma of the act is still possessed by the monastery (since 14th century in Cracow) and dated to 2nd of March 1257. Probably in early 14th century this date had been forged to 1262 (in Latin number MCCLVII “V” was altered to “X”) which was discovered by Bolesław Ulanowski, *O założeniu klasztoru św. Andrzeja w Krakowie i jego najdawniejszych przywilejach* [On Establishing the St. Andrew's Monastery in Cracow and Its Earliest Privileges] (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności 1885, 29-30. Earlier the document was published in KDM with the false date.

⁵⁰ See location act KDM, vol. 1, no 75.

⁵¹ See Benedykt Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit: Politik und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Schlesien* (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag 2011).

⁵² KDM, vol. 2, no 412.

⁵³ Some narrative sources from Lesser Poland – *Annals of Cracow Chapter* („Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej”, in: Monumenta Poloniae Historica (further as MPH) Series Nova, vol V: Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, (Warszawa: PWN 1978), 75) and The Krasiniskis' Annals („Rocznik Krasiniskich”, in MPH, , vol. 3 (Lwów 1878, 132)) and one Silesian – *Compiled Silesian Annals* („Rocznik śląski kompilowany”, in: MPH, vol. 3., 677) mention castle Przeginia and places in its neighborhood a battle between armies of Henry the Bearded and Konrad of Masovia which took place in 1228. Other Silesian sources (“Kronika polska” [The Chronicle of Poland], in MPH, vol. III, 592; “Kronika książąt polskich” [The Chronicle of Polish Dukes], in MPH, vol. III, 485-486) place the same event close to castle *Scala*. Jan Długosz, in his mid-15th century chronicle, connected both versions and wrote about Henry the Bearded's castle situated on the rock called Skała in Przeginia (“...rupis, que dicitur Skała, in Przegina...”); Ioannis Długossi *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, liber quintus, liber sextus (Varsaviae: PWN 1973), 280-281.

⁵⁴ Janusz Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy: Studia z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu* (Kraków: Secesja 1997), 118.

less probable) location is castle Pieskowa Skała situated near Sułoszowa⁵⁵ (fig. 11). Numerous scholars proposed different interpretations. In newer literature two main theories were formulated by Mieczysław Rokosz, who suggested that Henry the Bearded raised two castles – Skała on Grodzisko and Przegonia in Sułoszowa⁵⁶, and Stanisław Kołodziejczak. The latter of these two thought, that there only was one castle in Sułoszowa and in Grodzisko there was no settlement before the Poor Clares' arrival⁵⁷.

On the other hand, latest excavations at

⁵⁵ Pieskowa Skała (at present retaining the form given to it in the 16th century) was identified with *castrum Scala* in early research, however in that time site of Sułoszowa, located c. 300 meters from Pieskowa Skała, was not known yet. Pieskowa Skała was mentioned for first time in 1315 as *Peskenstein*. It seems probable that the castle had functioned in Sułoszowa till the beginning of the 14th century and then was moved to Pieskowa Skała. Stanisław Kołodziejczak, *Średniowieczne budowle obronne na terenie Jury Ojcowskiej w świetle wyników nowszych badań* [Medieval Defensive Structures in the Area of the Ojców Jurassic System], (Ojców: OPN 2006). 31-32 thought that that mention references Sułoszowa too and the castle of Pieskowa Skała was erected in mid-14th c., during the reign of Kazimir the Great.

⁵⁶ Mieczysław Rokosz, „Grodzisko skalskie nad Prądnikiem albo tzw. Pustelnia błogosławionej Salomei w XIII wieku” [Grodzisko of Skała by the River Prądnik or So Called Blessed Salomea's Hermitage in the 13th century], *Prądnik. Prace i Materiały Muzeum im. Prof. Władysława Szafera* 10 (1995), 19-43. Rokosz treated as a proof for preexistence of the castle a phrase from the translation act saying that nuns are allowed to *castrum edificare* (see quotation in note 49). In the scholar's opinion it should be translated as “to reconstruct the castle” and means that the castle had existed earlier, because in different case there would be nothing to reconstruct. However, such translation was criticized by other scholars, who rightly claimed that word “edificare” means “to construct” or “to raise” only and does not suggest existence of any older structures.

⁵⁷ Stanisław Kołodziejczak, *Castrum Skała – zamek księcia śląskiego Henryka Brodatego pod Krakowem* [Castrum Skała – Silesian Duke Henry the Bearded's Castle Near Cracow], in *Kultura średniowiecznego Śląska i Czech*, vol. 2: *Zamek*, ed. Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1996), 101–111; Kołodziejczak, *XIII-wieczne warownie*.

Grodzisko revealed relics of a massive stone building and a wall surrounding the whole plateau, however there are no premises to recognize them as former Henry's castle, or structures raised by nuns⁵⁸. The question of the church is more problematic. Now in Grodzisko there are a small church, a priest's house and some chapels constructed in the late 17th century as Salomea's sanctuary (fig. 10 and 12). Fifty years ago archaeologists excavated parts of foundations beneath the church which were dated to the 13th century⁵⁹. The problem is that those foundations make an outline of a small, single-nave church with a shallow apse; the whole structure was only 9 meters long and 7 wide (fig. 13). It is simply unbelievable that this structure could be the convent church; it had no separated spaces for nuns, priests and secular men, and it is known from several sources that a small group of friars was still present in the convent⁶⁰ and that it was a destination of pilgrimages⁶¹. Thus the excavated church foundations seem to be the remnant of a castle chapel, and this could be treated as evidence for its existence at this location. Another and perhaps more probable possibility is that results of the excavations were misinterpreted, and what was recognized as a medieval wall is simply a foundation of a baroque church. On the

⁵⁸ Witold Domogalla, „Historia i przeobrażenia przestrzenne grodu, zamku i klasztoru ss. Klarysek pod Skałą” [History and Development of the gord, castle and Clarissian Convent near Cracow] (PhD diss., Politechnika Krakowska Kraków 2005).

⁵⁹ The excavations were led by architects Wiktor Zin and Władysław Grabski., who dated the original church to the 11th century (sic!); Władysław Grabski and Wiktor Zin, “Badania nad wczesnośredniowiecznym zespołem w Grodzisku k. Skały” [The Research Into Early Medieval Complex in Grodzisko near Skała], *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń komisji naukowych PAN Oddział Kraków*, 13 (1969), 334-336. Archeologist Andrzej Żaki, who consulted those works, placed the church generally in the 13th century; Andrzej Żaki, *Archeologia Małopolski wczesnośredniowiecznej* [Archeology of Early Medieval Lesser Poland], (Kraków 1974), s. 407-408.

⁶⁰ They were mentioned in several documents, e.g. Salomea's Last Will, set down in 1268 (KDM vol 1., no 76).

⁶¹ In 1267 a papal legate gave an indulgence to pilgrims visiting the convent; KDM, vol 1, no. 73.

other hand, the plateau of Grodzisko rock is so small that it is hard to imagine a bigger convent church in any other part of it.

Nevertheless, some scholars agreed, that Boleslaus moved the monastery to this place, because he had known and remembered this neighborhood and its defensive properties⁶². But it is still not a full explanation of such a decision. So far, no-one tried to view Skała as a kind of a votive foundation, but in my opinion this thesis deserves consideration. Boleslaus wrote nothing about his motives in the translation act, but described this place as safe and easily defended. Another significant fact is its name, the same as the name of the castle which was, at a time, a safe place for Boleslaus himself. The duke's desire to commemorate such a crucial episode from his life would allow to explain the unusual localization. Furthermore that foundation cannot be regarded as successful. Since Salomea's death in 1268 the convent had many troubles. Around 1290 it was robbed and ruined by unknown soldiers and never rebuilt. The convent was eventually translated to Cracow circa 1316, where it remains until this day.

The question of a possible pattern for Skała is still open, however it seems that there was simply no similar solution in Franciscan movement of that time. At this point the Königsfelden monastery near Brugg in Switzerland should be mentioned. This double Franciscan monastery was founded in 1309 by Elisabeth of Carinthia at the place where her husband, German king Albert I was murdered (fig.14)⁶³. This case is quite different than Skała, but it can be viewed as a similar Franciscan foundation in an unusual place, outside of any town, having an extraordinary, strictly votive character.

Conclusion

Boleslaus the Chaste's patronage for the

⁶² Kołodziejski, „Castrum Skala”.

⁶³ Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, “... ein vrowen chloster sande Chlaren orden und ein chloster der minneren Bru(e)der orden...”: Die beiden Konvente in Königsfelden und ihre gemeinsame Nutzung der Kirche,” in *Glas, Malerei, Forschung: Internationale Studien zu Ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft 2004), 151-163.

Friars Minor and the Poor Clares is a part of the great phenomenon of gaining very significant role in Central European monarchies by the Franciscans in the earliest period of their history. Nevertheless, the three foundations analyzed in this paper seem to be unique in the context of the whole region. Especially the cruciform shape of the original Franciscan church in Cracow, which eventually became Boleslaus and Salomea's mausoleum, and the Clarissian hermitage in Prądnik Valley have no direct analogies in monastic architecture of the 13th century. The double monastery in Zawichost has a very close prototype in Prague, but it seems to be a very early transfer of Bohemian idea, which at that time was virtually unknown in other regions.

Perhaps the reasons why those foundations outside Cracow did not survive were just specific features and difficult conditions - the danger of raids in Zawichost and isolation and lack of water in Lapis Sanctae Mariae. In Cracow the idea of close relations between the Franciscans and the court survived longer. The successor of Boleslaus, duke Leszek the Black, had not been a very active patron and mostly supported the Dominicans, whose church he chose as his burial place⁶⁴. At the same time Boleslaus' widow, st. Kunegund of Hungary, founded a new Clarissian nunnery in the town of Stary Sącz (along with a separate Franciscan monastery) and joined it herself⁶⁵. After Boleslaus' death the throne of Cracow became a goal of civil war between the Piasts again, but the dark horse of this conflict was Bohemian king Venceslaus II. After his and his son Vencelsaus III's death Cracow was took over by duke Wladislaus the Short. Some actions taken by Wladislaus should be treated as an attempt at continuing Boleslaus

⁶⁴ Perhaps Leszek founded a new portal and stained glasses for Dominican church in Cracow, see Lech Kalinowski, „Die ältesten Glasgemälde der Dominikanerkirche in Krakau,” in *Bau- und Bildkunst im Spiegel internationaler Forschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Edgar Lehmann Präsident des CVMA Nationalkomitees in der DDR* (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen 1989), 114-124.

⁶⁵ See Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great. Church Architecture in Lesser Poland 1320-1380* (Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu 1985), 88.

the Chaste's patronage. At the beginning of his rule Wladislaus buried his two young, departed sons in a Franciscan church. The Friars Minor also played a significant role in his court. It seems that a number of historiographical works concentrated on Cracow and legitimizing Wladislaus' authority had been ordered by the court and prepared right in the Franciscan monastery⁶⁶. Wladislaus also transferred the Poor Clares to Cracow and gave them St. Andrew church⁶⁷. This action concluded the experimental character of Salomea's convent, at first as a part of a double monastery and as a hermitage after the first translation; since that time the nuns have possessed their own church located near the Franciscan monastery, which is the most common solution. It was also the end of Franciscan episode in the main stream of the Piasts' patronage⁶⁸. In 1320 Wladislaus was crowned in Cracow cathedral as the king of Poland. Since then the cathedral had also been the place of royal burials during the following 400 years, becoming the only truly significant royal church.

⁶⁶ Especially *Dzieżwa's Chronicle* (Kronika Dzieżwy, ed. Krzysztof Pawłowski (Kraków: PAU 2013)) and lost *Annales Polonorum Deperditi*; see Drelicharz, "Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik".

⁶⁷ It is unsure when exactly Poor Clares took over the church, but they already possessed it in 1318 (KDM, vol. 1, no 157).

⁶⁸ Hypothesis by Crossley (*Gothic Architecture*, 88-89) that present convent church in Stary Sącz was erected after 1320 by the workshop of Cracow cathedral on initiative of Wladislaus the Short or his wife Hedwig is tempting but have no good justification in sources.

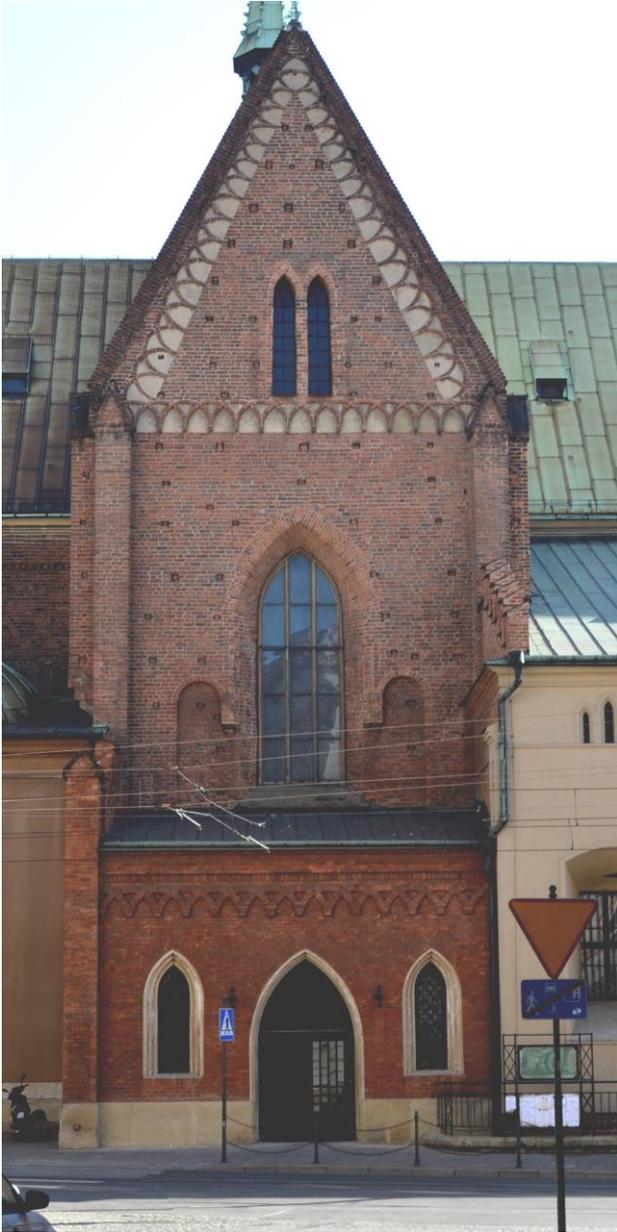


Fig. 1. Cracow, Franciscan church, facade of the north transept. Photo by author.

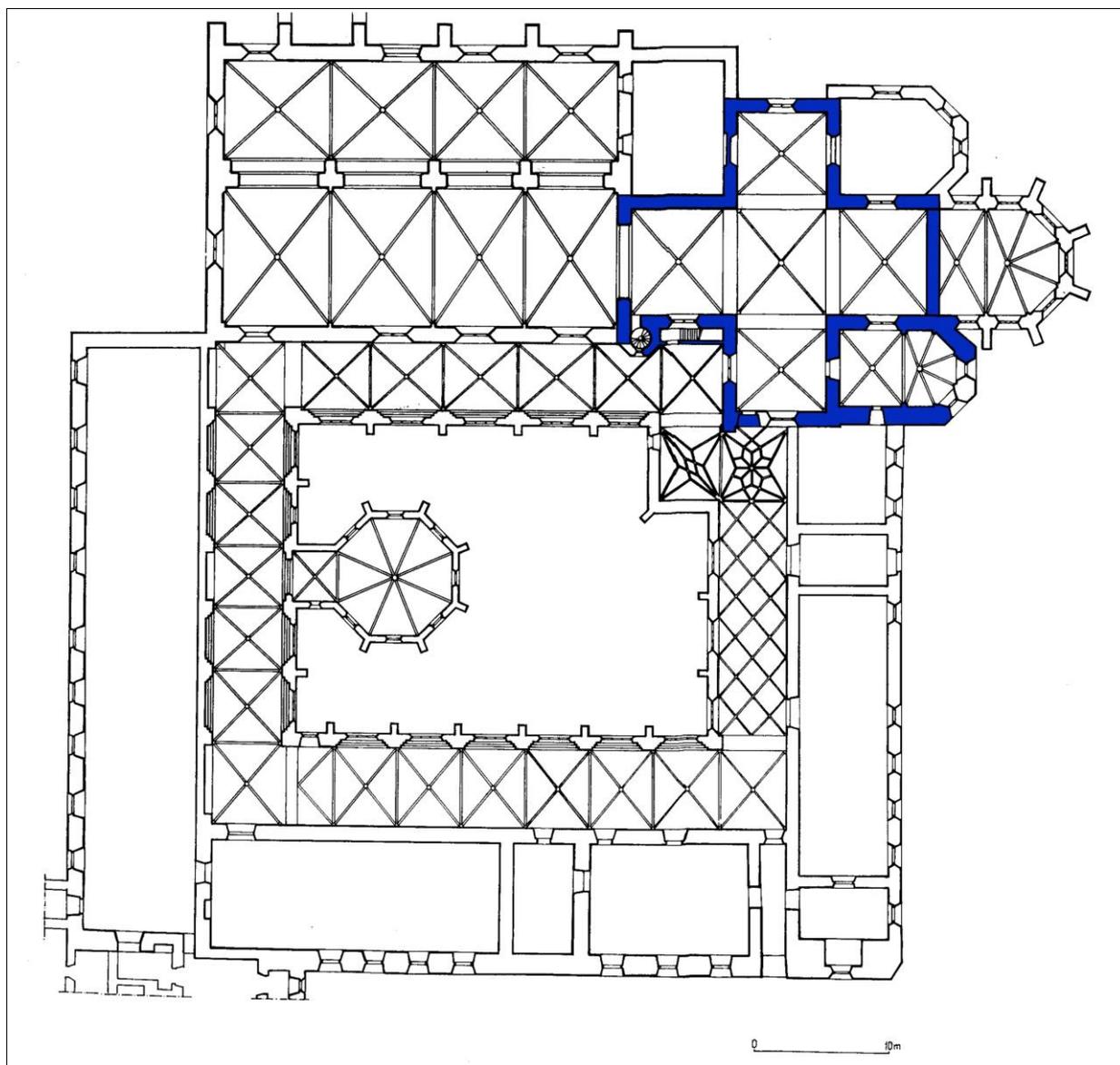


Fig. 2. Cracow, Franciscan monastery; after *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: PAN 1995), fig. 208; the oldest part of the church marked blue.



Fig. 3. Cracow, Franciscan church, facade of the north transept. Photo by author.



Fig. 4. Zawichost, former Franciscan and Clarisian church, east wall of the choir and cloister wing.
Photo by author.



Fig. 5. Zawichost, former Franciscan and Clarisian church, interior of the choir. Photo by author.

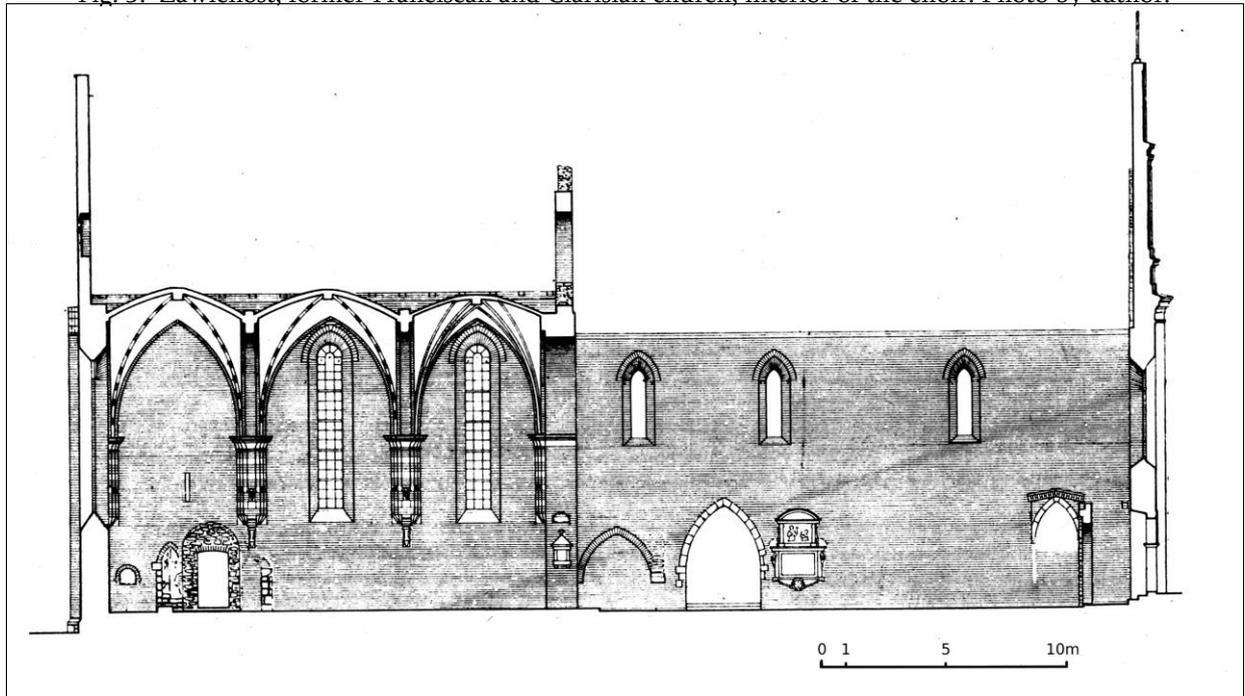


Fig. 6. Zawichost, former Franciscan and Clarisian church, longitudinal section after Jamroz, "Kościół pofranciszkański", 216, fig. 98.

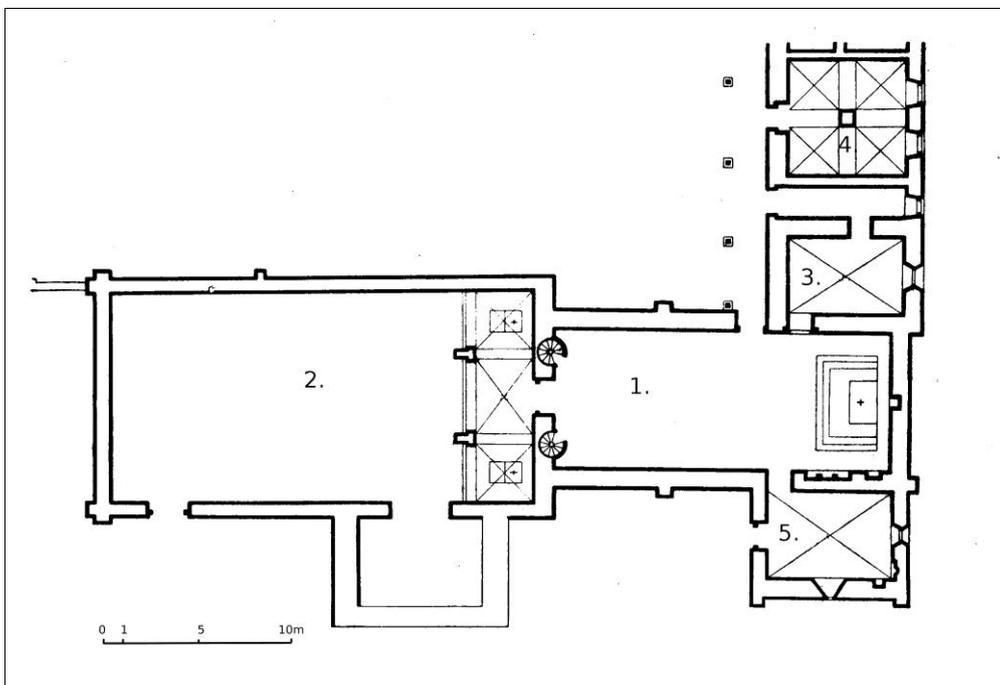


Fig. 7. Zawichost, former Franciscan and Clarisian church, reconstruction of the original ground plan after Jamroz, "Kościół pofranciszkański", 217, fig. 99; 1. Friars' choir; 2. Nave; 3. Nuns' oratory; 4. Nuns' chapter house; 5. sacristy.

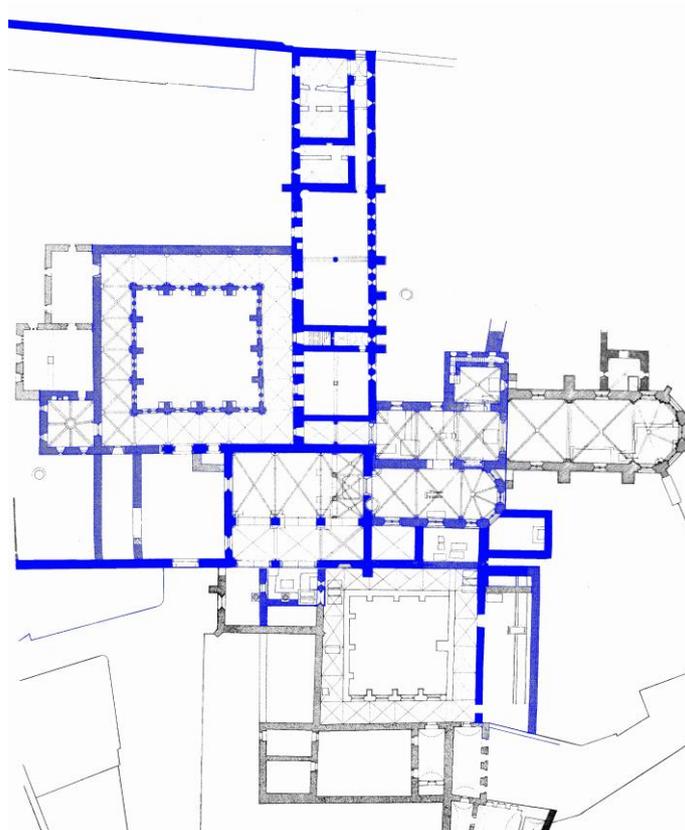


Fig. 8. Prague, Franciscan and Clarisian monastery, ground plan after. Soukupová, *Anežský klášter*, 24, fig. 2; structures erected before 1245 marked blue.



Fig. 9. Zawichost, former Franciscan and Clarisian church, the shaft in the choir. Photo by author.

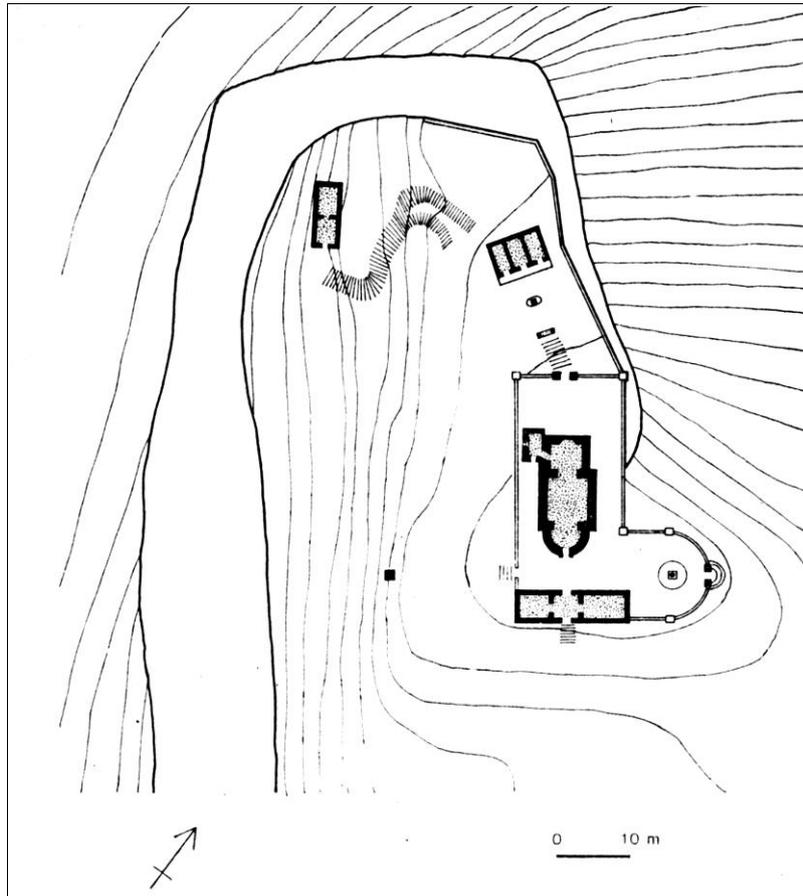


Fig. 10. Grodzisko near Skała, contemporary ground plan after Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura Polska XVII wieku* (Warszawa: PWN 1980), 417, fig. 167.



Fig. 11. Deployment of the castles in Prądnik near Skała. Drawing by Piotr Knapik.



Fig. 12. A church in Grodzisko, contemporary view. Photo by author.

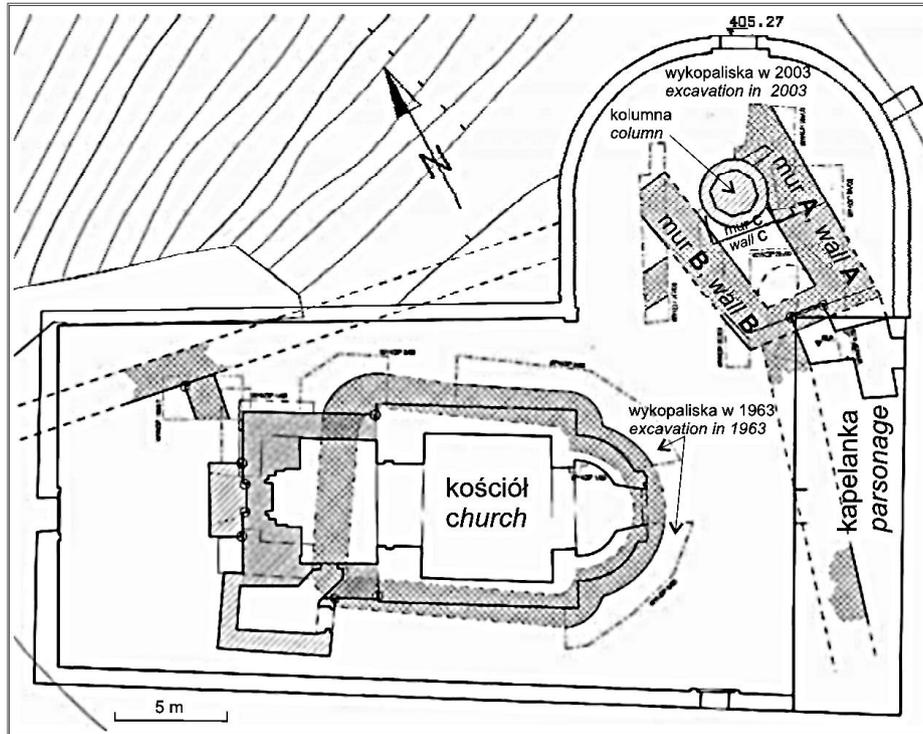


Fig. 13. Medieval structures discovered in Grodzisko during the excavations after Witold Domogalla and Włodzimierz Mościcki, “Application of geophysical resistivity methods to recognition of anthropogenic morphology – a case history of the Blessed Salomea castle in Grodzisko near Skała (Małopolska province, south Poland)”, *Geologia*, 32 (2006), 415, fig. 7.

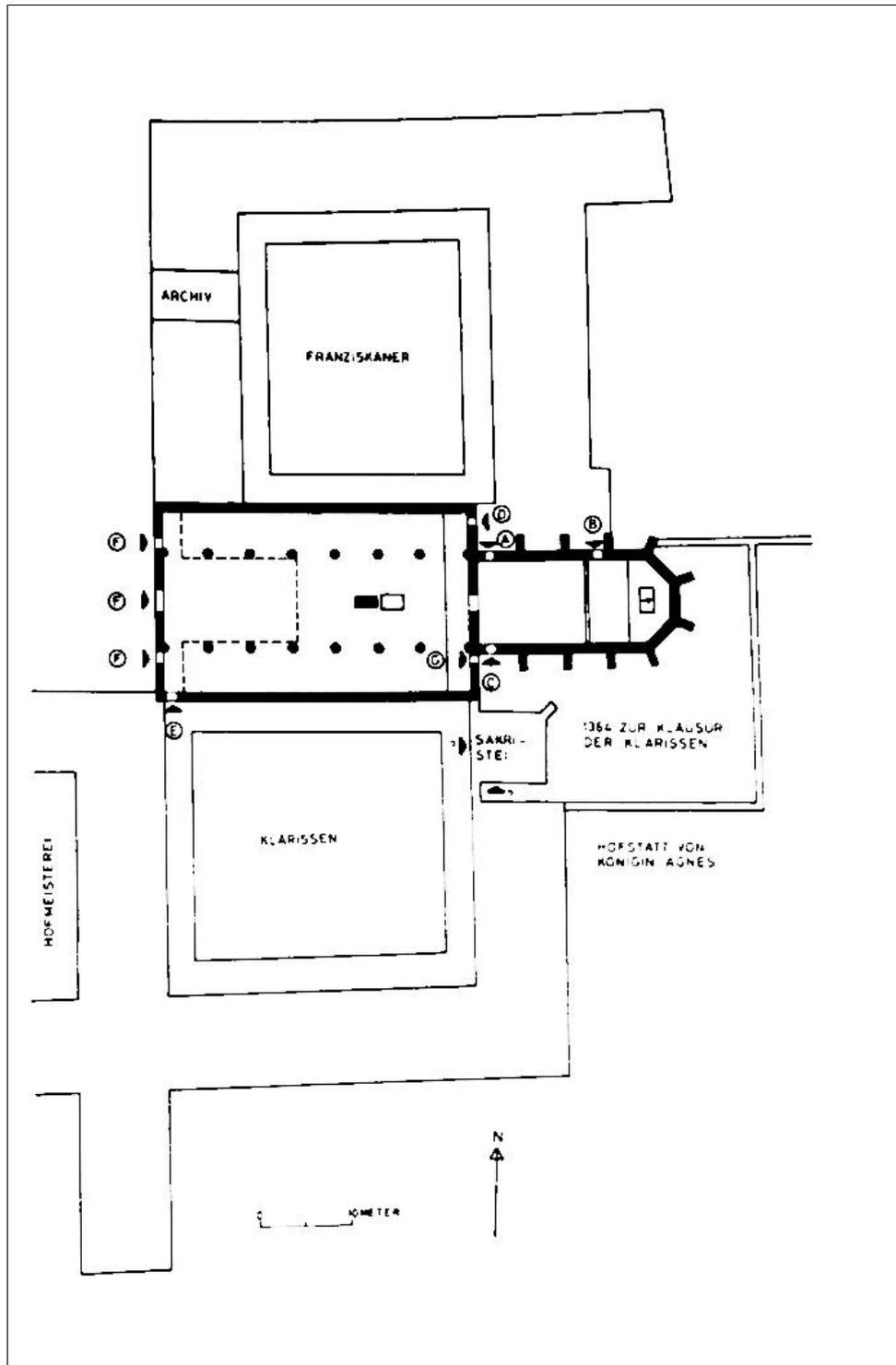


Fig. 14. Königsfelden, Franciscan and Clarisan monastery, reconstitution after Kurmann-Schwarz, „... ein vrowen chloster“, 153, fig. 1.