Picturing continuity. The beginnings of the portrait gallery of Cracow bishops in the cloisters of the Franciscan friary in Cracow*

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski and Marek Walczak

One of the classic problems in the research on early modern portraiture is that of 'group portrait'. Recently, it has been given a comprehensive treatment by Andrea von Hülsen-Esch.[1] The scholar has shown a multiplicity of 'corporations' whose members had their portraits painted in which the association of sitters was emphasised not only by their shared presence in the picture but also by multiplied compositional scheme, similar dress or attributes of various kinds. Another type of 'group' portraits are likenesses of people connected by blood, holding the same position or representing the same office, shown next to one another, in chronological order. Similarly arranged were portraits of benefactors or people sharing the same values or exhibiting similar virtues (e.g. the cycles of *uomini famosi*). Such portrait galleries, which usually displayed a high degree of uniformity and disregarded the chronological and spatial accuracy, are examples of commemorative paintings. Their primary purpose was to emphasise the lineage and create a picture of unity by similtaneously showing, as a 'family' and 'house' (Ger. *Haus*), people who lived in various times, but were united by heredity or succession.[2] This problem has recently received an extensive treatment by Truus van Bueren and Otto Gerhard Oexle who based their research on the three fundamental concepts of *Tradition*, *Sukzession,* and *Memoria*.[3]

   In the case of portraits of Catholic clergy, a key role is played by the notion of the Apostolic succession which has guaranteed the continuity in the Church since the times of Christ. Among various patterns of representing this idea in art, of particular importance is the scheme of chronologically arranged likenesses based on

[1] Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild: Repräsentation, Darstellung und Wahrnehmung einer sozialen Gruppe im Mittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 201), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, passim; eadem, *Gelehrte in Gruppen, oder: das Gruppenporträt vor der Erfindung des Gruppenporträts*, [in:] Martin Büchsel, Peter Schmidt, eds, *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts,* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern,2003, 173.

[2] Ursula Nilgen, *Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit. Königs- und Bischofsreihen in der Kunstpropaganda des Hochmittelalters*, [in:] Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein, Willibald Sauerländer, eds, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag,* München: Prestel Verlag 1985, 217-234.

[3] The fullest account of the traditions and conventions of picturing 'succession' is given by Truus van Bueren, Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Das Imaginarium der Sukzession: Über Sukzessionsbilder und ihren Kontext*, [in:] Truus van Bueren, Andrea van Leerdam, eds, *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages,* Turnhout: Brepols 2005, 55-77.

the set of 42 *imagines clipeatae* with portrait busts of the successive Bishops of Rome initiated by Pope Leo I the Great (440–460) in the nave of the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura.[4] From a number of repetitions and continuations of this cycle, a mention should be made of the likenesses of the abbots of the St Georg (Oberzell) Benedictine monastery on Reichenau Island which illustrate the catalogue of abbots compiled at the bequest of abbot Witigowo at the end of the tenth century.[5] Compositional schemes employed in such cycles differed, yet particularly popular were standing figures, as in the portraits of bishops in the apse of S. Apolinare in Classe in Ravenna (546–549),[6] in the Psalter of Egbert of Trier (977–993) at Cividale (Museo Archeologico),[7] on the piers of the church of St Hilaire at Poitiers (11th c.),[8] in the transept of Merseburg Cathedral (c. 1505),[9] or in the chancel of Kwidzyn (Marienweder) Cathedral (beginning of the 16th c.).[10] A particular feature shared by this kind of portrait groups was the fact that they were created in a number of stages. At the moment of institution, they were usually subject to certain previously established scheme, but with time, as the set was augmented (continued), the scheme were often adjusted to the current needs. For instance, in the *Pontifikale Gundekarianum* from 1071 (Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Codex B 4), the oldest part of bishops' images showed them below triangular arcades, while the continuation carried on until 1697 employed different kinds of compositional schemes. Although in many instances a figure of a hierarch within an arcade was kept, also extensive narrative solutions were used, which showed hierarchs seated on the throne, and the end of the Middle Ages saw the introduction of full-page compositions showing bishops celebrating liturgy.[11] In the collection of likenesses of bishops of Eichstätt, made up of a series of copperplate engravings by Andreas and Engelhard Nunzer,

[4] Lucien De Bruyne, *L'antica serie dei ritratti papali della basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura*, Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934, passim; Gerhart Ladner, *I ritratti dei Papi nell' antichità e nel medioevo*, Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1941, 1 vol., 39-59; Maria Andaloro, *Vom Porträt zur Ikone*, [in:] Maria Andaloro, Serena Romano, eds., *Römisches Mittelalter. Kunst und Kultur in Rom von der Spätantike bis Giotto*, Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2002, 33-37, esp. 37.

[5] Van Bueren, Gerhard Oexle, *Das Imaginarium*, 59, ill. 22.

[6] Clementina Rizzardi, *Le immagini musive dei vescovi di Ravenna dal tardoantico all'altomedioevo*

[7] Heinrich V. Sauerland, Arthur Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier*, Textband, Tafelband,, Trier 1901; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study*, 2 vol. (*Books*), London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1991, 63, tabl. XXIII-IV.

[8] Magdalena Carrasco, 'Spirituality and Historicity in Pictorial Hagiography: Two Miracles by St. Albinus of Angers', *Art History*, 12, January 1989, 3, n. 27.

[9] *Thilo von Trotha: Merseburgs legendärer Kirchenfürst*, Merseburger Dom und Kulturhistorisches Museum Schloss Merseburg, 10. August bis 02. November 2014, Ausstellungskatalog, Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2014, 225-228, cat. V.4.

[10] Liliana Krantz-Domasłowska, *Katedra w Kwidzynie*, Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1999, 86-87; Ignacy Najmowicz, 'Kościół konkatedralny w Kwidzynie', *Studia Włocławskie*, 14, 2012, 505.

[11] H. Hauke, *Der Liber pontificalis Gundekars II. Beschreibung der Handschrift*, in: Andreas Bauch, Ernst Reiter, eds. *Das Pontifikale Gundekarianum: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex B 4 im Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt. Kommentarband*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag 1987, 25-38.

from 1697, a completely different, portrait-bust scheme was employed.[12] The universality of the phenomenon stops us from quoting other examples here. Not just the popularity of cycles is so interesting, but the coexistence within them of the phenomena of tradition and innovation and their role in the legitimacy of local episcopal authority.

In the east and south wings of the cloister of the Franciscan friary in Cracow there once was a (partially surviving) group of likenesses of bishops, initiated in the 1430s by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, then ordinary bishop of Cracow, 1323–1455 (Figs 1-3).[13] The Franciscan collection of portraits likely showed all of Oleśnicki's predecessors seated next to one another on stone benches, dressed in pontifical garb and identified by means of coats of arms. A large number of these likenesses is known to us only thanks to their description made by Fr. Donato Caputo, the Provincial of the Polish Franciscan province, in 1597.[14] He saw the images of 27 of Oleśnicki's predecessors, starting with Rachelin (1030/1032 – c. 1046), who in the oldest catalogues of Cracow bishops was mentioned on the fifth, sixth or seventh place.[15] It can be therefore assumed that the portraits of the oldest hierarchs had not been extant at that time. Luckily, in the south wing of the cloister there survive images of seven bishops who are shown facing one another, in groups, as if engaged in a mute conversation. The arrangement of portraits was separated by images of saints, including St Stanislaus of Szczepanów, the patron saint of Polish Kingdom and the Diocese of Cracow, the only local hierarch who was sanctified (the not surviving painting was originally located in the middle bay of the east wing), and St Adalbert, Bishop of Prague and Apostle of the Prussians, who since the tenth century has been the major patron saint of Poland (remnants of the image surviving

[12] http://www.deutschefotothek.de/documents/obj/71260441; http://www.bildindex.de/obj35025931.html#|0; http://www.virtuelles-kupferstichkabinett.de/index.php?selTab=3&currentWerk=25429&PHPSESSID=rzbhaxqy&PHPSESSID=rzbhaxqy.

[13] Helena Małkiewiczówna, 'Średniowieczne wizerunki biskupów krakowskich w krużgankach franciszkańskich w Krakowie', *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, 21/2, 1980, 85-87; Marian Kornecki, Helena Małkiewiczówna, *Małopolska*, [in:] Jerzy Domasłowski, Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, Marian Kornecki, Helena Małkiewiczówna, *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza 1984, 25-26, 47-48, 76, 201, ill. 29; Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Malarstwo ścienne w Polsce*, [in:] *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, Adam S. Labuda, Krystyna Secomska, eds, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004, 1 vol, 103, 106; 2 vol. 2, 60-61 (Helena Małkiewiczówna); 3 vol., ill. 122-123.

[14] Cracow, Archive of the Polish Franciscan Province, *Visitatio totius Provinciae Maioris et Minoris Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, Russiae etc. Incepta per Revereudnum Patrem Magistrum Joannem Donatum Caputum a Cupertino Artium et Sacrae Theologiae Doctorem eiusdem Provinciae Provincialem ac Comissarium Generalem. Anno Domini 159sexto. Die 5 Decembris usque ad Annum 159octavum*, s. 8r-9v.

[15] Józef Szymański (eds.), *Catalogi episcoporum cracoviensium*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova*, t. X, fasc. 2, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974, 24, 30, 42, 54, 83, 109, 140, 296, 303. In the oldest printed collction of the short *Lives of Cracow Bishops*, Rachelin was mentioned on the sixth place; K. Kącki, *Vitae archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Ecclesiae Cracoviensis*, Cracoviae 1593.

in the middle bay of the south wing).[16] In this wing, over a doorway leading to one of the adjacent rooms, there is also an image of St George slaughtering the dragon, which interrupts the continuity of the gallery (**Fig. 4**). Attempts were made to explain the presence of St George in this place as an allusion to Oleśnicki's auxiliary bishop George, a Franciscan.[17]

The founder of the gallery decided that his predecessors be depicted seated, a pose that was considered to be a privileged one, signified the authority of bishops and their role as teachers. The figures of enthroned bishops form a timeless, 'ideal' congregation of hierarchs of the local ecclesiastical community, as in the images of the bishops of Verdun in *Chronicon episcoporum Verdensium* (Dresden, Landesbibliothek), from c. 1370-1380.[18] This particular, and fairly rare, arrangement of the representation of the Apostolic succession may have been influenced by the fact that the portraits were painted on walls of cloister walks where, according to the monastic tradition, stone benches were often present.[19] The bishops painted on the walls emulate monks or friars sitting in a cloister walk that was used for pious reading (Germ. *Lesegang,* **Fig. 5**). An impressive early fifteenth-century example of such stone benches is the cloister of the Austin Friary at the church of Sts Catherine and Margaret in the Kazimierz district of Cracow (**Fig. 6**).[20] A tradition of depicting a number of enthroned personages – holders of various offices – next to one another, is long, one of earlier examples being the decoration of the tomb-chest of King Casimir the Great in Cracow Cathedral (c. 1370) with figures of men (apparently members of the royal council) seated on cubic-shaped stools shown on the sides of the tomb-chest (**Fig. 7**).[21] A similar solution was employed in the wall paintings in the Great Hall of Karlštejn Castle (*c.* 1356–1357), of which only tracings from the second half of the sixteenth century survive, depicting the lineage of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg.[22] A miniature accompanying Masovian statutes from

[16] *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, vol. 2, 60.

[17] Ibidem.

[18] S. Kemperdick, *Die Miniaturen der Verdener Bischofschronik*, [in:] Thomas Vogtherr, eds., *Chronicon episcoporum Verdensium. Die Chronik der Verdener Bischöfe*, Verden: Landschaftsverband der Ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden, 1998, 24-40.

[19] Rolf Legler, *Der Kreuzgang. Ein Bautypus des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt am Main-Bern-New York-Paris: Peter Lang, 1984, 210; Peter K. Klein, *Zur Einführung: Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, [in:] Peter K. Klein, eds, *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang - Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003, 9-21, ill. 1; Anselme Davril, *Fonctions des cloîtres dans les monastères au Moyen Âge*, [in:] ibidem, 22-26.

[20] Izabela Rejduch-Samkowa, Jan Samek, eds, *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, IV vol. *Miasto Kraków,* IV pt. *Kazimierz i Stradom kościoły i klasztory*, 1, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1987, 116, ill. 57-59. Andrzej Grzybkowski, *Architektura polska około 1400 roku*, [in:] Wojciech Fałkowski, eds, *Polska około roku 1400. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, Warszawa: Neriton, 2001, 103, ill. 10.

[21] Marek Walczak, *The Figures on the Sides of the Tomb-Chest of King Casimir the Great: A Reassessment of the Iconography of the Polish Kingdom Reborn*, [in:] Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei, Tomasz Węcławowicz, eds, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in Cracow and Lesser Poland*, London: Maney Publishing, 2014, 48-75.

[22] Karel Stejskal, 'Die Rekonstruktion des Luxemburger Stammbaums auf Karlstein', *Umění*, 26, 1978, 535-562; Jaromir Homolka, *Umělecká výzdoba paláce a menši věže hradu Karlštejna*, [in:]

1377–1426 in the so-called Świętosławs' Codex (*c.* 1450, Cracow, Czartoryski
Library, ms 1418 IV) depicts the king of Poland and archbishop of Gniezno,
surrounded by dukes and bishops, enthroned and connected by their insignia,
which symbolises the interrelation of the temporal and spiritual powers (**Fig. 8**).[23] As
far as bishops' galleries are concerned, mention should be made of those located in
the chancels of the cathedrals of Freising[24] and Vienna.[25] In both cases the series of
portraits were located in the canons' stalls. The ones in Freising date from 1488 and
show 32 portrait busts, starting with St Corbinian, and are provided with
inscriptions giving the names of bishops and number of years in office (**Fig. 9**).[26] A
similarly conceived gallery was executed (by J. J. Pock and M. Häckl) in the
cathedral of Vienna between 1639 and 1648. In this case, apart from the portraits of
bishops, the stalls featured also the images of the founders of the diocese: Pope Paul
II and Emperor Frederick III. All portrait busts were identified with coats of arms
and appropriate insignia.[27] It is noteworthy that in 1650 this piece of interior
furnishings of the cathedral attracted the attention of Stanisław Oświęcim, a Polish
traveller, who in his diary mentioned, 'new forms cum effigiebus of the bishops of
Vienna and their names'.[28]

Both in Freising and in Vienna, the galleries embodied the idea of 'eternal
sitting' in a liturgical space, among members of the cathedral chapter and the
current head of the diocese, functioning at the same time as perpetual participation

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Jiří Fajt, Jan Royt, eds, *Magister Theodoricus dvorní malíř císaře Karla IV. Umělecká výzdoba
posvátných prostor hradu Karlštejna*, Praha: Národní galerie, 1997, 99-102; Jan Royt, *Středověké
malířství v Čechách*, Praha: Karolinum, 2002, 57; Jiří Fajt, *Karel IV.1316-1378. Od napodobení k
novému císařskému stylu*, [in:] . Jiří Fajt, Barbara Drake Boehm, eds, *Karel IV císař z boží milosti.
Kultura a umění za vlády Lucemburků 1310-1437*, Praha: Academia, 2006, 62, ill. 19, 20.

[23] *Narodziny stolicy. Warszawa w latach 1596-1668*, Warszawa: Arx Regia, 1996, 177-178, cat. I, 3
(J. Nowak), ill. 5.

[24] Bernt Oesterhelt, *Das Chorgestühl von 1488* [in:] Joseph A. Fischer, eds, *Der Freisinger Dom.
Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte. Festschrift zum 1200 jährigen Jubiläum der Translation des Hl.
Korbinian*, Freising: Historischer Verein, 1967, 99-118.

[25] Ernst Klebel, *Das alte Chorgestühl zu St. Stephan in Wien*, Wien: Logos Verlag, 1925; Günther
Buchinger, Gerd Pichler, Sibylle Grün, Ulrike Knall-Braskovsky, Dagmar Redl, Judith
Schöbel, Eckart Vancsa, Margareta Vyoral-Tschapka , *Wien. I. Bezirk – Innere Stadt*, Horn-
Wien: Verlag Berger, 2003 [Dehio Handbuch die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs], 224; *850 Jahre
St. Stephan.Symbol und Mitte in Wien. 226. Sonderausstellung Historisches Museum der Stadt
Wien. Dom- und Metropolitankapitel Wien 24. April bis 31. August 1997. St Stephan, Historisches
Museum der Stadt Wien*, Wien 1997, 220-221, cat. 4.38 (Ingrid Schemper-Sparholz).

[26] These stalls were founded by Bishop Sixtus von Tannberg (d. 1495) who was actively
involved in the reform of his diocese (having summoned three synodes) and of the liturgy
celebrated at the cathedral. His interest in history resulted in the financial support for Veit
Arnpeck working on his *Chronica Baioariorum* (the same author compiled also *Liber de gestis
episcoporum Freisingensium*); Oesterhelt, *Das Chorgestühl*, 99-101; Anton Harrer, *Chorgestühl
der Kathedrale zu Freising. Beitrag zur Kenntniß der Holzschnitzkunst des 15ten Jahrhunderts*,
München: Emil Roller, 1847-1848, 1-3 vols., passim; Anton Landersdorfer, *Sixtus von
Tannberg* [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie* [http://www.deutsche-
biographie.de/pnd129070750.html], 2010, 24 vol., 481-482].

[27] *Wien. I. Bezirk – Innere Stadt*, 224.

[28] *Stanislai Oświęcim diarium 1643-1651*, Cracoviae: Academia Litterarum, 1907, 236.

in the prayers held in the chancel and the liturgy of the mass celebrated at the high altar. Slightly different was the situation in Toledo. In 1509–1511 Cardinal Gonzalo Jimenez de Cisneros commissioned Juan de Borgoña to paint portraits of 32 Toledo bishops in the chapter house of the cathedral (**Fig. 10**).[29] Also in this case the likenesses of dead hierarchs (identified by inscriptions and coats of arms) were placed over seats used by the living people. In this way, an eternal community was created, unified by the common denominator of their service for the local Church and shared history. As in Cracow, all Toledan bishops are dressed in ceremonial pontifical garb (mitres and copes), hold attributes of their office of metropolitan bishops and primates (single or double crosses) as well as symbols of their membership in the College of Cardinals (Roman copes beneath liturgical copes and hats). All of them have been shown in movement; some face one another or the archbishop's throne located in the centre.[30]

The tradition of representing individuals who interact through dialogue reaches back to the art of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and it gained in popularity in the high Middle Ages under the influence of illustrated scholarly treatises.[31] In keeping with the practice of academic disputations, the images counterposed groups of adversaries exchanging arguments, such as those in the English encyclopaedia *Omne Bonum* (London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E, VI, part 1, fol. 50v, third quarter of the 14th century), or in *Li Fet des Romains* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 295, fol. 1r, *c*. 1324–31).[32] One of the most interesting examples can be found in the manuscript of the *Liber de herbis* by Manfredus de Monte Imperiali from the first half of the 14th century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 6823, fol. 2r).[33] The upper part of the page shows unnamed, contemporary

[29] Isabel Mateo Gómez, 'Sugerencias sobre el programa iconográfico de la sala capitular de la Catedral de Toledo', *Archivio español de arte*, 65: 259, 1993, 371-376; Maria José, *Los 'espacios' de la catedral de Toledo y su funcionalidad durante la Edad Media*, [in:] José Carlos Vizuete Mendoza, Julio Martin Sanches, eds, *Sacra loca toletana. Los espacios sagrados en Toledo*, Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008, 249-250. Some informations about that gallery were summarized by Blas Ortiz in his outstanding description of the Toledo's cathedral printed in 1549; Ramon Gonzálvez, Felipe Pereda, eds, *La Catedral de Toledo 1549. Según el Doctor Blas Ortiz, Description Graphica y Elegantissima de la S. Iglesia de Toledo*, Madrid: Antonio Pareja, 1999, 220-223. The Author stress that all of that pictures are posed over the seats for a bishop and canons (*Supra quae, imagines praeteritorum archipraesulum perquam graphice sunt depictae, adeo ut spirare protimus credat is, qui non prius pictas cognoverit*; ibidem, 220).

[30] Especially noteworthy in the context of the Cracow gallery of bishops' portraits is the fact that the Toledo cycle has continued to this day. The lack of space resulted in the newer portraits having been placed on the backs of the chapter house stalls.

[31] W. Artelt, *Die Quellen der mittelalterlichen Dialogdarstellung* (Berlin: Ebering, 1934, passim. Cf. also: Marek Walczak, 'The Figures', 63-66.

[32] Von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild*, figs 8, 60.

[33] Alison Stones, 'Le débat dans la miniature: le cas du Breviculum de Thomas le Myésier', [in:] *Qu'est-ce que nommer? L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique: Actes du colloque du RILMA, Institut Universitaire de France (Paris, INHA, 17–18 octobre 2008)*, ed. Christian Heck, Répertoire iconographique de la Littérature du Moyen Âge (RILMA), 1,

physicians debating the properties of plants, and the lower register famous scholars
of the past with their names in captions: Hippocrates, Galen, Averroes and
Porphyry. Schemes of this type had been widely used and often repeated, as is
testified, for instance, by the manuscript of Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*
from the first half of the 14th century (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 246 inf.,
fol. 51v), in which the busts of as many as seventeen antique writers and scholars
are shown in pairs.[34] A group of French municipal seals requires special
consideration, since to our knowledge they constitute the rare instance of such a
composition's being applied to political iconography. In these works, the concept of
civitas is intended to be conveyed by a group of men who govern the city. Example
are the seals of Peyrusse-le-Roc (before 1243), Saint-Omer (after 1213), and Maurs
(1309) where the obverse illustrates the debating town councillors in pairs facing
one another, and the reverse shows the city walls, symbolizing the municipality.[35]
One also stress the importance of iconography of prince-electors, the highest-
ranking officials of the empire, as in a page in the Codex Balduini, commissioned by
the archbishop of Trier, Baldwin of Luxembourg (Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, *c.*
1320–40). This depicts seven seated prince-electors (six seated in three pairs, with a
seventh turned towards the adjacent pair) who are engaged in discussion and
gesticulating vividly (**Fig. 11**).[36]

Zbigniew Oleśnicki was well-versed in history and the incentive he gave for
drawing up the *Annales incliti Regni Poloniae* – the most extensive and most
important medieval chronicle of Polish Kingdom, written by his long-time secretary,
collaborator and friend, Jan Długosz – is the most remarkable token of his interest in
the past. Nowadays at least five versions of the *Catalogue of Cracow Bishops* are
known, all of which precede the oldest paintings in the Franciscan gallery of
portraits. Długosz also compiled *Vitae episcoporum cracoviensium* (*c.* 1450). In the
account of Donato Caputo, the oldest Cracow hierarchs, Rachelin and Aaron (an
abbot of the Benedictine abbey in Tyniec), were described as *archiepiscopi*,[37] in

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Brepols: Turnhout, 2010 ,195, figs 7, 8; von Hülsen-Esch, *Gelehrte im Bild*, figs 141, 142;
eadem, 'Gelehrte in Gruppen', ill. 7, 8.

[34] Von Hülsen-Esch, 'Gelehrte in Gruppen', 183, ill. 8.

[35] Wolfgang Brückle, *Civitas terrena: Staatsrepräsentation und politischer Aristotelismus in der
französischen Kunst 1270–1380,* Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005**,** 102, ills 42–43**;**
Christoph Winterer, 'An den Anfängen der Stadtsiegel. Das Volk und seine Anführer
zwischen Heiligkeit und feudaler Ordnung', [in:] *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im
Mittelalter: Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, ed. Markus Späth, Sensus: Studien zur
mittelalterlichen Kunst, ed. Ulrich Rehm, Bruno Reudenbach, Barbara Schellewald and Silke
Tammen, 1, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009, 185–208, here 205–06, ills 8a–b; von Hülsen-Esch,
Gelehrte im Bild, 366, n. 49, ills. 235–37.

[36] Matthias Puhle and Claus-Peter Hasse (ed.), *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962
bis 1806: Von Otto dem Grossen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Dresden: Sandstein, 2006, 373–
74, cat. no. V. 5; Michel Margue, Michel Pauly and Wolfgang Schmid, *Der Weg zur
Kaiserkrone: Der Romzug Heinrichs VII. in der Darstellung Erzbischof Balduins von Trier*,
Publications du Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Études Médiévales,
CLUDEM, 24, Trier: Kliomedia 2009, 38–39.

[37] *Visitatio totius Provinciae...*, k. 8r (*Rachelinus Italus, Archiepiscopus Cracoviensis* and *Aaron
Abbas Tinecensis Gallus et Archiepiscopus Cracoviensis*).

keeping with the conviction that appeared in the *Chronicle* by Gallus Anonimus
(*c*. 1112–1116), that at the beginning of her history, Poland had 'two metropolitan
bishops with their subsidiary auxiliary bishops'.[38] What is more, information that
Cracow, next to Gniezno, had been a second metropolitan see in Poland, until the
seventh archbishop, Lambert, ceased to use the title, consistently recurred in the
local historiographic tradition. Bishop Jan Grotowic was said to have received the
privilege of wearing the rationale (**Fig. 12**) as a compensation for Cracow's lost
metropolitan status while sojourning at the court of Pope Benedict XII at Avignon in
1341.[39] The Franciscan gallery, like the successive versions of the *Catalogue of Bishops*,
corroborated the metropolitan origins of Cracow and served as an important tool in
propaganda aimed at restoring the rightful status to the diocese.[40]

There can be no doubt that Oleśnicki considered himself to be the heir to the
accomplishments of all his predecessors[41] and treated their group representation not
only as an illustration of the lineage of diocesan bishops, but also as an eternal
synod in session deliberating over the problems of the Cracow Church. Over a 150
years later, Donato Caputo, in his account of the Franciscan cloister wrote that there
survived *tabula et imagines* […] *omnium episcoporum defunctorum, a quo incipit fides
catholica in regno Poloniae*.[42] If we consider the paintings in the light of the article of
faith on the communion of saints, they may be seen as depicting not only
symbolically, the fellowship of the living head of the Cracow Church with all the
bishops that preceded him on the way to Salvation. As was already stated, the
portraits of all hierarchs were given a personalised treatment, yet not by means of
individualised physiognomies, but through the coats of arms. This solution
underscores the importance of historical tradition and 'concretes' the images. It may
be compared, for example, with the decoration of the Old Town Hall in Erfurt
where, over the benches of the city councillors, were exhibited coats of arms painted
on actual shields.[43]

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[38] Józef Szymański, *Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcjonowanie*, [in:]
Kościół w Polsce, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, Kraków 1966, s. 164-165; cf. also: idem, *Catalogi
episcoporum Cracoviensium*, 60, 91,134, 136, 166.

[39] Krzystof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak, 'Racjonał biskupów krakowskich', *Sprawozdania z
czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, LXV, 2001, s. 139-144. Cf. also: Klemens
Honselmann, *Das Rationale der Bischöfe*, Paderborn: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte
und Altertumskunde Westfalens, 1975, cat. 6, 7.

[40] Oesterhelt (*Das Chorgestühl* , 118) points out to the relationship between the Freising
gallery of bishops' portraits and local historiography.

[41] See the still valid study by Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa, *Erudycja historyczna Zbigniewa
Oleśnickiego w świetle jego zeznań na procesie w 1422 roku*, [w:] Marian Biskup, Gerard Labuda,
eds, *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama
Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1976, 475-484.

[42] *Visitatio totius Provinciae...*, k. 8r; cf. Also: Cracow, Franciscan Friary Archive, *Inwentarz
kościoła o. Alojzego Karwackiego z roku 1922*, inv. E-I-22, 559.

[43] Heinrich Rolf-Torsten, *Erfurter Wappenbuch*, Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2013, 1 vol.,
23.

Oleśnicki, who instituted Eucharistic processions held in the walks of the
Franciscan cloister,[44] by participating in them together with the clergy and lay
people became part of the pilgrimaging Church, whereas the saints depicted on
walls and the bishops seated in their company represented the Church triumphant.[45]
Of key importance is the fact that the cloister walks were traditionally used as burial
place.[46] On All Souls' Day they were visited by processions of the faithful during
which prayers were said for the salvation of those whose souls were still in
Purgatory, i.e. for the suffering Church.

The paintings can also be understood as a kind of apotheosis of the Cracow
Church. Attention should be paid to the special importance of the stone throne-like
benches. The images of subsequent bishops: Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Tomasz
Strzempiński (1455-1460), Jan Lutek (1464-1671) and Jan Rzeszowski (1471-1488)
added on the walls in the second half of the fifteenth century, consistently feature
stone thrones (il. 13-16). A similar seat was also depicted in a portrait of St
Stainislaus, painted on panel (*c.* 1510–1515), which in archival sources is described
as an inherent part of the gallery and considered by some scholars to be a copy of a
no longer surviving wall painting in the east wing of the cloister (**Fig. 17**).[47] These
depictions are closely related to the actual liturgical practice, as in medieval
churches seats for the celebrant and his assistants were provided in the form of
stone *sedilia* located in niches set in the chancel walls close to the high altar. They
often had a rich architectural setting, as for example in St Victor's Cathedral in
Xanten (*c.* 1280), or in the Prague churches of Our Lady before Týn and that of the
Slavic Benedictines Emmaus abbey.[48] Sumptuous stone *sedilia* were also

[44] On Eucharistic processions in the Franciscan cloister and their iconographic connotations,
see Helena Małkiewiczówna, 'Interpretacja treści XV-wiecznego malowidła ściennego z
Chrystusem w tłoczni mistycznej w krużgankach franciszkańskich w Krakowie', *Folia
Historiae Artium*, 8, 1972, 69-150; see also Hanna Zaremska, *Procesje Bożego Ciała w Krakowie
XIV-XVI wieku*, [w:] Bronisław Geremek, ed, *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego
średniowiecza*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich,
1978, 28.
[45] On ecclesiology in Cracow in the fifteenth century, see Zenon Kałuża, 'Eklezjologia
Mateusza z Krakowa (Uwagi o De praxi romanae curiae)', *Studia Mediewistyczne*, 18/1, 1977,
51-174; Władysław Seńko, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina (ok. 1354-1414) i jego dzieło „Speculum
Aureum'*, Warszawa: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1995.
[46] Klein, *Zur Einführung*, 16-21; Regine Abegg, *„O quam Beata tempora ista…' – Une mise en
scène rétrospective: Les monuments des rois et des évêques dans le cloître gothique de la cathédrale de
Burgos*, [in:] Klein, eds, *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, 333-352.
[47] Recently, see Grażyna Lichończak-Nurek, eds, *Europejskie miasto prawa magdeburskiego.
Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Historycznym Miasta Krakowa*, Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne
miasta Krakowa, 2007, 514-516, cat. VIII.74 (Marek Walczak).
[48] Hans P. Hilger, *Der Dom zu Xanten und seine Kunstschätze*, 3 ed.., Königstein im Taunus:
Verlag Langewiesche, 2007, 15, 64-65; Albert Kutal, *České gotické sochařstvi 1350-1450*, Praha:
Státní nakladatelstvi Krásné literatury a uměni, 1962, 59, ill. 102-105. The Prague *sedilia* are
set within a rich sculptural decoration which conveys an interesting political message; at the
Emmaus abbey there is, among others, a coat of arms with double-headed eagle, apparently
a reference to the Byzantine Empire; Milada Studničková, *'"Aquila Imperatoris": Das Motiv des
doppelköpfigen Adlers bei den Luxemburgern*, [in:] ed. Klara Benešovská, eds, *King John of*

characteristic elements of chapels built by both lay and ecclesiastical leaders in
Central Europe, of which one of the best examples is the Holy Trinity Chapel
erected by Bishop János Hédervári at Győr Cathedral (1395–1400).[49] Yet, the main
reference point for the Cracow painting is in the permanent papal thrones in Rome's
major basilicas, especially that of St John Lateran. In its cloister survives a
particularly rich stone throne flanked by spiral columns (*sedia stercorata*), which was
once used in the ceremony of installation of new bishops of Rome.[50] In the art of the
late Middle Ages, stone thrones appeared in depictions of the Holy Trinity (e.g. the
Silesian *Throne of Mercy* from Świerzawa, before 1350, now in the National Museum
in Wrocław),[51] of the Virgin Mary, while the only saint that was singled out in this
way was St Peter. Remarkable examples of glorification of the Prince of Apostles can
be found, for example, in the painting entitled *St Peter's Basilica on the Vatican*
(painted by Hans Burgkmair the Elder, 1501) in the former St Catherine's convent in
Augsburg,[52] and in a wooden figure by Erasmus Grasser and a *Cathedra Petri*
painted in the workshop of Jan Polack, formerly a part of the high altar retable of St
Peter's church (Alt St. Peter) in Munich (*c*. 1490).[53]

  The socles of two Cracow throne-benches (**Fig. 14, 15**) are decorated with
illusionistically painted recesses, a solution reaching back to antiquity.[54] In Cracow
painting they were a common feature in depictions of saints as well as in biblical
scenes.[55] The backdrop for the bishops' portraits is formed by sumptuous fabrics,

*Luxembourg (1296-1346) and the Art of his Era. Proceedings of the International Conference,
Prague, September 16-20, 1996*, Prague: KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, 1998, 136.

[49] Veronika Csikós, 'The Bishop and His Chapel: The Hédervári Chapel in Győr and the
Episcopal Chapels of Central Europe around 1400', *The Hungarian Historical Reviews*, 2: 2,
2013, 381, ill. 4.

[50] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara. Immagini e simboli del papato medievale*,
Roma: Viella, 2005, 63-64, ill. 46.

[51] *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, vol. 2., 265 (A. Ozimecka).

[52] Martin Schawe, *Rom in Augsburg. Die Basilika Bilder aus dem Katharinenkloster*, München:
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1999, 36-39, ill. on pages 40-41, 45.

[53] Hans Ramisch, *Zur Münchener Plastik und Skulptur im Späten Mittelalter,* [in:] Sylvia Hahn,
Peter B. Steiner, eds, *Münchener Gotik im Freisinger Diözesanmuseum*, Regensburg: Scnell &
Steiner, 1999, 57; Gisela Goldberg, *Tafel- und Wandmalerei in München im 15. Jahhrundert*, [in:]
ibidem, 69-72; Peter B. Steiner, Claus Grimm, eds, *Jan Polack: von der Zeichnung zum Bild.
Malerei und Maltechnik in München um 1500*, Freising: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2004,
189-225, cat. IV.

[54] Marek Walczak, *O pewnym motywie antycznym w Małopolskim malarstwie wieku XV*, [in:]
Wojciech Bałus, eds,, *Ars Graeca - Ars Latina. Studia dedykowane Profesor Annie* Różyckiej
Bryzek, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2001, 365-376.

[55] E.g. in the thrones of St Nicholas at Zarzecze, *c*. 1440, and of St Sophia at Grybów, *c*. 1455;
the front panel of Christ's Sepulchre in the *Misericordia Domini* painting at Iwanowice,
c. 1473, and on the gables of a temple in the *Presentation of Christ* in the National Museum in
Warsaw, *c*. 1450, and in arcade spandrels in the *Christ before Caiaphas* in the Augustinian
altarpiece by Mikołaj Haberschrack, *c*. 1468; cf. Jerzy Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe
Małopolski 1420-1470*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981, ill. 6, 15, 26, 50,
92; idem, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1460-1500*, Warszawa: Państwowe
Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988, ill. 71.

undoubtedly derived from hangings used on the backs of thrones, as exemplified in Poland by the outstanding seal of King Casimir the Great (1333–1370, **Fig. 18**).[56] Such hangings could have also had Eucharistic connotations through the reference to Sancta Sanctorum of the Jerusalem Temple.[57] Last but not least, fabrics appeared in stately representations of saints, which reminds us of the fact that one of Cracow bishops (i.e. St Stanislaus of Szczepanów) was venerated in the entire Church, while at least three of them (Iwo Odrowąż, Prandota and Jan Grot) enjoyed a local cult.

Galleries of bishops' portraits were usually located in cathedrals, e.g. in transepts (Augsburg), on choir screens (Merseburg, Ghent), stalls (Freising, Vienna), or else in ancillary spaces, like sacristies (Naples, Mantua, Antwerp) and chapter houses (Léon, the collegiate church of the Nativity of the Virgin at Sandomierz).[58] Interesting instances of spaces used for displaying the bishops' portraits are galleried passages connecting the bishopric residences with cathedrals in Salzburg and Freising, where the hierarchs were able to reflect on their predecessors while moving within the *episcopium*.[59] So far, no other gallery of bishops' portraits has been identified that would be located in the cloister of a mendicant religious house. The choice of such an unusual place was undoubtedly dictated by numerous factors, above all the vicinity of the bishops' palace. Since the fourteenth century, the palace of Cracow bishops has been located opposite the Franciscan church. Cardinal Oleśnicki specially supported the Franciscans, probably because of the role they had played in the canonisation of St Stanislaus, which took place in St Francis church in Assisi in 1253.[60] The subsequent tradition of the order had emphasised this very factor at least from the seventeenth century. Also political circumstances may have been of some importance. As Marcin Szyma has recently demonstrated, the church of Cracow Dominicans, located across All Saints Square from the Franciscans, at the times of Ladislaus Jagiełło was a place where the royal party used to meet.[61] The

[56] Franciszek Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*, part I: *Doba Piastowska*, Kraków, 1899, 217-218, ill. 257.

[57] Christine Sciacca, *Raising the curtain on the use of textiles in manuscripts*, [in:] Kathryn Rudy, Barbara Beart, eds., *Weaving, veiling, and dressing; textiles and their metaphors in the late middle ages* (Medieval church studies, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 161-190.

[58] Such groups are generally poorly researched and rarely published, because of difficult accessibility, repetitiveness of formal solutions and usually low artistic quality of particular portraits, among others. An example of a discovery of such a gallery – hitherto unknown to art historians – is the chapter house of the collegiate church at Sandomierz (after 1664) with four images of the bishops of Cracow from the second half of the seventeenth century; Urszula Stępień, 'Portrety czterech biskupów. Przyczynek do dziejów wystroju i wyposażenia kapitularza katedry sandomierskiej, *Zeszyty Sandomierskie*, 17 (32), November 2011,. 20–23.

[59] Sylvia Hahn, *Rundgang 5*: *Der Fürstengang, ein Monument Freisinger Geschichte* [in:] Friedrich Fahr, eds, *Freising. 1250 Jahre Geistliche Stadt. Ausstellung im Diözesanmuseum und in den historischen Räumen des Dombergs in Freising, 10. Juni bis 19. November 1989*, München–Zürich: Erich Wewel Verlag, 1989, 375–378.

[60] Marek Walczak, 'Kanonizacja św. Stanisława jako temat historyczny w sztuce Krakowa', *Studia Waweliana*, 11/12, 2002/2003, 5-41.

[61] Marcin Szyma, *The Chapel of Casimir the Great at the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity in Cracow*, [in:] Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei, Tomasz Węcławowicz, eds, *Medieval Art,*

patronage of the king and the lords associated with him over the large church of the Preachers could have motivated Oleśnicki, who was a leader of the anti-royal faction, to manifestly support the church of Friars Minor.

We have tried to show the cycle of portraits of local Bishops in the Franciscan monastery in Cracow, as a part of the long tradition which reaches back to late antiquity. Although the placement of these images on the walls of the cloister has no antecedents, they were presented as a timeless family. Agreeing with the quoted above text of Truus van Bueren and Otto Gerhard Oexle, also for Cracow cycle the notions: *Tradition*, *Sukzession*, and *Memoria* are fundamental. Regrettably, we do not know who was responsible for commissioning the successive portraits painted in the Franciscan cloister. In any case, the conviction of the linear continuity of Cracow Church, manifest in Cardinal Oleśnicki's foundation, was carried on by his successors. The initiative turned out to be very expressive and the gallery has continued for several hundred years, until our times, augmented by works of art done in various techniques (paintings on wall, panels, canvas, as well as sculpture) and employing all kinds of compositional schemes and complicated iconographic programmes.[62]

Marek Walczak was born in Cracow 1965, graduate of the Jagiellonian University, Institute of Art History (1990) based on a master's thesis *Artistic patronage of the bishop of Cracow, cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1423-1455)*. PhD in 1998 based on a dissertation *Alter Christus. Studies on picturing the sanctity in medieval art on the example of Thomas Becket* (published in Polish in 2002). Habilitation in 2007 based on a book *Architectural Sculpture in Lesser Poland in the Reign of king Casimir the Great (1333-1370)*. Since 2007 the head of the Chair of Medieval Art and since 2016 the director of the Institute of Art History Jagiellonian University. The main field of research is medieval art in Central Europe and hagiography in the comparative presentation. At present he is leading scientific projects on royal necropolis at the Cracow cathedral, on the portraiture of Cracow bishops since c. 1000 to modern times and on the complex of Dominican Friars monastery in Cracow.

walczak.ihs@poczta.fm

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architecture and Archaeology in Cracow and Lesser Poland, London: Maney Publishing, 2014, 31-32.

[62] For most important references: Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak, 'The Memorial Portraits of Bishops Samuel Maciejowski and Franciszek Krasiński in the Cloister of the Franciscan Friary in Cracow', *Ars*, 46/2, 2013, 148-170; iidem, 'The Tomb Monuments with Portrait Busts of the Bishops of Cracow: On the History of the Reception of Roman Baroque Models of Sepulchral Art in Poland (Bernini – Algardi – Rossi)', *Artibus et Historiae*, 71 (XXXVI), 2015, 181-223; cf. also: iidem, *Portrety biskupów krakowskich w okresie nowożytnym. Zagadnienie funkcji*, [in:] Jerzy Lileyko, Irena Rolska-Boruch, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, 6/1 vol., *Fundator i dzieło w sztuce nowożytnej*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2005, 203-248 'Spectet posteritas vivam probi oris effigiem Bernardi Macieiowski'. O jednym z portretów w franciszkańskiej galerii biskupów krakowskich, *Rocznik Krakowski*, 74, 2008, 51-72.

Czyżewski and Walczak   The beginnings of the portrait gallery of Cracow
                bishops in the cloisters of the Franciscan friary in Cracow

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski was born in Cracow in 1964, an art historian graduated in 1989 at the Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University. Since 1990 employed at the Wawel Royal Castle as an assistant and later as chief of the Armor Department. His main field of research is art of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Poland, especially Cracow. At present he is leading a research project on the portraiture of Cracow bishops from c. 1000 to modern times and on the complex of Dominican Friars monastery in Cracow.

Krzysztof.czyzewski@wawel.org.pl