

Stanislava Kuzmová

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE IMAGE AND CULT OF SAINT STANISLAUS
AS A HOLY BISHOP
FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY**

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

June 2003

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

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I, the undersigned, Stanislava Kuzmová, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to all those who gave me support in my work and studying. My special thanks belong to all who helped me in my research, especially to Dr. Stanisław Sroka.

INTRODUCTION

Topic and Problems

Saint Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, lived and died in the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century, he came to the attention of all of Western Christianity when he was canonised in 1253. The formation of his cult and his legends was the result of a long-lasting process, in which the eleventh-century historical core, which is still a mystery to a great extent, was surrounded by new elements. André Vauchez brought into the clear focus of the historians that there was no absolute ideal of officially recognised sainthood. The very ideals and representations of sainthood differed in various historical periods and also regions and communities; they were socially constructed.¹ However, not only the ideals of the Church hierarchy, but also those of all the members of society formed the images of the saints as they are preserved in the written sources.² Thus, sainthood was a social phenomenon that should be examined in the here and now of specific situations.³ People projected their own expectations, as well as their experience from their time and place, onto the persons who died in the odour of sanctity. Even more space for this was left in the cases like that of Saint Stanislaus, who had died almost two hundred years earlier than the first detailed accounts about him were composed. The authors helped themselves with analogies of contemporary accepted models. However, it was their choice what they implemented and emphasised; it was related with the conditions when they composed the legends and sermons, as well as with the objectives they had in mind when doing this.

¹ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) (henceforth: Vauchez, *Sainthood*).

² Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Countries: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-11 (henceforth: Kleinberg, *Prophets*).

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

One of the images of Saint Stanislaus that the hagiography offered, besides his picture as a miracle-worker and a devoted Christian, was the image of him as an ideal bishop. Naturally, his successors in the office were very much concerned with this issue. They could not and did not want to overlook the potential arising from this situation. Their involvement in the construction of his image and cult is important. Naturally, they perceived their venerated predecessor as their model. The bishops and the authors of the preserved written sources, implemented their own concerns and ambitions into them, be they spiritual, pastoral, or political. Not coincidentally, the hagiographic works concerning Saint Stanislaus emerged in the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, in the periods when the authority and the prestige of the bishops of Cracow were extremely high. Moreover, out of all possible Polish candidates, it was only this bishop saint who achieved canonisation. The relationship between the image of the holy bishop presented in the legends and sermons and the bishops contemporary to the composition of these works will be explored. My preliminary hypothesis is that the impact was mutual. On the one hand, the bishops contributed to the construction of the saint's image, having supported his cult and having their own interests in mind and presented their ideal of bishop to other spheres of society. On the other hand, the legends and sermons were intended to influence the bishops, presenting an example that they should follow.

The Problem of Episcopal Sainthood

After late Roman times, after martyrdom had ceased to be the only way to universal recognition of sainthood, episcopal sanctity was of prime importance throughout the Middle Ages. At the beginning, the sanctity was largely clerical, the inheritors of the apostolic office enjoying great success in the Church. André Vauchez

claimed that episcopal sainthood was highly popular until the thirteenth century, with a period of temporary decline between the years 800 and 1000. His quantitative study has shown that most of the saints recognised by the papacy between 1198 and 1431, that is, in the period when Stanislaus was canonised, were bishops.⁴ André Vauchez has produced a valuable overview of these tendencies. He talked about the decline of the episcopal sainthood in the West from the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant saints substituted for them in this prestigious position.⁵ However, in countries like Poland, episcopal sainthood still flourished in the fifteenth century, thanks to the powerful support of the saints' highly esteemed successors, although it was gradually giving its way to other types of sanctity. I will demonstrate that this was the case with Saint Stanislaus.

The models of episcopal perfection were presented not only in the hagiographic works, but also in canonical and spiritual texts. These sources were interconnected. From the time of bishop-saints like Saint Martin, a certain ambivalence and tension existed in terms of the bishop model. Two quite opposing demands on bishops appeared, the legend of Saint Martin containing both of these elements.⁶ On the one hand, a saintly bishop was supposed to be a virtuous, ascetic, and contemplative man. This model is found in the life of an Italian bishop-saint from the tenth century, Saint Innocent of Tortona, for instance: a humble shepherd according to the Scripture, admonishing sinners in a brotherly manner, a man characterised by many virtues.⁷ On the other hand, a bishop was expected to be an

⁴ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 303-308.

⁶ For an edition of Sulpicius Severus' *Vita sancti Martini* with a commentary, see Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, vol. 133-135 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967-1969).

⁷ Jean-Charles Picard, "Le modèle épiscopal dans deux Vies du Xe siècle: S. Innocentius de Tortona et S. Prosper de Reggio Emilia," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome, Rome, 27-29 octobre 1988 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 381-382 (henceforth: *Les fonctions*).

active man in the community, taking care of the flock entrusted to him, interfering in secular matters and demonstrating excellent administrative qualities.

The most influential texts concerning the bishop ideal, according to André Vauchez, were Gregory the Great's *Liber regulae pastoralis*,⁸ then in the twelfth century, with the reform efforts, Saint Bernard's *De moribus et officio episcoporum*⁹ and Peter of Blois' *De institutione episcopi*.¹⁰ The latter two introduced new demands on the bishops; besides administrative qualities, high ascetic and moral characteristics were required. André Vauchez¹¹ and Elaine Graham-Leigh¹² discussed the ambivalence of the sources, as well as the different attitudes of certain personalities, oscillating between the episcopal and monastic models, between pastoral and political action, and spirituality. No wonder that hagiographers tried to reconcile both poles in their works in many cases, while in reality sometimes the resolution was more problematic.¹³ The hagiographers of Saint Stanislaus also chose a compromise of these two spheres, perhaps a little bit in favour of the spiritual.

Cults of bishop saints had some specific functions. They played an important role in supporting local political and ecclesiastical claims. Brigitte Beaujard discussed the importance of the local bishop saints in Gaul at the end of the Roman period, where the cults of bishop saints unified the local communities.¹⁴ Paolo Golinelli and Jean-Charles Picard observed a similar situation with regard to the formation of the

⁸ Gregory the Great, *Liber regulae pastoralis*, in PL 77 coll. 13-128 (henceforth: Gregory the Great, *Liber*).

⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus seu Epistola XLII ad Henricum archiepiscopum Senonensem*, in PL 182 coll. 809-834 (henceforth: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus*).

¹⁰ Peter of Blois, *Canon episcopalis id est De institutione episcopi*, in PL 207 coll. 1097-1112 (henceforth: Peter of Blois, *De institutione*).

¹¹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285-291.

¹² Elaine Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings and Shepherds: Archbishop Berenguer of Narbonne (1191-1211) and the Ideal Bishop," *English Historical Review* 116, no. 469 (2001): 1083-1102 (henceforth: Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings").

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1101.

¹⁴ Brigitte Beaujard, "Cités, évêques et martyrs en Gaule à la fin de l'époque romaine," in *Les fonctions*, 175-191.

local identity in Italian cities.¹⁵ Farmer argued that the canons of the Chapter of Saint-Martin used the legend and the cult of Saint Martin as a symbol of their power, identifying themselves with the saint.¹⁶

As far as the typology of episcopal sainthood is concerned, in the earlier period the bishop saints were often the founders of the local Church and missionaries like Saint Adalbert in Polish conditions.¹⁷ In the twelfth century, however, a new type of episcopal sainthood emerged: holy bishops were not simply good prelates, they were men who were persecuted and often killed in a conflict with a king.¹⁸ This great popularity was triggered off by the death and quick canonisation of Thomas Becket, the model martyr-bishop.¹⁹ Cults of these Becket followers enjoyed great success in the countries with a powerful episcopate and a monarchy weakened by the increasing power of the aristocracy.²⁰ Thus, these cults, Saint Stanislaus' cult among them,

¹⁵ Paolo Golinelli, "Il commune italiano e il culto del santo cittadino," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 573-593 (henceforth: *Politik und Heiligenverehrung*); idem, "Instituzioni cittadine e culti episcopali in area matildica avanti il sorgere dei comuni," in *Indiscreta sanctitas: Studi sui rapporti tra culti, poteri e società nel pieno Medioevo* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1988), 55-101; Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 705-706 (henceforth: Picard, *Le souvenir*).

¹⁶ Sharon A. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 222-261.

¹⁷ For a typology based on Italian conditions, see Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir*, 717. For Saint Adalbert, see *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior*, Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova (henceforth: MPH SN) 4, no. 1, ed. Jana Karwasińska (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962); *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurensi*, MPH SN 4, no. 2, ed. Jana Karwasińska (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969); *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej: antologia tekstów* (St. Adalbert in the Polish Historiographic Tradition: A Text Anthology), ed. Karol Potkanski and Gerard Labuda (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1997).

¹⁸ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 167-173; Michael Goodich, *Vita perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1982), 142-146 (henceforth: Goodich, *Vita perfecta*). His thirteenth-century list included such names as Thomas of Hereford, Robert Grosseteste, and Engelbert of Cologne, among others.

¹⁹ For the hagiography on Saint Thomas Becket, see *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols., ed. J. C. Robertson, Rolls Series 67 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1965); Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma Cantuariensi," *Legenda aurea* 1, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 103-107 (henceforth: Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma"). For the studies on his cult, see *Thomas Becket, Actes du Colloque International de Sédières*, 19-24 août 1973, ed. Raymonde Foreville (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975) (henceforth: *Thomas Becket*).

²⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 167-173.

manifested the prestige and ambitions of the episcopate at the expense of the royal power.

The Source Basis

The image of Stanislaus, a holy bishop, was formed gradually in several stages. The construction is well documented in the extant sources, both written and non-written. This study will focus almost exclusively on the written sources that contributed considerably to the creation and transmission of the image of the holy bishop, predominantly those of hagiographic and pastoral character. These most important sources in terms of the image construction emerged in the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the two periods of extreme interest of the bishops of Cracow in the cult of Saint Stanislaus.

The oldest preserved sources on Saint Stanislaus originated in the period long after his life and death. The gap between his death in 1079 and the first records describing his martyrdom has consistently puzzled historians. The oldest information about the bishop of Cracow dates back to the twelfth century, to the period approximately forty years after these events. It is found in the *Cronicae et Gesta principum Polonorum* (1110-1114) of an anonymous author who is widely known as Gallus the Anonymus.²¹ However, this short and vague account, which does not tell anything about Stanislaus' sanctity, caused even more polemics among the Polish scholars who tried to decipher the author's message and to find out what actually

²¹ Gallus Anonymus, *Cronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum*, MPH SN 2, ed. K. Maleczyński (Warsaw: Nakładem Polskiej akademii umiejętności, 1952), 52-53 (henceforth: Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*). The chronicle was written at the court of Boleslaus III, as a celebration of the great deeds of the three strong Piast rulers named Boleslaus, including Boleslaus II.

happened in the year 1079.²² This much-discussed issue of the *factum sancti Stanislai* is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The process of the formation of this saint's image and cult, as documented in the extant written sources, started when the first detailed account of the events of 1079 appeared at the turn of the thirteenth century, with the composition of Master Vincent's *Cronica Polonorum*.²³ This was at the same time the first hagiographic piece concerning Saint Stanislaus that was written. The author, later known also as Kadłubek, was the bishop of Cracow from 1207 to 1218.²⁴

The silence about the saintly bishop up to that time and his sudden appearance in the sources set off a discussion that is still open about the origins of his cult. I will mention only the most important views in this extensive polemics. Tadeusz Wojciechowski constructed a whole theory about the bishop's involvement in a plot against Boleslaus II, together with his younger brother Władysław Herman, who succeeded to the throne after Boleslaus II had been expelled or fled to Hungary. Consequently, he asserted that it was this branch of the Piast dynasty who cultivated the devotion to the bishop. Tadeusz Wojciechowski claimed that the *translatio* of the

²² An immense number of studies on this issue has been written, among them: Tadeusz Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne 11. wieku* (Historical Sketches of the Eleventh Century) (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), especially pages 260 onwards (henceforth: Wojciechowski, *Szkice*); Marian Plezia, *Dookola sprawy św. Stanisława* (Concerning the Report on St. Stanislaus) (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Homini, 1999) (henceforth: Plezia, *Dookola*); Tadeusz Grudziński, *Boleslaus the Bold, called also the Bountiful, and Bishop Stanislaus : The Story of a Conflict* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985).

²³ Magister Vincentius, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH SN 11 (Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1994) (henceforth: Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*). It is the work of the first Pole to write about the history of his own country. It describes the legendary prehistory and history of Poland up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The first three parts of the chronicle are written in the form of a dialogue between two ecclesiastical dignitaries; the fourth part is a narrative based on the author's own experience. The author used a high ornamental style and many allusions from ancient and contemporary literary, theological and legal works. Brygida Kúrbis, introduction to Mistrz Wincenty, *Kronika Polska* (The Polish Chronicle), ed. and tr. Brygida Kúrbis (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1996); Plezia, *Dookola*, 105-127.

²⁴ The author, Master Vincent Kadłubek, was a well-educated member of the clergy, who later became the bishop of Cracow, and finally retired to a Cistercian monastery.

saint that happened in 1088,²⁵ which could not have happened without the consent of the ruler, was evidence for this.²⁶

The moment when the Cracovian bishops got engaged in the cult, and also their motivation for this, has been extensively discussed.²⁷ It is clear that they got involved by the early thirteenth century at the latest. The thirteenth-century sources demonstrate this without any doubt, as the next chapter will show. Tadeusz Wojciechowski claimed that the bishops took up the cult in the thirteenth century only. According to him, it was Master Vincent Kadłubek, Bishop of Cracow, and the people around him, who created the legend of this saint and spread the cult in order to pursue their own political objectives.²⁸ Conversely, Gerard Labuda formulated a persuasive theory about the existence of the veneration of the martyred bishop in the chapter milieu since 1079, along a different tradition cultivated by the ruling house. He does not consider Master Vincent's account as a pure fiction invented in the thirteenth century. According to him, Master Vincent only reproduced the two contrasting traditions.²⁹ This study will not search for the primary reasons of the bishops' involvement in the cult, but rather make use of other historians' conclusions where necessary.

I will address Master Vincent's chronicle only briefly, as its characterisation of the saintly bishop is only sketchy. Stanislaus' image was shaped in a richer form in the thirteenth-century hagiographical works, in connection with Stanislaus'

²⁵ However, the date of the translation is debated. For example, according to Plezia, it could not have happened earlier than in the half of the twelfth century, see Plezia, *Dookola*, 229. Jerzy Rajman discussed the issue of the *translatio* more recently, see Jerzy Rajman, "Przedkanonizacyjny kult św. Stanisława biskupa" (The Cult of Bishop Saint Stanislaus before the Canonisation), *Nasza Przeszłość* 80 (1993): 9-18 (henceforth: Rajman, "Kult").

²⁶ Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 290.

²⁷ Rajman, "Kult," 5-49; Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 301;

²⁸ Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 301.

²⁹ Gerard Labuda, *Święty Stanisław. Biskup krakowski, patron polski. Śladami zabójstwa – męczeństwa – kanonizacji* (Saint Stanislaus, the Bishop of Cracow, the Polish Patron Saint. Murder – Martyrdom –

canonisation. This canonisation procedure observed the contemporary requirements defined by the papacy.³⁰ The efforts started with the *elevatio* of the relics in 1243; then the local proceedings started.³¹ Having collected the testimonies, the Church dignitaries probably petitioned Rome in 1250. Certain doubts were said to have arisen in the Curia, especially because Stanislaus had lived almost two hundred years before that time.³² A committee was established with a papal legate, James of Velletri, as chief.³³ It was during this second investigation that the judicial protocol of the *Miracula sancti Stanislai* was produced.³⁴ It includes 42 miracle testimonies. The protocol has a highly juridicial character, including detailed information about the conditions, witnesses, and chronology.³⁵ Finally, Bishop Stanislaus was canonised in Assisi on September 17, 1253.³⁶ I will use the *Miracula* and the canonisation bull in my analysis.

Canonization) (Poznań: Instytut historii Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 2000) (henceforth: Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*), 14, 102-110.

³⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 59-104.

³¹ The elevation, as well as other parts of the canonisation procedure and the ceremony in Assisi is described in the *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita maior)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4 (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884), 319-438 (henceforth: *Vita maior*). For the canonisation of Saint Stanislaus, see Aleksandra Witkowska, "Miracula małopolskie z XIII i XIV wieku" (The *Miracula* of Little Poland in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century), *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 19, no. 2 (1971), 29-161 (henceforth: Witkowska, "Miracula"); eadem, "The Thirteenth-Century *Miracula* of St. Stanislas, the bishop of Krakow," in *Medieval Canonisation Trials, Social and Religious Aspects*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École Française de Rome), forthcoming; Jan Lisowski, *Kanonizacja św. Stanisława w świetle procedury kanonizacyjnej kościoła dzisiaj i dawniej* (The Canonisation of Saint Stanislaus in the Light of Canonisation Procedure in Presence and in Past) (Rome: Hosianum, 1953), 129-237.

³² A letter of Cardinal John of Gaeta to the Cracow Chapter (*sine dato et loco*) mentions Cardinal Reginald of Ostia, future Pope Alexander IV, opposing the canonisation. However, he fell seriously ill, and got healed through the miraculous apparition of Stanislaus, the candidate for canonisation. Consequently, cardinal's hesitation disappeared; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej (Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia 1)* (The *Codex diplomaticus* of the Cracow Chapter), ed. Franciszek Piekosiński (Cracow: Akademia umiejętności krakowska, 1874), no. 37, 46-48 (henceforth: KDKK 1). Cf. the miracle *articulus* "De modo canonizacionis beati Stanislai et sanacione Domini Reynaldi Hostiensis episcopi, videlicet domini pape Alexandri," in the *Vita maior*, 434-436.

³³ KDKK 1, no. 33, 41-42.

³⁴ *Miracula sancti Stanislai*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 285-318 (henceforth: *Miracula*).

³⁵ Witkowska, "Miracula," especially 43-52.

³⁶ The canonisation bull is included in the KDKK 1, no. 38, 48-51. For a description of the canonisation, see the *Vita maior*, 436-438.

The *Vita minor*³⁷ is the shorter of the two thirteenth-century hagiographical *vitae*. Marian Plezia argued that Dominican Vincent of Kielce composed the *vita* shortly after 1242, perhaps for the needs of the petition to the papacy.³⁸ Labuda argued, however, that it was composed only after the canonisation, in the same period as the *Vita maior*.³⁹ Grażyna Klimecka claimed that the *Vita minor* in the form that we know, found exclusively in the manuscripts of the Polish *Legenda aurea*, was composed to meet the needs of this Polish *compendium*, clearly after the canonisation, perhaps in the 1280s and the 1290s. Thus, Vincent of Kielce could not have been its author. However, she also argued that this version could have been based on an earlier *vita* that has been lost.⁴⁰

After the canonisation, between 1257 and 1261 according to Marian Plezia, Vincent of Kielce produced an enriched version of the *Vita minor*, the so called *Vita maior*, on the order of Bishop Prandota (1242-1266)⁴¹ again. This work describes the life and martyrdom of Saint Stanislaus, and also his miracles and the canonisation procedure and ceremony (in contrast to the *Vita minor*). Parts of both *vitae* were integrated into the Polish *Legenda aurea*, the whole *Vita minor* for the feast day on May 8 and some parts of the *Vita maior* concerning the miracles and the canonisation

³⁷ *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita minor)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 283-317 (henceforth: *Vita minor*).

³⁸For the discussion of the datation of the *vitae*, see Marian Plezia, “Wincenty z Kielc, historyk polski z 1. połowy XIII. wieku” (Vincent of Kielce, the Polish Historian from the First Half of the Thirteenth Century), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 7 (1962): 22 (henceforth: Plezia, “Wincenty”); idem, *Od Arystotelesa do Złotej legendy* (From Aristotle to the Golden Legend) (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1958), 431-453 (henceforth: Plezia, *Od Arystotelesa*).

³⁹ Gerard Labuda, “Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc” (The Hagiographic and Historiographic Work of Vincent of Kielce), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 16 (1971): 111 (henceforth: Labuda, “Twórczość”).

⁴⁰Grażyna G. Klimecka, “Legenda o świętym Stanisławie i dominikanie polscy” (The Legend of Saint Stanislaus and Polish Dominicans), *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 6-7 (1997): 25-44.

⁴¹ Stanisław Trawkowski, “Prędota (Prandota),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (The Polish Bibliographical Dictionary) 28, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii, 1978-1985) (henceforth: PSB), 447-452 (henceforth: Trawkowski, “Prandota”).

were used for the November feast of the *translatio*.⁴² They were also being spread in the fifteenth century, as parts of manuscript codices of legend and sermon collections. So the image of Saint Stanislaus, in the way it was presented in the thirteenth-century *vitae*, kept spreading in the fifteenth century. Irrespective of which of the *vitae* was older, their resemblance in terms of the characteristics of the bishop saint is important for my analysis.

In the fifteenth century, new sources that enriched the image of Saint Stanislaus, especially its episcopal aspects, were composed. My attention will turn especially to Długosz' *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*.⁴³ The *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi* was first finished in the period between 1461 and 1465; historians differ on the precise date.⁴⁴ Długosz wrote the *Vita* in a high ancient style and fashion. The *Vita* consists of three basic parts (*tractatus*), each of them having a separate prologue: first, Stanislaus's life and martyrdom; second, the miracles after his death and the canonisation (corresponding to the *Vita maior*); third, forty new miracle accounts collected between 1430 and 1464 and two miracles from 1475 and 1478. Even more than in the thirteenth century, the characteristics of the holy bishop and his episcopal activities were actualised for the contemporary situation. Długosz expressed the ideal of bishop and also the criticism of his contemporaries. In the same period, more works pertaining to the model of bishop were composed, among them

⁴² Jacob of Voragine, *Złota legenda: Wybór* (Golden Legend: A Selection), ed. Marian Plezia and Janina Pleziowa (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX), 260, 532 (henceforth: *Złota legenda*).

⁴³ Joannes Długossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, in *Joannis Długossii Opera omnia* (henceforth: *Opera omnia*) 1, ed. I. Polkowski and Z. Pauli (Cracow: Typographia Ephemeridum "Czas" F. Kluczycki, 1887), 1-181 (henceforth: Długossius, *Vita*). The *Vita* has been preserved in a manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century, which was corrected and glossed by Długosz himself, and in an incunabula edition, so-called "editio Cracoviensis Halleriana" from 1511 (here with the division into parts and chapters). Another edition is included in the *Acta sanctorum* series: Joannes Długossius, *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, *Acta Sanctorum Maii* 2:202-276 (Antwerp: Michael Cnobarus, 1680; Fascimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1968).

⁴⁴ According to Plezia, Długosz finished the *Vita* in 1465; he was writing it at the same time as the *Annales* (started in 1455). Plezia, *Dookola*, 153. Witkowska puts the composition before 1465-*terminus ante quem* (letter to Sedziwoj of Czechel), probably between 1461 and 1463. Aleksandra Witkowska,

Długosz' *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae*.⁴⁵ Concerning the ideal of bishop, biographies of the contemporary bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, are also significant.⁴⁶

Last but not least, I will also analyse several sermons about Saint Stanislaus for their expression of the image of ideal bishop. They are rich in this respect. Compared to the legends, they are often more straightforward in applying the image of the ideal bishop to their time. From the turn of the fourteenth century, Peregrinus' sermon *In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris*⁴⁷ and also a sample of sermons from the fifteenth century⁴⁸ will be analysed for the purposes of my argument. Some of them were intended for audiences of common people, others were more erudite.⁴⁹ They were of the *sermo modernus* type, beginning with a *thema*,⁵⁰ often using the Biblical motif of the good shepherd. In the *distinctiones*, they discussed Stanislaus as

Kulty pątnicze piętnastowiecznego Krakowa (The Pilgrim Cults in the Fifteenth-Century Cracow) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL, 1984), 58 (henceforth: Witkowska, *Kulty*).

⁴⁵Joannes Dlugossius, *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae*, in *Opera omnia* 1, 337-556. This work comprises *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Cracoviensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Posnaniensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Wladislaviensium*, and *Catalogus episcoporum Plocensium* (henceforth: *Vitae episcoporum*).

⁴⁶For biographical information, see Maria Koczerska, "Oleśnicki Zbigniew," in PSB 23, 776-784 (henceforth: Koczerska, "Oleśnicki"). One of the fifteenth-century biographies was Długosz' account in the *Vitae episcoporum*, 423-429. The *vita* edited in the *Opera omnia* was also attributed to Długosz by the editors and by Lichońska, but Koczerska did not accept it as Długosz' work: *Vita Sbignei de Oleśnica*, *Opera omnia* 1, 551-557 (henceforth: *Vita Sbignei*); for the discussion of its authorship, see Koczerska, "Piętnastowieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego" (The Fifteenth-Century Biographies of Zbigniew Oleśnicki), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979): 11-22. (Koczerska, "Piętnastowieczne"). Another important biography is Callimachus Phillippus, *Vita et mores Sbignei Cardinalis*, ed. Irmona Lichońska (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962) (henceforth: Callimachus, *Vita*). All of them are similar in content, with differences in style, as Koczerska stated; either one of them was the model for the others, or they had the same source.

⁴⁷"In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," in Peregrinus of Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. Ryszard Tatarzyński (Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum PP. Dominicanorum, 1997), 584-591 (henceforth: Peregrinus, *Sermones*).

⁴⁸A list of sermons on Saint Stanislaus that I have identified so far is attached in the Appendix 2.

⁴⁹For an overview of preaching and sermons in Poland, see Aleksander Brückner, *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej I: Kazania i piesni* (Religious Literature in Medieval Poland 1: Sermons and Hymns) (Warsaw: Druk P. Laskańcza, 1902); Stanisław Bylina, "Kazania w Polsce średniowiecznej" (Sermons in Medieval Poland), *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* 10 (1992): 15-35; Jerzy Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo" (The Preaching), in *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce I* (The History of Catholic Theology in Poland 1), ed. M. Rechowicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1974), 275-308 (henceforth: Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo").

⁵⁰For the discussion of the structure, function, types, and uses of sermons, see Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 363-448; *Les Sermons e la visite pastorale de*

a model bishop, bringing many examples and references to the Bible and other Christian literature, and devoted much space to the instruction of their contemporaries. The sermons on Saint Stanislaus have not been researched yet, nor published. They will certainly offer a new viewpoint on the cult of Saint Stanislaus and they deserve more thorough research in future.

Approach and Methods

As I stated above, my focus is to connect the legends and the sermons that presented an image of a saintly bishop, changing in time, with the bishops who perceived him as their model and contributed to the formation of the image. This has been taken for granted by scholars referring to specific issues. However, this study will offer a more complex picture of this problem.

André Vauchez and Michael Goodich have defined certain general tendencies concerning episcopal sainthood. However, the quantitative approach has certain limits. The general tendencies cannot be applied to every single case.⁵¹ Moreover, the research conducted so far was, if not limited to the Western Europe focused predominantly on that area. They usually refer to the Central and Eastern European material only in the margin. I shall look more closely at one specific case, trying to identify its relationship to the general tendencies that have been established in the scholarship to a certain extent. Moreover, I will examine the case of Saint Stanislaus, focusing on those particular aspects of his legend and cult pertaining to episcopal sainthood and episcopal interests, in the specific Polish situation in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Especially for the sermons about Saint Stanislaus that have not

Federico Visconti archevêque de Paris (1253-1277), ed. Nicole Bériou (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001), for theoretical aspects especially 75-216.

⁵¹ Kleinberg, *Prophets*, 11.

been researched yet, this will be a first step towards a complex research of their corpus. Similar research on the sermons, analysing their contribution to the image of saints, has been conducted by Phyllis B. Roberts⁵² and Katherine Jansen.⁵³

I will analyse the legends and sermons presenting a certain image of the bishop. Typical contemporary motifs will be identified. These were not only automatically copied in order to satisfy the requirements for the saint's recognition. Their choice was the authors' and commissioners' statement, a deliberate manifestation of their views and intentions, be it their agreement with the reform tendencies after the Fourth Lateran Council, their political ambitions, or something else. I do not want to limit my inquiry to the content of these texts. My aim is to contextualise them, bring them into the historical reality in which they were composed. Subsequently, the involvement of the bishops of Cracow in the construction of this image of the saint, as well as in the making of the cult as such, well-suited to their interests, will be demonstrated on the basis of this source material.

⁵² Phyllis B. Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 1-22 (henceforth: Phyllis B. Robert, "Thomas Becket").

⁵³ Katherin L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

CHAPTER 1: THE HOLY BISHOP SAINT STANISLAUS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1. 1. The Image of the Holy Bishop in the Legends

1. 1. 1. *The Image of the Holy Bishop before the vitae*

Before the proper hagiographic works dedicated to Bishop Stanislaus were composed, certain elements of his legend were recorded in several written sources. They do not offer personal characteristics of the later saint or an account of his episcopal activities like the *vitae* of Vincent of Kielce or Długosz. Bishop Stanislaus appeared there only in the account of his conflict with King Boleslaus II. The “main character” in these accounts is the king. In these sources, what we get is the characteristics of the king rather than the bishop; moreover, the king is not totally deprived of all positive features as in later hagiographic sources. The most that we can extract from this is some general evaluation of the bishop, several adjectives and nouns denoting him, indirect characterisation through his actions and through the contrast with the king.

The first record mentioning Saint Stanislaus, a short and vague account in the *Cronicae et Gesta principum Polonorum*, does not even mention the name of the bishop.⁵⁴ For the purposes of this study, there is little useful to be found. The only words characterising the bishop to be found here are: *peccatum* and *traditor*. That does not say much about the image of this bishop, even less so if we cannot decipher if the bishop was denoted with these words only as a result of his conflict with the king, or from his personal features. The author suggested that the king should not

⁵⁴ “Qualiter autem rex Boleslaus de Polonia sit eiectus longum existit enarrare, sed hoc dicere licet, quia non debuit christus in christum peccatum quodlibet corpolariter vindicare. Illud enim multum sibi nocuit, cum peccato peccatum adhibuit, cum pro traditione pontificem truncationi membrorum adhibuit. Neque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, neque regem vindicantem sic se turpiter commendamus, sed hoc in medio deseramus, et ut in Vngaria receptus fuerit disseramus.” Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*, 52–53.

have punished an anointed prelate, despite his inappropriate behaviour. What is sure, the account presents a frequent motif, although perhaps deliberately covered by mystery: a bishop who opposed the secular power.

The first hagiographic account of Stanislaus' death is included in Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*, dating back to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁵⁵ The voice and the point of view are of a cleric, later bishop of Cracow. The work is highly moralising and didactic. However, what we find is again more about the characteristics of the king than of the bishop. Danuta Borawska claimed that the story and the characteristics were Vincent's literary invention, formed upon the popular contemporary model of the bishop-martyr Thomas Becket.⁵⁶ The author narrated the episode of King Boleslaus returning to Poland from warfare, finding the wives of his knights adulterous with servants and peasants. He wanted to punish them severely, suddenly changing from a good and successful king to a furious tyrant. At this point of the episode, Bishop Stanislaus appeared, admonishing him not to do it.⁵⁷

Certainly, the bishop is presented as a defender of his people. He is denoted as *sacerrimus pontifex*,⁵⁸ which certainly implies that he was an ideal bishop. For the first time, he was perceived as a model prelate, a point that was to become dominant later. The motif of a murder in front of the altar is a popular *topos*. Vincent used a colourful imagery and a popular motif of good shepherd: *pastorem ab ovili abstrahit*.⁵⁹ The contrast of the king and the bishop is an important stylistic device in

⁵⁵ Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 55-60.

⁵⁶ Danuta Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy: W sprawie genezy kultu św. Stanisława* (From the History of a Legend: The origins of the cult of St. Stanislaus) (Warsaw: Towarzystwo miłośników historii, 1950) (henceforth: Borawska, *Z dziejów*); Waław Uruszczak, "Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket en Pologne (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)", in *Thomas Becket*, 121-124 (henceforth: Uruszczak, "Les repercussions").

⁵⁷ Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 55-56.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

the account. Stanislaus' features are: *sanctus, innoxius*.⁶⁰ A completely opposite characterisation of the bishop is found in the speech of King Boleslaus II, although this is again only a literary device. In his eyes, Stanislaus was *totius mali radix, proditiōnis origo*.⁶¹ However, the focus of Master Vincent's episode is not the bishop's characterisation. All we get to know is that he was a perfect bishop, whatever that implied, whatever the content of the word *sacerrimus* meant, except for the defence of the faithful and courage to stand against the king. It seems that in this account, then, Stanislaus was a model of a bishop, but a model very far away from imitation, only *sacerrimus*. The author did not make use of the account to instruct the clergy in detail on the example of Stanislaus, rather, he focused on the didactic motif concerning Boleslaus, who in his pride did not repent for his deeds as did the biblical David. In contrast to Gallus, Master Vincent clearly backed the side of the bishop in his conflict with the king.

One might risk saying that Master Vincent, who retired to a Cistercian monastery, emphasised the Cistercian episcopal ideal, in the form that Bernard of Clairvaux expressed it,⁶² when writing about Bishop Stanislaus. However, there is very little of any ideal characteristics such as asceticism and moral virtues, referring to Bernard's model, to be found there. The only feature is the bishop's defence of the flock as a good shepherd, which does not relate anything about the new Cistercian model. The hagiographic text is limited to the story of the conflict and martyrdom. The proper characteristics of a bishop in the reform spirit appeared only in the later *vitae*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶¹ "Potificem illum non pontificem, pistorem vocat non pastorem, pressulem a pressura non presulem, opiscopum ab opibus non episcopum, e speculatore spiculatorem fuisse..." *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶² Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus*, 809-834.

1.1.2. The Image of the Holy Bishop in the Vita minor and Vita maior

Earlier sources did not contain many motifs from Stanislaus' life, except for his election to bishop and his conflict with the king, followed by his death. The *Vita minor* and *Vita maior* are the oldest surviving accounts of the personal characteristics and pastoral activities of Stanislaus. When describing Stanislaus as a good shepherd in his large volume on this saint, Stanisław Bełch argued that the *vitae* mediated an older oral tradition.⁶³ However, it is highly probable that the author had to construct the elements according to the accepted model of the saintly bishop. A part of this account in the *vitae*, maybe a considerable one, is not a fact-based description of Stanislaus' activities but rather a collection of contemporary *topoi* based on analogies developed around a core of authentic tradition.

Hagiographic legends, canonical and spiritual texts⁶⁴ presented models for a good and saintly bishop. A holy bishop had to meet certain conditions concerning his pastoral activities and personal piety. His relationship and behaviour in the conflict with the king was also of great significance. In the case of Saint Stanislaus, the model conformed to the universal reform policies in the years following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). According to André Vauchez, the “suffering leader,” either a king or a bishop, was the dominant type of saint in the non-Mediterranean territory of Europe (the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe) from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.⁶⁵ In this territory, as he pointed out, many “Becket duplications” appeared

⁶³ Stanisław Bełch, *Święty Stanisław biskup męczennik: Patron Polaków* (Saint Stanislaus, Martyr-Bishop: The Polish Patron Saint) (London: Veritas, 1976), 319 (henceforth: Bełch, *Święty Stanisław*).

⁶⁴ See above, pages 3 to 5.

⁶⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 158.

and were popular, many of them containing the-murder-in-the-cathedral motif. A candidate for a bishop-saint had to fit the contemporary model.⁶⁶

The *topos* of aristocratic origin, one of the frequent attributes of bishop-saints, appeared in the *Vita maior* (and was seen in the *Vita minor* for the first time): *de nobili prosapia fuerit ortus*, and the alleged hereditary villages of Stanislaus' noble family were named.⁶⁷ Moreover, the *Vita maior* also contained the new *topos* of a man in the episcopal see educated not only in the local chapter school, but also having completed his studies abroad, including canon law (in the thirteenth century they meant a university).⁶⁸ Stanislaus was presented in the hagiographic legends as having both basic qualities of a model bishop: *viriliter* defending the Church; and doing everything *in salutem populi*.⁶⁹ He was said to have had many natural gifts that had already been visible in his youth; among others he was *sermone discretus, consilio providus, in iudicio iustus*,⁷⁰ all of them positive features of a model bishop of the thirteenth century. Not surprisingly, the bishop was presented as a model for piety and devotion, an image following the thirteenth-century models, a *vir castus et pudicus* often staying in the church, celebrating the holy mass with deep devotion, praying, reading, and meditating.⁷¹ An important point of the characteristics, which was also used in later sources, is the contrast of the bishop's *humilitas* (reflected in his service

⁶⁶ For this demonstration I used the model of bishop-saint described in Vauchez, 285-310. The analysis is based on the *Vita maior* from the period shortly after the canonisation, where the legend was fully developed. However, the features are already present in the *Vita minor*.

⁶⁷ *Vita maior*, 367; cf. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 292.

⁶⁸ “fertur ad locum, ubi tunc forte generale studium floebat, convolasse et in facultate liberalium arcium tempus non modicum exegisse. In iure quoque canonico ac divino comprobatur studuisse, ...vir litteratus et in divinis rebus illuminatus perhibetur fuisse.” *Vita maior*, 369; cf. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 293; Goodich, *Vita perfecta*, 143.

⁶⁹ I used André Vauchez's terms, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 292, 295.

⁷⁰ *Vita maior*, 368.

⁷¹ “in ecclesia sua frequens residebat, officium divinum alacriter et intente cum suis clericis explebat et sacrosanta misteria Christi devote celebrabat, oracioni, leccioni, meditacioni, contemplacioni libenter vacabat” *Vita maior*, 371.

of the people, denial of his bodily desires, and chastity)⁷² with the king's *superbia* accompanied with carnal lusts. As far as the virtues of mercy and charity were concerned, he helped the poor and the oppressed and he never forgot about widows and orphans, *quos per episcopatum suum quasi in libro memorie conscriptos habebat*.⁷³ In a similar way, Peter of Blois in his treatise instructed bishops to be *indoctis doctorem, consolationem pauperum, solatium oppressorum, patrem orphanorum, defensorem viduarum*.⁷⁴

The description of the austerity of Stanislaus' life corresponds to the thirteenth-century ascetic ideal. He did not take pleasure in festive banquets (which Vincent of Kielce claimed to have been a bad Polish tradition from pagan times), but was moderate and sober in drinking:

*In mensa sua multis et superfluis ferculis uti consuetudinem non habebat, longas consessiones et nocturnas potaciones, cum esset vir sobrius, quasi veneni poculum abhorrebat.*⁷⁵

He, as a *pontifex and martyr Christi, numquam in desideriis et concupiscenciis tenuit carnis cura*.⁷⁶ His chastity was outstanding, he was an example for all the people from his court. Bernard of Clairvaux named the virtues of chastity, charity, and humility as the *potissima et dignissima ornamenta* of prelates.⁷⁷

Besides the personal characteristics corresponding to the image of an ideal bishop, the biographies also give an account of Stanislaus's pastoral episcopal activities. As the leader of his diocese, Stanislaus visited parishes; all three basic activities - *gubernatio, visitatio, correctio*, as described by André Vauchez, are found

⁷² The virtue of humility is an important feature of a good bishop in St. Bernard's and Peter's of Blois works.

⁷³ *Vita maior*, 372; in different words *Vita minor*, 258; cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103-104.

⁷⁴ Peter of Blois, *De institutione*, 1106.

⁷⁵ *Vita maior*, 372.

⁷⁶ *Vita maior*, 372; cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103: "caro eius cilicio et ieiuniis maceratur."

⁷⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus*, 816-822.

in his legend. Moreover, he was said to have helped people in need, used reasonably the benefices and tithes that he collected, and built churches. The *Vita maior* describes him as Christ-like, humble in heart, serving the people subject to him in his diocese, but also as *in correctione severus et in vigore iusticie rectus*:

*Culpas enim deliquencium, cuiuscunque dignitatis essent vel auctoritatis, non dissimulabat, sed secundum tempus et personam opportune et inopportune arguebat. Unde et regem Boleslaum (...), cuius vita enormis erat, ut se corrigeret, sedule commonebat; sollicitudine quoque paterna tamquam prodigum filium ad penitentiam provocabat...*⁷⁸

He was not afraid to admonish anyone, encouraging his clerics not to drink alcohol, for instance. Besides admonishing sinners, he was also said to have encouraged them in penitence and listened to their confessions (perhaps a later *topos*):

*peccatores ad penitentiam redeuntes largo sinu misericordie expiciebat et confessiones eorum per semet ipsum sepius audiebat.*⁷⁹

He had a zeal for justice. He read the Holy Scripture⁸⁰ and *per verbum exhortacionis et predicacionis suis auditoribus [h]abundanter effundebat.*⁸¹ The author's reference to Stanislaus' preaching is significant; the author must have been inspired by the contemporary practice of his own times.

According to the *vitae*, Stanislaus admonished King Boleslaus because of his abuse of law, among other things: the king and his retinue were said to have taken away their subjects' belongings and burnt their houses.⁸² First, the bishop admonished him like a father, but Boleslaus was incorrigible. Consequently, Stanislaus avoided confrontation with him.⁸³ However, a conflict came later. Vincent of Kielce

⁷⁸ *Vita maior*, 370.

⁷⁹ *Vita maior*, 372; *Vita minor*, 258.

⁸⁰ Cf. Peter's of Blois instructions for bishops: "Si non legeris, si non studeris, dormitabat anima tua..." Peter of Blois, *De institutione*, 1106.

⁸¹ *Vita maior*, 371; *Vita minor*, 257.

⁸² *Vita maior*, 370-371.

⁸³ The author used a simile: "quasi Samuel alium Saulem deflebat." *Ibid.*, 370.

reproduced the story that first appeared in Master Vincent's chronicle:⁸⁴ The king wanted to punish severely the rebellious peasants and women unfaithful to his knights after his arrival home from warfare, attacking the Lord's flock as a rapacious wolf, in the hagiographer's words.⁸⁵ Stanislaus admonished him, protecting the flock given to him as a good shepherd, *ponere animam suam pro grege Domini non dubitavit*.⁸⁶ Because of this, the saintly bishop was killed.

He was also presented as having defended the rights of the Church. The hagiographic lives, both *Vita minor* (where it appeared for the first time) and *Vita maior* contain a rather lengthy "legend of Piotrawin," which became one of the favourite iconographic motifs from the legend of St. Stanislaus. This miraculous story, situated in the time of Stanislaus' life, described the resurrection of a certain Peter, from whom the bishop had bought the village Piotrawin, which the king claimed for himself, violating the rights of the Church. Afterwards, Peter helped the saintly bishop, as a witness in front of the king's court, to defend the Church's possession of the village.⁸⁷ However, this episode was not mentioned in the canonisation bull.⁸⁸

The author used the powerful and highly conventional analogy of the pastoral work of a bishop in Christ's flock at the beginning of his account of Stanislaus's episcopate: *Suscepto itaque cure pastoralis ministerio super gregis Christi*.⁸⁹ At the end of the general characteristics of Bishop Stanislaus, Vincent of Kielce uses the

⁸⁴ *Vita maior*, 384-389; cf. Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 55-57.

⁸⁵ "quasi lupum rapacem et beluam sevientem in oves dominicas." Ibid., 386.

⁸⁶ *Vita maior*, 386. Cf. a motif the of good shepherd also on the page 387: "sic bonus pastor moritur pro grege suo."

⁸⁷ *Vita minor*, 260-265; *Vita maior*, 374-379.

⁸⁸ KDKK 1, no. 38, 48-51.

⁸⁹ *Vita minor*, 256; *Vita maior*, 370.

Christ-like shepherd metaphor again, saying that Stanislaus laid down his life for his flock: *ut bonus pastor pro ovibus Christi animam suam posuit*.⁹⁰

The canonisation bull of Pope Innocent IV⁹¹ also accentuated certain episcopal qualities of Saint Stanislaus. The bull also used the motif of the good shepherd, elected by God. He guarded his flock and comforted and helped the people subjected to him. He felt sadness and joy together with the faithful.⁹² The bull also described the bishop's conflict with the king on the basis of Master Vincent's account.⁹³

In summary, the description of Saint Stanislaus as a bishop conformed to the contemporary ideals expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois that were also supported at the Fourth Lateran Council. Besides certain administrative qualities (Stanislaus' handling the tithes, visitations, pastoral work), a good bishop was supposed to be an example of virtuous, or even ascetic life. Similar episcopal ideals can be found in the *vitae* of contemporary bishop saints, following the Thomas Becket model: almost a monk within and a clerk from without.⁹⁴ André Vauchez speaks about a certain ambivalence between a spiritual and an active episcopal ideal;⁹⁵ Stanislaus' hagiographer successfully incorporated both into the *vitae*. One of the reasons that he was successful in doing this could have been that, unlike the hagiographers writing only a few years after the death of bishops, he did not have to face the tension between the aspirations and ideals and the authentic life of the prelate

⁹⁰ *Vita maior*, 373; not in the *Vita minor*. Peter of Blois also used the shepherd metaphor, see Peter of Blois, *De institutione*, 1107.

⁹¹ KDKK 1, n. 38, 48-51.

⁹² "Cum enim idem in sortem Pontificalis ministerii digne vocatus a domino super gregis sibi commissi prudenter custodiam vigilaret, hostium sagaciter exploravit insidias, malignantium anticipavit consilia, emulique nostri deprehendens laqueos ipsius caute retiacula dissoluebat. Hic nempe pro suis ovibus cor suum tradiderat ad vigilandum diluculo, ut si quem gravi forte deprehenderet temptatione concusum, mox ubere consolationis adhibito, eum gratulationis ubere protinus confortaret, ut non minus per hoc deficientibus quam proficientibus subditis se claris indiciis ostenderet esse matrem." Ibid., 49.

⁹³ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁴ Cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103.

⁹⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285-292.

(in Stanislaus' life it was far in the past). Still, Saint Stanislaus was presented as an example for the hagiographer's contemporaries.

1. 2. The Involvement of the Bishops of Cracow

This study will turn to the particular bishops of the Cracow see and their involvement in the cult of Stanislaus in the period around his canonisation, as presented in contemporary sources. One of them is the protocol *Miracula sancti Stanislai*. Subsequently, I will list certain motives and possible reasons why they were so concerned about the construction of the saint's image and the support of his cult.

As already mentioned, it was a bishop of Cracow, Vincent (1207-1218), who first recorded the legend of Stanislaus.⁹⁶ It is clear from the account that the bishops got involved, that is, the cult was made official to a certain degree, no later than the early thirteenth century, with the episcopate of Vincent Kadłubek.

Subsequently, in the miracle collections, the bishops appear supporting the cult. The *miracula* also offer useful information for the period before the canonisation. In the chapter *De ortu beati Stanislai* of the *Vita maior* Vincent of Kielce recorded that a wooden church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene had stood in the village of Stanislaus' birth (consecrated by Stanislaus himself) before it decayed because of its age during the episcopate of Iwon Odrowąż (1218-1229). Vincent himself visited this church and preached there to the descendants of Stanislaus' family and other people:

*Ipsam vetustissimam ecclesiam nos quoque vidimus et populo verbum Dei in ea predicavimus, ipsis heredibus et incolis terre adiacentibus hec ipsa protestantibus.*⁹⁷

⁹⁶ See above, page 7.

⁹⁷ *Vita maior*, 367.

Marian Plezia⁹⁸ suggested that Bishop Iwon could have sent his canon Vincent to the place of Stanislaus' birth before Vincent entered the Dominican Order (which was, according to Marian Plezia, after the death of Iwon). This must have happened before 1237 (when Iwon died), twenty years before Bishop Prandota commissioned Vincent of Kielce to write the *Vita maior*. The reason for this visit would have been, according to Marian Plezia, that the bishop already intended to pursue Stanislaus' canonisation at that time and ordered Vincent to collect materials for that enterprise.⁹⁹ This hypothesis would support the episcopal initiative with regard to the spread of the cult of the martyr-bishop before his canonisation.

Another bishop who actively supported the cult was Prandota of Odrowąż (1242-1266). The *elevatio* of the relics, which was the first step in initiating the official canonisation proceedings, took place in 1243, preceded by several miraculous apparitions encouraging the bishop, as will be discussed below. Prandota *cum consilio sui capituli* is said to have initiated the *elevatio*.¹⁰⁰ Afterwards, Prandota, together with the first investigation committee consisting of Archbishop Fulco of Gniezno, Bishop Thomas of Wrocław, and Lubens, a Cistercian abbot, started the pre-canonisation investigation and then sent his legates to the pope.¹⁰¹

The Cracovian bishops are mentioned in several places in the *Miracula* protocol.¹⁰² In most cases, the accounts in which the bishop is mentioned explicitly are dated before the elevation ceremony and seen as its impetus, according to the miracle collection. A German noblewoman was told in a dream vision (repeated

⁹⁸ Plezia, "Wincenty," 20.

⁹⁹ Rajman does not agree with the hypothesis that Iwon already had Stanislaus' canonisation in mind. See Rajman, "Kult," 39.

¹⁰⁰ *Vita maior*, s. 399-400.

¹⁰¹ KDKK, no. 33, 41-42. Prandota was praised for his merits for the canonisation of St. Stanislaus in later sources, for instance, *Miracula venerabilis patris Prandothae episcopi Cracoviensis*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in MPH 4, 442 (henceforth: *Miracula Prandothae*).

¹⁰² Unfortunately, the beginning of the protocol has not been preserved, so from this source we do not have the introductory information on the circumstances of the proceedings and the persons involved.

twice) to go to the bishop and convince him to elevate the saintly man's relics, otherwise she would not be healed:

*surge et vade in Cracoviam ad sepulchrum beati Stanislai et dicas Troiano custodi ecclesie, ubi iacet corpus ipsius sanctis, ut dicat episcopo, quod amodo non sinat corpus predicti sancti iacere in pulvere, sed statim levet ossa eius et lavet in vino et aqua et ponat ea in aliquo vase super terram et statim liberaberis ab infirmitate tua, aliquin si hoc non feceris non dixeris, nunquam ab ista infirmitate liberaberis...*¹⁰³

A similar account was recorded in Article 35 of the *Miracula* protocol.¹⁰⁴ The *Vita maior* noted almost the same story as an immediate impetus for the elevation of Stanislaus' relics.¹⁰⁵ The testimony giver, Count Falus, had a vision after Prandota had succeeded the late Bishop Wislaus (1229-1242) in the episcopal see of Cracow. In the vision he met Wislaus, who was not allowed to enter the Cracovian cathedral and celebrate a holy mass there. When Falus asked him for the reasons, he explained that he had neglected the veneration of the saintly bishop buried in the cathedral. Wislaus regretted it and urged him to go to Bishop Prandota in order to amend this. One of his arguments was that through the elevated relics even more miracles could be accomplished, when compared to the number of miracles that had happened up to that time by the means of Stanislaus' episcopal ring:

Non permittor ibi venire, quia tot annis fui in ipsa ecclesia et sustinui corpus sancti Stanislai tantum iacere in terra et procurare neglexi, ut corpus eius a terra levaretur et idcirco hiis indumentis exspolior, sed tu vade et dicas episcopo Prandote, quod ipse non negligat predictum sanctum virum elevare de terra. Et ipse testis respondit: Non credet mihi. Et ipse vir venerandus dixit: Tunc dicas ei: trunce, trunce, quare non advertis, quali morte mortuus est et pro qua causa? Quare non attendis, quanta et qualia miracula fiunt per anulum suum? Si per ipsius anulum fiunt tanta, quanta fierent per ossa eius, si levarentur de terra.

¹⁰³ *Miracula*, Art. 27, 305-306. The same account in the *Vita maior* III/5, 397-398 (De visione cuiusdam matrone de Nova Villa), connected with the elevation.

¹⁰⁴ *Miracula*, Art. 35, 311.

¹⁰⁵ *Vita maior*, III/4, 395-396.

Falus did not obey the late bishop, however, fell ill again and consequently had another vision to remind him of his duty. He then did immediately as he was told.¹⁰⁶ It should be noted that the only witness to this miracle was the beneficiary himself, surprising to a certain extent. If Prandota had been so interested and active in the spread of the cult (as various sources emphasise), why would he not have attested to this healing? He must have had an opportunity to appear in front of the committee. This still remains a mystery. Moreover, the apparitions urging the bishop to elevate the saint's relics would imply that the efforts to make the cult official were not the bishop's initiative.

In another place, moreover, Prandota is presented as personally propagating the miraculous healing power of the dead bishop, thus contributing to the spread of the cult. A knight took his mad son to the grave of Stanislaus *de consilio domini P. episcopi Cracoviensis*.¹⁰⁷ More often, however, it was not the bishop himself, but the Chapter of Cracow, the body around the bishop with its centre in the cathedral where the saintly man's relics lay, who was depicted in the miracle collections as playing an important role in the cult. Gozlaus, canon of Cracow, appeared as a witness.¹⁰⁸ Another canon, acting similarly to Prandota, gave a recommendation to a nobleman, Smil of Moravica, (*consilio Miloslai canonici Cracoviensis*); the nobleman made a vow to go to Cracow, sent for the miraculous ring and was healed.¹⁰⁹

Another of the "bishop's men," cathedral custodian Troyan, was mentioned several times. He 'embodied' the centre of the cult, the *locus sanctitatis*, contact with which was crucial in most cases. He played an important role as a witness.¹¹⁰ He

¹⁰⁶ "Date michi equum, quia volo ire ad episcopum. Et cum ascendisset equum, statim fuit sanatus et ipse ivit ad episcopum et revelavit hec episcopo." Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ *Miracula*, Art. 13, 296. The same account in the *Vita maior*, III/34, 417.

¹⁰⁸ *Miracula*, Art. 9, 294.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Art. 15, 297.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Art. 7, 293; Art. 42, 316.

appeared in another miracle account when a candidate was recommended in a vision to seek Troyan's help. In this case, the cathedral custodian mediated the contact with the saint at the *locus culti* again and thus made the miraculous healing possible.¹¹¹

Related to the episcopal imagery, Stanislaus' alleged ring – *anulus episcopi* – that is, a symbol directly associated with his episcopal power, appears quite often as a means of bringing about the miraculous deed. Usually the mechanism was: drink the water in which the ring was put – *aqua de anulo* – or have a cleric use the ring to consecrate the person – which usually only noblemen were granted.¹¹²

What were possible motives and concerns of the bishops of Cracow when supporting the cult of Saint Stanislaus and contributing to the construction of his image? Bishop-saint and martyr at the same time was perhaps the most suitable and “useful” type of saint to meet the interests of contemporary bishops. This saint was particularly attractive regarding the universal reform policies in the years following the Fourth Lateran Council and the bishops' particular local concerns for increasing their prestige.

One of the reasons for the bishops' interest was the propagation of the new model of the good bishop discussed above. In terms of Church reform tendencies, the legends of Saint Stanislaus expressed the model of the virtuous and ascetic bishop fully devoted to his flock. The bishop was also expected to defend the rights and property of his Church. Given the dignity of his office and his moral authority, which

¹¹¹ “Apparuit ei in visione quidam vir in albis vestibus et consuluit ei, ut iret ad Troianum custodem ecclesie Cracoviensis, qui ostenderet ei tumbam sancti Stanislai episcopi et per eius suffragia liberaretur et cum idem homo loqui non posset, concepit mente propositum, quod ita faceret et subito apostemate rupto sanatus est et quarto die venit ad tumbam sancti episcopi Stanislai.” Ibid., Art. 11, 295.

¹¹² The miraculous power of the ring in general mentioned in paragraph *Item de anuli virtute* in the *Vita maior*, 390. Particular cases can be found in the *Miracula*, Art. 13, 296; Art. 15, 297; Art. 16, 298; Art. 17, 298; Art. 24, 303; Art. 27, 305-306; Art. 33, 310; Art. 39, 313; Art. 43, 316.

was so much accentuated in the legends, he had a right (and a duty) to take part in the social and political life of the country.

A more worldly motive in the legends was the defence of the material property of the Church against the secular power, which was expressed in the Piotrawin episode. On the basis of the Piotrawin legend, Tadeusz Wojciechowski maintained that the bishops had intentionally started to support the cult of a saintly bishop killed by a king in order to defend their material interests against the secular power in the time when these conflicts emerged.¹¹³ This view would perhaps oversimplify a complex situation.

The archdiocesan ambitions of the Bishopric of Cracow have also been discussed often with regard to the cult of St. Stanislaus.¹¹⁴ In the *Vita maior* a paragraph entitled *De archiepiscopatu Cracoviensis ecclesie* refers to an alleged privilege from Pope Benedict to Bishop Aaron, dated to the reign of Casimir I in 1046.¹¹⁵

Undoubtedly, the clash between the ecclesiastical and the secular power, in which the Church dignitary is presented as a moral winner over the vicious king, was significant. Tadeusz Wojciechowski claimed that the legend started to be especially popular in the period of the dynastic competitions and fights in Piast principalities, in which bishops took an active part, and supported their claims by the legend.¹¹⁶

The Church dignitaries stood up for their rights many times, even against the secular power when necessary. However, their position was quite strong in the

¹¹³ Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 296.

¹¹⁴ Mieczysław Gębarowicz, "Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji" (The Beginnings of the Cult of St. Stanislaus and its Medieval Evidence in Sweden) *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego Imienia Ossolińskich* 1-2 (1927): 142; Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 48-49.

¹¹⁵ *Vita maior*, 383.

¹¹⁶ Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 309. He based this hypothesis on a theory that Stanislaus joined the plot of Władysław Herman, the king's younger brother, against Boleslaus II and thus became a model for bishops. Most scholars nowadays do not accept his theory.

weakened Polish principalities and they achieved their ambitions. The prestige of the Cracovian Church under Bishop Prandota is demonstrated in the privileges that Prince Boleslaus the Shy (1226-1279) granted to them.¹¹⁷ The bishops had ambitions to interfere in secular matters.¹¹⁸ When supporting the cult of his predecessor and initiating his canonisation, Prandota considered Saint Stanislaus to be his model, in the way in which he was described in the *vitae* – doing everything for the well being of his Church and his country. The bishops were so powerful that they could afford to criticise the dynasty openly, having presented the evil Piast king Boleslaus II in opposition to their saintly predecessor, Bishop Stanislaus. At the same time, the bishops and their circles managed to transmit the image of a good prelate, interfering in secular matters when needed, so that the secular power would be well aware of this message and their strong influence.

Consequently, Stanislaus' canonisation was also a result of the great authority of the Church in this period. André Vauchez argued that the cults of martyr-bishops were especially popular and successful in countries where the ruler's central power was relatively weak and the clergy powerful.¹¹⁹ This period also saw the increased veneration of other bishops besides Stanislaus of Cracow or at least attempts to establish bishops' cults in various regions of Poland. Saint Thomas Becket was

¹¹⁷ See KDKK 1, no. 24 (1243), 34; no. 31 (year 1250), 39; no. 35 (1252), 45; no. 39 (1253), 51; no. 41 (1254), 55; no. 52 (1255), 57; no. 53 (1255), 60.

¹¹⁸ Prandota's great influence on the policy of the Cracovian principality is manifested in the letter addressed to him by Bohemian King Přemysl Otakar II, asking him to persuade Prince Boleslaus about a political alliance, in the name of his devotion to Saint Stanislaus. See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. 5, ed. J. Šebánek and S. Dušková (Prague: Academia, 1974), 100-101. For the political power of Cracovian bishops in general, see B. Włodarski, "Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich w XIII wieku" (The Political Role of the Bishops of Cracow in the Thirteenth Century), *Nasza Przyszłość* 27 (1967): 39-48.

¹¹⁹ He named the countries of north-western and eastern Europe, where the Becket model was successful. He outlined the reasons of the success of bishop-martyrs' cults for the British Isles and Scandinavia, but similar could well be applied to Poland as well, at least to a certain extent: "These were the countries with a powerful episcopate, a public strongly attached to the defence of local liberties and a monarchy whose prestige had suffered at the hands of a turbulent aristocracy." Vauchez, *The Sainthood*, 168.

venerated in Poland shortly after his death.¹²⁰ The cult of Saint Adalbert also saw a certain revival around the middle of the thirteenth century.¹²¹ In Plock, measures were taken to set up a cult of Bishop Werner, who was killed by a nobleman in the twelfth century.¹²² The initiative came from the episcopal circles in these cases.

It was Stanislaus, a bishop, and not a member of the dynasty or someone else who became an object of the canonisation efforts supported by the Polish Church and the Piast dynasty together. The ruling dynasties of the monarchies neighbouring Poland had their own dynastic saints by the thirteenth century.¹²³ This was not the case of the Polish Piasts, who had not achieved a saint from their own dynasty. As for the patron saint of their monarchy, several candidates (St. Adalbert, the Five Martyr Brothers) had appeared by the thirteenth century, but none of them enjoyed a widely popular cult or became the patron saint of the whole territory of the Polish kingdom. Stanislaus, a bishop killed on the order of Boleslaus II, a member of the Piast dynasty, did not look like a suitable candidate for the patronage of the Piast dynasty and their monarchy, which he finally became. Logically, the cult of the martyr bishop would have undermined their prestige rather than contributing to it. Nevertheless, it can be

¹²⁰ Uruszczak, “Les repercussions,” 116-119; Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 20-28. Waclaw Schenk argued that the influence of Thomas Becket cult on the cult of Stanislaus, especially in the field of liturgy, was smaller than was expected; see Waclaw Schenk, “Zagadnienie zależności kultu św. Stanisława biskupa od kultu św. Tomasza Kantuaryjskiego w świetle śląskich rękopisów liturgicznych” (The Dependence of the Cult of Saint Stanislaus on the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket in the Light of the Silesian Liturgical Manuscripts), *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 4 (1957): 73-85.

¹²¹ Archbishop Adam Swinka attempted to revive the cult, see Jan Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa Polskiego na przełomie XIII. i XIV. wieku* (The Rise of a United Poland at the turn of the Fourteenth Century) (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1954) (henceforth: Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie*), 242-243.

¹²² As recorded in the hagiographic work composed probably in the 1260s, in 1245, the local Church took measures to revive the cult of Bishop Werner killed in 1172: “quem constat interemptum per potentissimum satrapam Mazovie, nomine Bolestam, pro Deo et pro iusticia et pro defensione sue ecclesie...” *Mors et Miracula beati Veneri episcopi Plocensis*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 748-754.

¹²³ For the dynastic cults in Central Europe, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

assumed that the Piasts got involved in the cult by the time of the official petition for Stanislaus's canonisation to Rome.¹²⁴

So the ruling dynasty also adopted the cult, paradoxically enough, considering that it was their predecessor, Boleslaus II, who gave the order to kill the bishop. In a way, the success of the cult and the canonisation signified a victory of the spiritual over the secular power, in other words, the strong position of the bishops of Cracow.

Another significant point is that the Church hierarchy outlined a whole political programme in the legends of Saint Stanislaus. They were concerned about the unfavourable *status quo* of the monarchy. After 1138 the Polish kingdom was divided into several principalities under the rule of various branches of the Piast dynasty and lost its former prestige and political power. The ecclesiastical organisation stayed unified, however. The Church circles used the legend of Saint Stanislaus to explain the reasons that had led to this unhappy situation and to show the way to improvement. Both *vitae* elaborated a whole ideology around the parallel fate of St. Stanislaus and the destiny of the Piast dynasty and the Kingdom of Poland. Commissioned by the bishops, it was clearly in complete accordance with their views and interests.

The *vitae* emphasised that the dynasty, and because of it the kingdom, was punished by the decline of the monarchy after their conflict with the spiritual power. Starting in the thirteenth century, criticism of the *status quo*, as well as efforts to explain and change it, appeared in written sources. Master Vincent Kadłubek, the first

¹²⁴ It should be noted that a later source, the *Vita sanctae Kyngae*, ascribed an important role in the initiation of the canonisation to Kinga, the wife of Boleslaus the Shy. She was said to have been the initiator of the canonisation and convinced her husband and they sent their legates to Rome together. However, the *vita* was composed only later, when St. Stanislaus had been canonised for several decades and it is a work of hagiographical character: “felix Kynga alacritate devocionis accansa, pro canonisatione tanti sancti totis votis ac virtutis anhelare cepit, unde devotum sponsum suum, ducem Boleslaum, sponsa devota omni precum instantia aggreditur, inducens eum, ut tempore vite ipsorum sollompnitas canonisacionis sancti Stanislai consummaretur.” *Vita sanctae Kyngae*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 710-711.

hagiographer of Bishop Stanislaus, himself a bishop, interpreted these unfortunate conditions at the end of his didactic narrative about King Boleslaus II and Bishop Stanislaus as a punishment for the bad morals and deeds of the Piast dynasty.¹²⁵ Later this motif of retribution was broadened from Boleslaus' dynasty to all of Poland. The *vitae* first paralleled the fate of Saint Stanislaus with the destiny of the Polish Kingdom. The *Vita maior* described the violent events of 1079 and Boleslaus' death in exile and the subsequent retribution of God on the whole country. After this, Vincent of Kielce inserted the chapter *De amissione corone Poloniae*, where he enriched the idea of retribution.¹²⁶ However, the author anticipated a change for the better in the well-known simile about the reunification of the Polish Kingdom, in the same way as the saint's was body reintegrated:

*Sed sicut divina potentia idem beatissimum presulis et martiris corpus sine cicatricum notamine redintegravit et ipsius sanctitatem signis et prodigiis declaravit, sic futurum est, ut per eius merita regnum divisum in pristinum statum restauret, iustitia et iudicio roboret, gloria et honore coronet.*¹²⁷

Vincent of Kielce also recorded that the coronation insignia were kept in Cracow Cathedral, waiting for their new owner, which increased the significance of Cracow,

¹²⁵ "Sic tota Boleslai domus sancto poenas Stanislao exsolvit: quia sicut nullum bonum irremuneratum, sic nullum malum impunitum." Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 59. Interestingly enough, it was Stanislaus' adversary, Boleslaus II, who had represented the powerful Poland earlier because he gained the crown. A hypothesis has been advanced that the supposed cult of Boleslaus II (the Penitent) was replaced by the cult of his victim due to a certain merging and contamination of the two appeared in the scholarship. See Jerzy Zathey, "O kilku przypadkach zabytkach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie" (Concerning a Few Lost Manuscripts of the National Library in Warsaw), *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Studies from the History of Polish Culture), ed. H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz (Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff, n.d.), 73-87.

¹²⁶ "Nam propterea parricidium ipsius, quod in beato Stanislao martire commisit, non solum corona de capite posteritatis ipsius cecidit, sed ipsa Polonia usque ad presens tempus suam gloriam et regni honorem amisit... Iusto ergo Dei iudicio agitur, ut regium diadema sibi ac suis posteris amputaret... Et sicut ipse corpus martiris in multas partes secuit et in omnem ventum dispersit, sic Dominus regnum eius scidit et plures principes in eo dominari permittit et, ut peccatis nostris exigentibus in presenciarum cernimus, hoc regnum in se ipsum divisum in conculcationem et direpcionem vastantibus per circuitum dedit." *Vita maior*, 391.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

and its Church, within Poland.¹²⁸ The liturgical texts for the feasts of St. Stanislaus also emphasised the saint's significance for all of Poland (*Gaude, Mater Polonia*, and so on).¹²⁹ Evidently, the legend and, subsequently, the cult of St. Stanislaus, were firmly connected with Polish political history and the idea of the *renovatio regni Poloniae*. This proved to be the first step toward the connection of the cult of Stanislaus with the idea of unification, renovation, and restoration of a powerful Kingdom of Poland, especially under the hegemony of Cracovian Piasts.

The engagement of the secular power, besides the Church hierarchy (and in fact all levels of society) is well illustrated in the festive canonisation celebration that took place in Cracow in May 1254; princes and prelates from all parts of the divided country were present.¹³⁰ The prestige of a newly canonised saint of Polish origin gathered them in one place on this occasion, for that event at least. Later the cult served as the ideological background for political efforts at unification.¹³¹ The programme outlined in the legends was gradually realised.¹³² At the end of the thirteenth century the first efforts appeared, with the initiative coming from various places.¹³³ Some proclaimed other saints for their patrons, depending on the locality.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ "Quia ipse [Deus] solus novit, quando debeat misereri genti Polonorum et restaurare ruinas eorum, ideo usque ad ista tempora omnia insignia regalia, coronam videlicet, sceptrum et lanceam in armario Cracoviensis ecclesie, que est urbs et sedis regia, ut superius memoravimus, adhuc servat recondita, usque dum ille veniat, qui vocatus est a Deo tamquam Aaron, cui sunt hec reposita." *Vita maior*, 392-393.

¹²⁹ Henryk Kowalewicz, "Zabytky średniowiecznej liryki liturgicznej o św. Stanisławie" (The medieval liturgical lyrics on St. Stanislaus), *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 221-248 (henceforth: Kowalewicz, "Zabytky").

¹³⁰ Joannes Dlugossius, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vols. 7-8, ed. Danuta Turkowska et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 95.

¹³¹ František Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), 67-73.

¹³² This is not the concern of this study, the subsequent references give several titles dealing with this topic.

¹³³ For the reunification efforts, see Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie*, 237-401. It includes Silesian duke Henry Probus, Przemysł II of Great Poland, and Vladislaus Lokietek.

¹³⁴ The later thirteenth century saw the rivalry of the saints' cults. See Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Die politische Rolle des Kultes des hl. Adalbert, Stanislaus und der hl. Hedwig im Polen des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne: Approche comparative*, ed. M. Derwich and M. Dmitriev (Wrocław: Lahrcor, 1999), 111-125; Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie*, 242-243.

In general, it was St. Stanislaus for the efforts bound with Cracow, the centre of Little Poland, St. Adalbert-Wojciech for Greater Poland with its centre in Gniezno,¹³⁵ and St. Hedwig of Silesia for the Silesian duchy.¹³⁶ Vladislaus Łokietek was crowned in Cracow in 1320 and claimed Saint Stanislaus as his patron saint.¹³⁷ Thus, Stanislaus became the patron saint of Poland.

The fate of Bishop Stanislaus was paralleled in his legend with the fate of the Polish Kingdom. The initiative probably originated in Church circles – the intellectual basis of the country. No one else but clerics could have written the works containing those ideas. The legend perfectly manifested their views. First came the criticisms of the *status quo*, aimed at the secular power. Only then did they disclose the means for change for better – it was in their hands, in a way. It could be achieved *per merita* of Saint Stanislaus, their predecessor in the episcopal see.

The ruler could do nothing but accept it (and benefit from it) and support the cult of the symbol of the victory of ecclesiastics over the secular power. The Polish Church, the powerful bishops, and the Mendicants who were also nationally oriented, were the driving force of the renewal and reunification process. Secular rulers, the Cracovian branch of the Piast dynasty, took up these ideas willingly. However, the bishops (at least those who were able to) arranged that the rulers always had the image of Saint Stanislaus in front of their eyes.

To summarise this subchapter, following Master Vincent Kadłubek, the bishops continued to be involved in the cult of Saint Stanislaus, whom they

¹³⁵ For references to Saint Adalbert, see above, footnote 17.

¹³⁶ *Vita sanctae Hedwigis (Legenda maior, Legenda minor, Genealogia)*, ed. Aleksander Semkowicz, MPH 4, 510-633; Joseph Gottschalk, *St. Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien* (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1964); Joseph Gottschalk, "Die Förderer der Heiligsprechung Hedwigs," *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 21 (1963): 73-132.

¹³⁷ Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie*, 128. On the occasion of his coronation, Łokietek issued a medal with a picture of Saint Stanislaus. See also Małgorzata Kochanowska - Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne z legendy św. Stanisława biskupa" (The Oldest Narrative Cycles of the Legend of St. Stanislaus). *Ikonotheka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 3 (1991): 37-38.

considered to be their model. They attempted to imitate his features, activities and deeds, which were described in the legends. They also used his legend to pursue their objectives. The work describing a model bishop fitted the bishops' concerns, as I have tried to demonstrate. The canonisation of one of their predecessors was undoubtedly a manifestation of the great prestige and power of episcopate at that time.

1. 3. The Contribution of the Mendicant Orders (From the Thirteenth Century Onwards)

Members of the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, contributed considerably to the construction of the image of Saint Stanislaus. Subsequently, they disseminated the cult of this saint and the image of the holy bishop, which they had helped to create, through their pastoral activities among all spheres of Polish society, as this subchapter will demonstrate. With regard to this, the regular clergy acted in complete accord with the bishops' interests, working together on the reform projects of the Fourth Lateran Council.

The Dominicans came to Poland early after the Order was founded, almost thirty years before Stanislaus' canonisation. It was the Cracovian Bishop Iwon Odrowąż who sent a small group headed by his kinsman, later saint, Hyacinth¹³⁸ to Italy. They returned, instructed, to Cracow, probably in 1222.¹³⁹ The papacy, the

¹³⁸ Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Jacek" (Hyacinth), in *Hagiografia polska*, vol. 1, ed. Romuald Gustaw (Poznan: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1971), 432-456. According to the *De vita et miraculis sancti Iacchonis*, MPH 4, 865, Bishop Prandota had a vision in which he saw St. Stanislaus, officially canonised by that time, and the late Hyacinth. St. Stanislaus urged Prandota to initiate the Dominican Hyacinth's canonisation.

¹³⁹The Polish Province, established in 1225, encompassed Poland, Bohemia, and Western Pomerania. Franciscans came to Central Europe a bit later. The first Franciscans appeared in Poland in the same decade, although they did not establish their Bohemian-Polish Province until between 1237 and 1239. They continually superseded the Dominicans in numbers of convents. Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Dominicans

bishops, and also the ruling house of Piasts fully supported them, in agreement with the rise of the new religious devotion and Church reform policies in the years following the Fourth Lateran Council. As they worked to achieve the same objectives among the faithful as the bishops had in the thirteenth century, often acting as their instruments, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish their activities from those of the bishops. The Mendicants concentrated their efforts on the pastoral guidance of the faithful. Their activities, aimed at all social spheres, included preaching, attractive indulgences for the faithful, and confession. With regard to the spread of popular devotion, the cult of saints was an important element in the plan of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the latter perhaps more visible in this context in the period under study here.

The cult of St. Stanislaus was among the first cults that they supported. Some scholars maintain that it was the Dominicans and Franciscans who urged the bishop to initiate the canonisation proceedings, as they needed saints as examples that they could use in their preaching.¹⁴⁰ Mendicant friars took an active part in the canonisation proceedings, which can be seen as another example of the alliance between the friars and the bishop. No Dominicans or Franciscans took part in the first investigation; the committee members belonged to well-established traditional groups – the episcopate and the Cistercian Order. However, both new orders petitioned Rome for the canonisation in 1251.¹⁴¹ With regard to the Franciscans, the place of Stanislaus' canonisation ceremony – Assisi – should be noted. On the other hand, the

of the Polish Province in the Middle Ages,” in *The Christian Community of Medieval Poland*, ed. J. Kłoczowski (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1981), 73.

¹⁴⁰ Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*, 156.

¹⁴¹ “magister Jacobus doctor decretorum et magister Gerardus can[onici] Crac[ovienses] cum Predicatoribus et Minoribus pro caninizacione beati Stanyzlai certi nuncii et procuratores eiusdem negotii ad Romanam curiam destinantur.” See the contemporary note in the *Rocznik kapitulny krakowski* (The Annals of the Cracow Chapter), ed. A. Bielowski, MPH 2 (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1872; reprint: Warsaw, 1961), 805.

Miracula protocol contained only a few explicit mentions of the Mendicant orders that indicate their active part in the cult as far as the miracles are concerned.¹⁴²

Importantly, the Dominicans composed the hagiographical works about Saint Stanislaus. His image as a holy bishop -- an ideal reform bishop -- which has been described above, was an image created by the Dominicans. The Dominican Vincent of Kielce¹⁴³ was the author of hagiographic works and liturgical texts¹⁴⁴ about Stanislaus that contributed considerably to the spread of his cult and also to the success of his canonisation. The *Vita maior* is generally accepted as his work; some scholars have expressed doubts concerning his authorship of the *Vita minor*, but all of them agree that it is a Dominican product, following Dominican models.¹⁴⁵ It seems that although the bishops could have given them the impulse to support the cult of Saint Stanislaus, they did much more: they took it up, added their own Dominican features and used it for their pastoral objectives.

Vincent of Kielce himself appeared in both the lives, introducing himself in the prologue to the *Vita maior* as a member of the Dominican order.¹⁴⁶ He claimed that it was Bishop Prandota who commissioned him to write the *Vita maior*.¹⁴⁷ In the introduction to his work, he mentioned that he had preached in Szczepanow, in the church where Stanislaus had been baptised; Bishop Iwon could have sent him there.¹⁴⁸ The *Vita maior* described another miracle from the period of the canonisation connected with Vincent of Kielce. A simple man, who had seen a vision of a

¹⁴² They appear as witnesses; sometimes the miracle beneficiaries came to them for confession after the miracle: *Miracula*, Art. 15, 297; Art. 22, 301; Art. 43, 316-317 (the same account, slightly modified in the *Vita maior*, III/21, 407-408). A boy called Stanislaus had been miraculously healed, then he entered the Franciscan order. *Ibid.*, III/27, 410-411.

¹⁴³ For more about him, see above, footnotes 38 and 39.

¹⁴⁴ Several liturgical texts and hymns, some of them ascribed to Vincent of Kielce, were edited in the article of Kowalewicz, *Zabytky*, 221-248.

¹⁴⁵ Plezia, "Wincenty," 22; Labuda, "Twórczość," 110; Klimecka, "Legenda," 33.

¹⁴⁶ "ego frater Vincencius de ordine fratrum ordinis predicatorum." *Vita maior*, 365.

¹⁴⁷ "rogatu venerabilis patris domini Prandote Cracoviensis episcopi et capituli sui," *Vita maior*, 363.

¹⁴⁸ See above, page 24-25.

procession with St. Stanislaus in the middle, was told to go to Friar Vincent at the Dominican Trinity Church and confess.¹⁴⁹

The works of Vincent of Kielce became the part of the Polish *Legenda aurea* and were spread by the Dominicans, especially through their pastoral activities, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁰ So the model of Saint Stanislaus, in the way it was presented in the thirteenth-century *vitae*, kept spreading in the fifteenth century.

The examples of a virtuous life described in the legends and instruction of Christian doctrine were not the only means that the Dominicans used in their pastoral activities among the common people. The miracles done by the saint were maybe more effective than anything else. The Mendicants often made use of miracle stories to inspire religious devotion among the faithful. The popularity of the supernatural often superseded the saint's virtuous life and the biographical aspects of his story.¹⁵¹

Vincent of Kielce gives information about the practical significance of the miracles:

*Senescenti etenim et ad occasum vergenti mundo multisque peccatis involuto omni humano cum iam viluerunt **sancte predicationis verba**, non reputantur nec ad mutacionem vite trahuntur **bonorum exempla**, necessario divina providencia hiis novissimis et periculosis temporibus exhibet et multiplicat **miracula**.*¹⁵²

Neither sermons nor the *bonorum exempla* were sufficient to evoke devotion among the people with whom the Dominicans worked. Their *christianitas rudis* needed

¹⁴⁹ “Tu autem in Cracoviam vade et fratri Vincencio predicatori peccata tua confitere et hec, que audisti et vidisti, studeas ei intimare, quia placuit Deo tibi hoc misterium revelare. Invenies autem eum iuxta ecclesiam ad collumpnam contra fratris Iackonis sepulchrum sedentem et confessiones audientem.” *Vita maior* III/54, 432-434.

¹⁵⁰ *Złota legenda*, 260, 532.

¹⁵¹ This study does not especially focus on the miracles and their role in the cult of Saint Stanislaus. For the analysis of the miracle collections concerning Saint Stanislaus and their evidence with regard to religious devotion in Poland in the thirteenth century see the work of Aleksandra Witkowska, “Miracula małopolskie z XIII i XIV wieku” (The *Miracula* of Little Poland in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century), *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 19, n. 2 (1971), especially 43-52, 67-71, 83-86, and so on.

¹⁵² *Vita maior*, III/54, 432-434 [emphasis mine].

supernatural signs and miracles.¹⁵³ Stanislaus (who had lived and died almost two centuries earlier) was not a typical modern saint of the thirteenth century, whose virtuous life was to be imitated by common believers. His cult among them was more oriented toward the supernatural than the natural human side of sainthood.¹⁵⁴

Thus, through the Mendicants' activities, the cult of Saint Stanislaus was gradually being disseminated to all spheres of society. Besides the miracle stories, the image of a bishop who should be respected by the people subject to him was also dispersed among the faithful. An exemplary means of this were the sermons of the Dominican Peregrinus of Opole (1260-1333?), a famous preacher.¹⁵⁵

In his collection of sermons *de sanctis* (1297-1304)¹⁵⁶ he included also a sermon for the feast day of Saint Stanislaus. Through this, not only was the cult of Saint Stanislaus being spread, but also an image of a good bishop was transmitted, as the following paragraphs will show. Peregrinus' sermon *In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris*¹⁵⁷ was designed for an audience of common people. The protheme of the sermon from the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Talis decebat, ut esset nobis pontifex, sanctus, innocens, excelsior caelis factus est*, Heb 7. 26) (one of the typical quotations for a sermon about a bishop saint) already illustrates that Stanislaus's being a *pontifex* will be an important motif, perhaps the leitmotif, of the sermon. In a way, it

¹⁵³ Compare with André Vauchez' observations about the countries at the periphery of Christendom, but that feature could well be true for ordinary people anywhere. André Vauchez, 70.

¹⁵⁴ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 340-352.

¹⁵⁵ He probably also studied abroad, became the prior of the convent in Raciborz and also the confessor and preacher at the court of Duke Przemysl in Raciborz, and later he was the provincial of the Polish Dominicans (1312, 1322-27). For information on Peregrinus of Opole, see Antoni Podsiad, introduction to, Peregrinus, *Sermones*, VII-XIII. See also: Jerzy Wolny, "Peregryn z Opola," in PSB 25, 599.

¹⁵⁶ The collections of sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* (1297-1304), spread throughout a large area of Central Europe and were popular in the Middle Ages. According to Antoni Podsiad and Ryszard Tatarzynski, these Latin sermons originated primarily as schemes for preaching, based on the models of Jacobus of Voragine, for instance, not as the depositions of orally presented sermons; they were used as models for preaching and copied and modified. The cycles *de tempore* (57-65 sermons) and *de sanctis* (63) – with the supplement of sermons for the occasion of feast days of Polish and other saints (Wojciech, Stanislaus, Wenceslaus, Hedwig of Silesia, in Polish copies). Recently, his collection of sermons was edited and published by Ryszard Tatarzyński: Peregrinus, *Sermones*.

defines what a proper *pontifex* should be like: saintly, innocent, *excelsior caelis factus*. On the basis of this Peregrinus divided his sermon into two main *distinctiones*: the dignity of Stanislaus's being a *pontifex*, and his sanctity, which was proved by many miracles. The *thema* further addresses the audience (suggesting that they are not clerics, perhaps) that they should ask the bishop to bless them because that is *ad officium pontificis, ut populum benedicat*. Peregrinus included an *exemplum* – an account of the saint's apparition from the *Vita maior* -- to illustrate this better to his audience.¹⁵⁸ According to it, a man saw the saint in episcopal garments in a group of people, blessing them; according to the author they were those who would be saved thanks to him. The apparition urged the man to go to confession. Thus, the main duty of a bishop was to bless his people and lead them to salvation through the sacraments.

Addressing the dignity of bishops, Peregrinus glorifies the high esteem of the episcopal office as a vicariate of Christ, which stems from the consecration by chrism. Apparently, he wanted to evoke people's respect for every bishop as a consecrated person.¹⁵⁹ What is noteworthy is that Peregrinus does not speak about bad prelates (this topic – of later sermons – was probably reserved mainly for clerical audiences), his argumentation is simple, aiming at common people who are not supposed to judge their prelates. The negative counterpart is reserved for King Boleslaus, as was traditional.

The dignity of episcopal office is demonstrated by several artefacts, as Peregrinus further explicates. Each part of the bishop's clothing symbolised Stanislaus's virtues. One of them was the *camisia* called *vestes*. This linen cloth demonstrated Stanislaus's way of life (the features that comprised *vestes*): his fasting,

¹⁵⁷ "In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584-591.

¹⁵⁸ *Vita maior*, 432-434.

¹⁵⁹ The same motif of prelates' dignity is incorporated in Peregrinus' sermon "In festo sancti Thomae archiepiscopi Cantuariensis," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 344.

keeping vigils, praying, and chastity. The *alba camisia*, wide and long, symbolised his piety that was so broad that it extended over all of his diocese. At this point, Peregrinus names Stanislaus's deeds of mercy, signs of his active Christian life, the same as those in the *vitae*, even using the same words (this was apparently a popular, if not "populist" issue – always successful with people).¹⁶⁰ Then the *cingulum* encircled his chastity. The *manipulare* on his hand symbolised his innocent hands, pure of any evil action. The stole represented his being temperate and disciplined in speech and action. Then the *casula* with two shields (*clipeae*) – the symbol of every Christian's fight for the Faith and every prelate's fight for justice and his Church.¹⁶¹ Here was the point to mention Stanislaus's conflict with the king, who took away all the provisions of the poor and decapitated the nobles. Stanislaus admonished him and showed his episcopal dignity in his martyrdom as well. Peregrinus uses concrete imagery in this section, in a manner suitable for his audience. He managed to do two things at the same time: give them an intensive course on episcopal garments, a task of practical, ceremonial Christianity, and demonstrate the virtuous life of Stanislaus, for which every prelate received the same potential by consecration, and thus should be respected by his flock.

The image of Saint Stanislaus as a holy bishop comes up often in the sermons, naturally.¹⁶² These were not necessarily sermons *ad status*, preached in front of a clerical audience at episcopal synods and on other similar occasions. Some of the sermons were intended to instruct common people, audiences in cities as well as in the country, about the pastoral work of their prelates, whose duty was, in the desirable

¹⁶⁰ "Omnes pauperes, viduas, orphanos et leprosos et alios in corde suo tamquam in libro scriptos habuit, quibus necessaria singulis annis ministrabat.; mensa etiam communis erat eius omnibus hospitibus et clericis et viris religiosis." Cf. *Vita maior*, 372.

¹⁶¹ "debet quilibet praelatus pro iustitia et ecclesia sua pugnare." "In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587.

¹⁶² Compare below, the Chapter 2. 2. about the sermons in the fifteenth century.

case, to care for the people entrusted to them by God and lead them towards salvation. Sermons like these were also supposed to make people aware of the bishop's holy office and so they would obey his instructions. For this enterprise, Saint Stanislaus was a good example.

With the engagement of the Dominican order, the cult found its way to the broader spheres of Polish society. This process may have started a long time before the canonisation, but the real spread of devotion in larger measure came about only with the involvement of the Mendicant orders. The bishops themselves would not have had such an opportunity to disseminate the cult among the folk from their seat. The friars conducted their pastoral activity on the bishops' order. At the same time, they had also their own objectives when spreading the devotion. As a result, the originally "elitist" cult of an outstanding person from the high circles of the social hierarchy worshipped by his descendants from the same circles acquired a new popular dimension, which was fully achieved only in the fifteenth century, according to Aleksandra Witkowska.¹⁶³

To sum up this chapter, the bishops of Cracow, in cooperation with the Mendicant orders, managed to construct the image of Saint Stanislaus as an ideal bishop, which they recorded in the *vitae* of this saint. Many characteristics appeared in the *vitae* for the first time, as there were no authentic sources concerning his activities. The model in the *vitae* is a reform bishop, who has the virtues, asceticism, and the administrative qualities necessary for his office. On the basis of the dignity of episcopal office and his moral credit, he could even admonish the king. The defence

¹⁶³ Witkowska, "Miracula," 122. See her tables for social distribution.

of his flock and the Church were his priorities. In these legends Saint Stanislaus resembled a typical bishop-saint model.

The bishops perceived Saint Stanislaus as their model in many respects recorded in the legends. At the same time, they used the legends for their particular pastoral, political, and social objectives. Mendicants acted in full accord with the bishops, who fully supported them in their pastoral work. The impulse to spread the cult probably came from the bishops (Iwon, Prandota), who commissioned them to write literary works about Saint Stanislaus. Through these Mendicant compositions and activities, the cult of this saint as well as an image of a good bishop was being disseminated,¹⁶⁴ offering favourable conditions for an increase of the prestige of the bishops and the Church they led.

¹⁶⁴ An evidence of successful dissemination could be the big number of the surviving manuscripts of Peregrinus' sermons. See Antoni Posiad, introduction to, Peregrinus, *Sermones*, XIII-XXIII.

CHAPTER 2: THE IMAGE AND THE CULT OF THE HOLY BISHOP IN THE TIME OF DŁUGOSZ

After the thirteenth century, when a number of hagiographic works were composed in Cracow, the second half of the fifteenth century saw a real revival of old cults and a boom of new ones and also the heyday of the hagiographic and sermon production.¹⁶⁵ New miracle collections were collected and hagiographical works were composed. One of the saints in the centre of interest was Saint Stanislaus, a bishop-saint, in a period when the cults of saintly prelates had already seen a decline in Western Europe.¹⁶⁶

Two important persons, whose activities were interconnected, contributed considerably to the flourishing of this devotion. Jan Długosz (1415-1480) was the author of hagiographical works. Sources show that Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Cracow (1423-1455)¹⁶⁷ also played an important role in this, as will be discussed below. Besides these, a number of preachers helped disseminate the cults.

Not only Saint Stanislaus, but also other bishops became the object of attention, especially from the episcopal see of Cracow. They collected the miracles of Prandota (1454-1465), who had initiated the canonisation of Saint Stanislaus, and wanted to get him canonised.¹⁶⁸ Długosz worked on an ambitious project of short biographies of Polish bishops.¹⁶⁹ All these measures aimed at advancing the prestige of the Church and its prelates. As this chapter will demonstrate, the ambitions of the

¹⁶⁵ Witkowska, *Kulty*, 39-40.

¹⁶⁶ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 303-308.

¹⁶⁷ See footnote 46.

¹⁶⁸ The tomb of Prandota was opened in 1454 and the miracles started to be collected, Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki ordered Maciej of Milejow, a public notary, to put them down: “retulit eciam et annotari mandavit reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Sbigneus cardinalis et episcopus Cracoviensis,” *Miracula Prandothe*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 443. For more about the cult of Bishop Prandota see Witkowska, *Kulty*, 40-44, 90-93.

¹⁶⁹ For the *Vitae episcoporum*, see footnote 45.

Cracovian Church with the bishop at its head were once again (as in the thirteenth century) accompanied by a new emphasis on the cult of Saint Stanislaus, a model bishop. New hagiographic works and sermons presented Saint Stanislaus as a model for contemporary prelates.

2. 1. Długosz's Images of the Holy Bishop and Ideal Bishops

Jan Długosz, the author of the fifteenth-century *Vita*, intentionally attempted to emphasise the bishop-dimension of the cult, both Stanislaus's being a bishop and the involvement of the Cracovian episcopate in the cult.¹⁷⁰ He was a zealous devotee of Saint Stanislaus and contributed to the revival of the cult at Skalka, the place of the bishop's martyrdom, by supporting the arrival of Pauline Order in the parish. He also donated some material goods to Skalka parish, as well as to the church in Piotrawin, the birthplace of the saint.¹⁷¹ Finally, he was buried in the church dedicated to Saint Stanislaus, which he had supported so faithfully during his lifetime.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Having not completed his studies at the University of Cracow, Długosz worked in the chancery of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, later became a Cracovian canon and the bishop's secretary. He made many diplomatic journeys on behalf of the bishop and the king. He opposed King Kazimierz in the conflict over the nomination of a Cracovian bishop. Długosz himself was designated the Archbishop of Plock (Leopoliensis), but died before taking up the office. For more biographical information see *Vita Joannis Dlugossii*, in *Opera omnia 1*, I-XVI (henceforth: *Vita Dlugossii*); Michał Bobrzyński and Stanisław Smolka, *Jan Długosz: jego życie i stanowisko w piśmiennictwie* (Jan Długosz: His Life and Position in Literature) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Konstantego Hr. Przeddzieckiego, 1893) (henceforth: Bobrzyński and Smolka, *Jan Długosz*); Jerzy Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne v czasach Jana Długosza" (Cracovian Cathedral Centre in the Age of Jan Długosz), in *Dlugossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza* (Dlugossiana: Historical Studies on the Five-Hundred Anniversary of Jan Długosz' Death), ed. Stanisław Gawęda (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980) (henceforth: *Dlugossiana*), 85-107 (henceforth: Wolny, "Krakowskie").

¹⁷¹ "Ductus praeterea eadem cura, praeter particularem et privatam devotionem suam erga Sanctum Stanislaum, cum natalem locum prius lateritia ornasset ecclesia, procuravit non sine magna difficultate, ut in ecclesia Rupellae Cracoviae, in qua ille martyrium susceperat, collocarentur confratres sub religione Pauli primi eremitaе..." *Vita Dlugossii*, VII-VIII.

¹⁷² Matthias de Miechovia, "Obitus Ioannis Dlugossii," in *Opera Omnia 1*, XVI.

Długosz glorified the deeds of Saint Stanislaus in several works, most importantly in his *Annales*¹⁷³ and the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi*,¹⁷⁴ thus contributing considerably to the development of the tradition concerning Saint Stanislaus. Długosz perceived the history of Saint Stanislaus as the essential event of Polish history.¹⁷⁵ This study will first discuss the third part of the *Vita*, which includes forty-two new miracle accounts collected between 1430 and 1478, in order to identify the role of the bishops in the cult of Saint Stanislaus in this period, in the same way as was done for the *Miracula* protocol. According to Aleksandra Witkowska, Długosz could have used a collection of miracles which was being put down continually, although he did not explicitly refer to anything like that.¹⁷⁶ His accounts are detailed and vivid; they do not have a juridical character as those of the *Miracula* protocol from the 1250s. As far as the miracle material is concerned, no new account of the bishops' involvement in the miracle acts can be found, except for the rewriting of the older accounts from the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁷ Neither the bishops nor the clergy are mentioned in these new miracles: neither as advisors encouraging the faithful to turn to the saint for help nor as those who should be informed about the miraculous acts. We find them only in the accounts retelling those miracles from the thirteenth-century *miracula*, especially those concerning the

¹⁷³ Joannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* 3-4, ed. Danuta Turkowska et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), 124-168; *Annales* 7-8, ed. D. Turkowska et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 86-113.

¹⁷⁴ Długossius, *Vita*. See above, footnotes 43 and 44.

¹⁷⁵ Bobrzyński and Smolka, *Jan Długosz*, 159.

¹⁷⁶ Witkowska, *Kulty*, 59.

¹⁷⁷ Similarly to the earlier *vitae*, Długosz gives an account of the translation of Stanislaus's body from Skalka (Rupella) to the Wawel Cathedral several years after his martyrdom. However, he enriched the account to a certain extent. The *translatio* was said to have been motivated by a miraculous apparition, Długosz added some details, though: the name of the woman, and the involvement of the prince. Stanislaus sent a pious noblewoman Swanthoslawa to Bishop Lampert and other Cracovian prelates and canons and they transferred the saint's body, "Principe Regni Wladislao Duce primum consulto et permittente," in 1088, found in the chapter *Apparitiones nonnullis factae. Translatio corporis ad Ecclesiam cathedralem* in Długosz, *Vita*, 95-98; cf. *Vita maior*, 393-394. Długosz included and amplified the apparitions preceding the elevation and canonisation efforts in the thirteenth century

elevation of Stanislaus's relics. This could be one of the manifestations of the cult becoming more popular in the fifteenth century; people turned to Saint Stanislaus perhaps more spontaneously. Besides the Wawel cathedral, the importance of Skalka increased¹⁷⁸ as a place of devotion with a more popular orientation; the rate of burghers, especially, attesting to miracles increased considerably.¹⁷⁹ The Church representatives themselves were perhaps not concerned about the miracles (which were more of a popular element, appealing to common people) to such a great extent. As for the clergy, they put more emphasis on Saint Stanislaus's virtuous life and model pastoral activity as an example to be followed and as an opportunity to criticise the contemporary situation. They also used his conflict with the king to illustrate the prestige of the ecclesiastics over the secular, as this chapter will further demonstrate.

At this point the study will turn to the first part of the *Vita* concerning the life and martyrdom of Saint Stanislaus. Generally speaking, Długosz amplified the elements of the earlier legend and added a few new matters. Długosz's important contribution, in accordance with the style and ambitions of the work of contemporary historiography or hagiography, were three monologues admonishing King Boleslaus II, ascribed to the saint himself, and the romanticising insertion of the king's adulterous affair.¹⁸⁰ Długosz also added the story of a local knight, Jan of Brzeznicza, who drove the bishop away from the village where he wanted to consecrate a church (a later place of folk cult is located at the meadow where Stanislaus was forced to spend the night). It is an episode referring to the life of Saint Stanislaus that is not

(Palatine Fulko, knight Falislaus, Adleydis matrona Theutonici generis, etc.). Długossius, *Vita*, 125-128.

¹⁷⁸ For the history of the cult at Skalka see Witkowska, *Kulty*, 83-86; Teofil Krauze, "Zarys dziejow kościoła św. Michała i Stanisława w Krakowie na Skalce do 1472 roku" (An Outline of the History of the Church of Saint Michael and Stanislaus at Skalka until 1472), *Studia Claromontana* 17 (1997): 275-305; Wiesław Skiernia, "Sadzawka św. Stanisława biskupa na Skalce" (The Pool of Saint Stanislaus at Skalka), *ibid.*: 595-623.

¹⁷⁹ The rate of burghers was 72 per cent, Witkowska, *Kulty*, 156.

¹⁸⁰ Długossius, *Vita*, 25-32.

found in the earlier *vitae*.¹⁸¹ Długosz also developed the legend of Piotrawin into a longer artistic account, emphasising Stanislaus's defence of his Church, pious devotion and belief in God, and his zeal for truth and justice.¹⁸²

Before turning to the particular description and analysis identifying the message that Długosz wanted to communicate by presenting the saint as an ideal bishop, certain general aspects of Długosz's writing technique have to be clarified. Marian Plezia noted that the *Vita* should be considered more a literary enterprise ("a panegyric") than a historiographical work.¹⁸³ In general, not everything that Długosz wrote, and this is true for all his works, can be taken as a fact-based and objective record of history, although it claimed to be a piece of historiography. Concerning the *Annales*, Bobrzyński and Smolka speak about "famous amplifications" and a "pragmatism of the Polish Livy," which, seeming innocent at first sight, however, are not far from "pure fiction."¹⁸⁴ Even more so must this hold true for a hagiographic work like the *Vita*. On the contrary, Stanisław Belch asserted that the characteristics of Saint Stanislaus, in the manner Długosz's *Vita*¹⁸⁵ presents them, was not a literary (or even propagandistic) fiction invented by the author.¹⁸⁶ Belch claims that Długosz described the "ideal" personality and life of Saint Stanislaus according to the authentic eleventh-century reality preserved in oral tradition. Otherwise, Belch argued, Długosz and other people would not have been trying to follow this model (in terms of religious devotion and care for their believers and their country) throughout their lives. This is not a very powerful argument, however. Most scholars now accept

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 21-22.

¹⁸² Ibid., 32-45.

¹⁸³ Plezia, *Dookola sprawy*, 154.

¹⁸⁴ Bobrzyński and Smolka, *Jan Długosz*, 79.

¹⁸⁵ The particular description of Stanislaus's features will be discussed below.

¹⁸⁶ Stanisław Belch, *Święty Stanisław biskup-męczennik: Patron Polaków* (Saint Stanislaus, Martyr-Bishop: The Polish Patron Saint) (London: Veritas, 1976), 325-326 (henceforth: Belch, *Święty Stanisław*).

that Długosz translated the history into his time; in his perception the same spiritual atmosphere, social institutions, and so on, existed in the distant past.¹⁸⁷ He added some elements to his description, partially consciously, partially perhaps unconsciously. This should be kept in mind when addressing the particular issues in the *Vita*.

Understanding this, Długosz's characteristics of Stanislaus as an ideal bishop (and other elements) can be useful for the argument here, taking the description not as a fact-based account of the situation in 1079, but as the author's projection of contemporary issues and concepts of sainthood, and so on. Another thing to be noted is the characteristic of Długosz as a "moralist" – history for him was a set of edifying examples for the instruction and correction of people.¹⁸⁸ His perception and criticism of prelates and other issues elaborated in the *vita* should also be seen in this light.

At this point this study will focus on the characteristics of the saint as a bishop and the use of this feature in his cult, in the way Długosz presented it. Basically, Długosz followed the model of the hagiographical *vitae* of Vincent of Kielce in terms of the personal characteristics of the saintly bishop. Moreover, Długosz followed the way in which the history of Saint Stanislaus and his person were associated and paralleled with the national history of Poland in the works of Vincent of Kielce.

At the beginning of the work, in the Prologue, when generally enumerating the merits of Saint Stanislaus, Długosz mentions that none of the Polish Church dignitaries did so much for justice, liberty, and religion in the country:

Neminem ex Pontificibus Polonicae Ecclesiae pro fide et iusticia, neminem pro libertate et religione, et priscorum et nostra memoria, fortuis pugnasse; (neminem insuper inter Sanctos extitisse, qui pro suo merito a nostrae linguae

¹⁸⁷ Bobrzyński and Smolka, *Jan Długosz*, 150.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 159.

hominibus sit amplius colendus, magis amandus, magisque in deliciis et admiratione habendus.)¹⁸⁹

The author emphasises that the bishop was a Polish saint. However, besides this, he stresses that Saint Stanislaus was an outstanding personality among Polish Church dignitaries and urges the followers of the saintly prelate, in a way, to follow the example of Saint Stanislaus. This is only one small instance of how the saintly bishop was naturally perceived as a model for ecclesiastical representatives (who faced the same issues as the saint many times, for instance, a conflict with the secular power). Stanislaus was outstanding and should be followed (according to Długosz) also *in reprehendendo Rege, in avertenda et repellenda oppressione*.¹⁹⁰ This quotation implies that bishops' interference in the secular sphere is sometimes desirable and highly positive when it is concerned with the welfare of the faithful and moral matters. Such an image of Saint Stanislaus could also serve as a justification for the actions of the fifteenth-century bishops. Throughout the *Vita*, Długosz keeps in view how much Saint Stanislaus, an outstanding figure among Polish prelates, had done for the well-being of both the Church and the Polish nation.

Długosz followed the pattern introduced by Vincent of Kielce concerning the family background and the education of Saint Stanislaus, including his stay in Paris and his election as a bishop of Cracow.¹⁹¹ Basically following earlier biographies, he included the characteristics of Stanislaus' episcopal activities featured by a handful of the bishop's virtues.¹⁹² The framework of this description corresponds with the characteristics presented in the thirteenth-century *vitae*. Generally speaking, the

¹⁸⁹ Długosz, *Vita*, 2. Cf.: “*Nullum siquidem, et nec eius, nec superioris, quod admirabilius reor, nec postea decursae aetatis Pontificem in Polonia Stanislao comparandum fuisse, aut sanctiorem in vita, aut in religione, aut ordine probatiorem in defendenda iustitia et veritate, in reprehendendo Rege, in avertenda et repellenda oppressione, in colenda et manu tenenda religione.*” *Ibid.*, 77 [emphasis mine].

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 6-16. Cf. *Vita maior* above, page 19.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 16-21.

emphasis on these signs of piety was largely the work of Stanislaus's hagiographers, as they did not have sources contemporary to Stanislaus's life. However, Długosz's description is rather lengthy, amplified to a considerable extent. It uses a wide range of literary devices and also the content was more instructive for contemporaries and certainly more impressive than the previous *vitae*.

Conventional phrases referring to Saint Stanislaus as a good shepherd (an image which was later widely used in sermons) can be found here.¹⁹³ He was elected to his office not only by the people, but also by God himself. Saint Stanislaus led a virtuous apostolic life, imitating Christ. He subjected his body to his spirit.¹⁹⁴ Długosz added that he wore a hairshirt (*a cilicina toga, a topos*).¹⁹⁵ He prayed day and night, fasting.¹⁹⁶ This is an image corresponding to the contemporary model of an ascetic saint. Another outstanding virtue was his charity towards the poor:

*Super omnes quoque egenos, pupillos, viduas et miseros, misericordiae opera fundebatur. Caecorum erat baculus, indigentium refectio, oppressorum refugium, lugentium solamen...*¹⁹⁷

He donated material goods to the poor and to the Church. He distributed food and did other charitable things *propriis manibus* (another *topos*). As a good shepherd, he cared for the faithful entrusted to him by God:

*Ad omnium denique hominum, in sua diocesi consistentium, curam, salutem et custodiam vigilanter se ac pastoraliter exercebat, et circa gregis sibi commissi custodiam sollicitis excubiis superintendens, id agebat, id providebat, id summopere curabat...*¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ "Polonico gregi Pastor praedestinatus;" "Obtulit tunc ad altare panem et vinum, Melchisedech sacerdotis morem aemulatus: haud multo post tempore sui corporis vivam hostiam, pro Polonici populi salute et libertate, in odorem suavissimum oblaturus." Długossius, *Vita*, 17.

¹⁹⁴ "spiritui itaque carnem subiecturus," "carnem suam cum vitiis et concupiscentiis crucifigens," Ibid., 18.

¹⁹⁵ The hairshirt is Długosz's new contribution, this *topos* is found in the legend of Thomas Becket, for instance: "Non solum enim cilicium pro camisia deferebat, sed etiam femoralia cilicina usque ad poplitem baiulabat." Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103.

¹⁹⁶ Długossius, *Vita*, 19.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 18.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 21.

On the occasion of episcopal visitations, as a good bishop, Stanislaus exhorted the faithful and acted as an example, both in terms of faith and virtues, not only to his clergy, but also to the *vulgares popularesque*.¹⁹⁹ When he instructed people, he did it *magis exemplo quam voce*.

Długosz enumerated the virtues of Saint Stanislaus, with the saint as an example to the prelates and canons of his Church,²⁰⁰ who, of course, could be of guidance also to the bishops in the fifteenth century. Długosz did not forget to actualise the issue, mentioning that many of the bishops of his own age differed from the saint in virtuous life:

*...vitae conversatio, quantum a modernae aetatis plerisque Episcopis differat, nemo est qui non sciat, quorum si vitam, si conditiones, si mores, si denique eorum ambitiosos et pravos ingressus rimatus fueris: reperies profecto non zelo Dei aut lucri animarum, non propriae, non proximi salutis profectu in officium pontificale adduci, sed locuplecatione ampliori et substantia, velut ad negotium, provocari.*²⁰¹

I believe that this is one of Długosz's contributions. He put more emphasis on the topical issues that worried his contemporaries, not avoiding a critical attitude towards the bishops of his own time, listing the criticised points in comparison to Stanislaus's features. They were concerned more with their own well being than with that of their flock. Then the description of the particular virtues (in fact a conventional set for a saintly bishop) continues. They served as a model for contemporary readers holding an office (as well as Christians in general).

Another object of Długosz's criticism was the luxurious clothing of the Church representatives of his own age, compared to the modest behaviour and clothing of Saint Stanislaus:

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 19.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 18.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 17-18 [emphasis mine].

*...quorum luxu atque splendore nostrae aetatis Pontifices, atque eorum exemplo inferioris ordinis sacerdotes, adeo praesumptuose uti video, ut quodlibet purpurae, pellium et indumentorum genus, quod vix in laicis tolerabile foret, non fastidiant.*²⁰²

Then a few more sentences concerning this topical issue follow. It seems that the preferences of clergy had changed slightly, as Vincent of Kielce had emphasised mainly Stanislaus's moderation in eating and drinking.

An important point of the characteristics is the contrast of the bishop's humility and chastity with King Boleslaus's *superbia* pride accompanied by carnal lusts, especially developed by Długosz, adding the story of an adulterous affair of the king with Cristina, with St. Stanislaus having defended the honour of marriage.²⁰³ Stanislaus was not afraid to admonish the king for his sinful affair, although other bishops stayed silent (*aliis Episcopis tacentibus*).²⁰⁴ Saint Stanislaus acted as an ideal Christian prelate, not intimidated by and subject to the secular power, in matters spiritual and moral, as the sacrament of marriage, but also in the defence of the material property of the Church.

Długosz pointed out the contrast between Bishop Stanislaus and other bishops once more, saying about Stanislaus that he did everything to fight the injustice inflicted on God, the Church, and the nation, finally sacrificing himself:

*pro Dei et Ecclesie et populi iniuria, ceteris Episcopis provinciae dissimulantibus, omnium aliorum vicem et negligentiam superpleturus.*²⁰⁵

The bishop of Cracow, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki,²⁰⁶ is mentioned at several places in the *Vita* as promoting the cult of Saint Stanislaus, more precisely, building and consecrating churches at the localities of the saint's cult: in Brzeznicza²⁰⁷

²⁰² Ibid., 19-20.

²⁰³ Ibid., 26-32.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 26.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 75.

²⁰⁶ See above, footnote 46.

²⁰⁷ Długossius, *Vita*, 22.

and in Piotrawin.²⁰⁸ Długosz compared Stanislaus's defence of the rights of the Church in Piotrawin to the Cardinal addressing the Council of Basel in order to defend the rights of the Church against the Hussites. Zbigniew Oleśnicki was said to have used the legend of Piotrawin as an argument against the forfeit of the material property of the Church:

*Adstipulatur [a cardinale] et Catholica Ecclesia, quae in generali Basiliensi Concilio, contra quartum Hussitarum haeresos articulum, de temporalitate bonorum ab Ecclesia rescindenda, disputans, vivificationem et resuscitationem huiusmodi insigniter commemorat: eo inter alia vel maximo usa argumento, quod beatus Stanislaus Cracoviensis Episcopus, occupationem villagii ecclesiastici prohibiturus, triennem mortuum resuscitatum duxit in testem, dogma illud pestiferum cum suis iugulavit assertoribus.*²⁰⁹

Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the contemporary bishop of Cracow, was also praised in the fifteenth-century biographies and regarded as an ideal bishop in a similar way.²¹⁰ These *vitae* were not hagiographical works, but rather biographies, even humorous in places, with idealisation and glorification of Zbigniew to a certain extent. Their authors were from the circles close to the bishop.²¹¹

How did the personality and activities of Cardinal Zbigniew described in his biographies correspond to the image of a bishop presented in the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*?²¹² In what respects were they both regarded as ideal bishops? The differences are found in the personal characteristics, although the basic virtue of zeal

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 42.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 42.

²¹⁰ See footnote 46.

²¹¹ Koczarska, "Piętnastowieczne," 5, 14, 23. She argued that Długosz, the author of the *Vita Sbignei* (either Długosz or somebody else), and Callimachus praised the bishop, only sometimes bringing in a negative feature; all authors were connected with the bishop.

²¹² In the following paragraphs I will use several examples from the fifteenth-century biographies to illustrate this point. The biographies do not differ in the basic characteristics of the episcopal and political activity. The Callimachus' *Vita et mores* is least fragmentary, largely dwelling upon the fragmentary *Vita Sbignei* and the account from the *Vitae episcoporum*, 423-429, thus helpful in the parts that has not been preserved in the other two. For the description of the activities of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, see also Joannes Dlugossius, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vols. 11, 11-12, ed. C. Baczkowski et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2000-2001), for the years 1411

for justice was common to both. Certainly, something like following was not included in the *vita* of an ascetic saint: *somno longo et presertim nocturno, interim diurno delectabat*,²¹³ or *magis tamen carne quam pisce delectabatur*,²¹⁴ instead of Stanislaus' keeping vigils and fasting. Definitely, the engagement in political matters was one of the similarities. Neither Saint Stanislaus nor Cardinal Zbigniew hesitated to get involved in conflict with the secular power, that is, the ruler, to whom they were very close otherwise. They perceived it as their proper right and duty to take part in the social and political life of the country. Zbigniew Oleśnicki worked in the chancery of King Władysław II Jagiello (1351-1434) before he became the bishop of Cracow.²¹⁵ As Callimachus claimed, following Długosz, Zbigniew wanted *ubique regi adesse*.²¹⁶ The author of the *Vita Sbignei*, either Długosz or someone else, described Bishop Zbigniew as *patriae suae amator ferventissimus*.²¹⁷ During his episcopate, he got into an opposition, or even a conflict, with the king several times.²¹⁸ Zbigniew, supported by his Church and aristocratic groups, had a powerful position and often the decisive authority in the Polish monarchy also during the reign of Władysław III (1434-1444). He largely influenced the policy of the kingdom, interfering in the election of kings as well, and was not afraid to refuse to assent to Grand Duke Witold's proposed coronation or oppose King Casimir IV's election as King of Bohemia.²¹⁹ In the period of King Władysław's infancy, a new element emerged among Polish secular and clerical aristocracy, of which was also Zbigniew and his family were also

onwards. An abridged English edition is found in *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, ed. and tr. Maurice Michael (Chichester, West Sussex: IM Publications, 1997), especially 406-498.

²¹³ *Vita Sbignei*, 556.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 557.

²¹⁵ Zbigniew was said to have saved the king's life; he worked in the king's chancery before he became bishop, then cooperated with the king. See the work of Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 34-37.

²¹⁶ Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 34.

²¹⁷ *Vita Sbignei*, 555.

²¹⁸ Koczerska, "Oleśnicki," 777-782.

²¹⁹ Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (The Political Activities of the Jagiellonian Kings) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 184-190, 195-200.

representatives, as Jacek Wiesołowski pointed out: a feeling of responsibility for the well being and peace of the monarchy.²²⁰ Certainly more could be said about the bishop's rich political activities, however, they are not the focus of this study. But they illustrate well the point that Saint Stanislaus in the manner he was presented in the *vita* could well serve as a model for him. The Church and faith always came first for him, even if he got into controversy with the king or anybody else. As Callimachus claimed: *in ea cura multas et graves controversias suscepit*.²²¹ Maria Koczerska claimed that Zbigniew's support to the cult of Saint Stanislaus was related to his controversies with the king.²²² Similarly to Saint Stanislaus, Zbigniew defended the faith and the Church against the Hussite heretics in the fifteenth-century conditions. He opposed the alliance with Hussite Bohemia, which provoked the king's anger, and kept driving heretics out of Cracow.²²³ Thanks to his uncompromising attitude, he managed to defend his Church and the country against the Hussite danger.²²⁴ He also admonished his subjects when necessary. Like Saint Stanislaus, Zbigniew was presented as a prelate devoted to both his Church and his country.

Undoubtedly, Saint Stanislaus and Zbigniew Oleśnicki were regarded as two personalities who represented a strong position of the Church and its high authority, although the latter was not a saint. Długosz, the cardinal's secretary, definitely shared the same views on the authority of the Church as Zbigniew did and expressed them in

²²⁰ Jacek Wiesołowski, "Kultura szlachecka" (The Aristocratic Culture), in *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV w.* (The Medieval Polish Culture in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century), ed. Bronisław Geremek (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1997), 174-175.

²²¹ Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 42.

²²² Koczerska, "Oleśnicki," 782.

²²³ See also footnote 209. For his activities against the Hussites, see Koczerska, "Oleśnicki," 778. For the Hussite problem in Poland, see also Paweł Kras, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce* (The Hussites in Fifteenth-Century Poland) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998).

²²⁴ "Ea severita episcopatum suum imprimis universumque subinde regnum immune servavit a pravis opinionibus impiisque erroribus, qui finitimarum gentium religionem corruperant." Callimachus, *Vita et mores*, 49.

his works, including the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai* and the *Vitae episcoporum*.²²⁵ Stanisław Belch claimed that Zbigniew Oleśnicki was not the model for Długosz' description of Saint Stanislaus.²²⁶ However, we cannot rule out that Zbigniew fashioned himself according to the image of Saint Stanislaus. Certainly similarities between the two bishops can be found, whether or not Zbigniew was inspired by Saint Stanislaus or Długosz was inspired by the cardinal when writing the life of the saint. A combination of both is possible, I would argue. As can be observed from the characterisation of both bishops, the authors certainly attempted to present them both as ideal prelates, devoted to their Church and country, *defensores ecclesiae et Regni*.

The same message is present in Długosz's *Vitae episcoporum*, which are short biographies of Polish bishops. The oldest of them were composed only through analogies and fiction, due to the lack of authentic sources, often limited only to the bishop's name and a date of his election or death. Of course, the good prelates are described as virtuous men, in a similar way as Saint Stanislaus or Zbigniew. Many of them got into controversy with the kings for the defence of their Church and people. In the dedication letter to Rudolph, Bishop of Wrocław, before the *Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, Długosz reminded the reader that like Saint Stanislaus, many Polish bishops were persecuted by kings and princes and thus harmed the monarchy:

*Fatemur et alios Reges, proceresque nostros, cum praeter beatum Stanislaum, aliosque Poloniae Episcopos, sacerdotes et Christos Domini, in quibus etiam nonnullos Pontifices Wratislavienses in praesenti opere numerabimus, necarent, captivarent, aquis suffocarent, exiliarent, variisque afficerent iniuriis et contumelis, divinam offendisse maiestatem, thronumque Regni Poloniae coruisse.*²²⁷

²²⁵ For a description and analysis of Długosz' activities as a secretary of the bishop, see Bolesław Przybyszewski, "Kapituła krakowska za kanonikatu Jana Długosza (1436-80)" (The Cracow Chapter in the Time of the Canon Jan Długosz), in *Długossiana*, 25, 61-71.

²²⁶ Belch, *Święty Stanisław*, 325-326.

He glorified Gedko, a twelfth-century bishop of Cracow, *animosus bonorum ecclesiae Cracoviensis defensor*, who stood against Prince Mieszko when he oppressed his subjects:

*predecessorem suum Stanislaum expressurus, se murum pro oppressiis et gravatis intrepidus opposuit.*²²⁸

Finally, Mieszko was deposed from the throne and his brother succeeded him. Długosz wrote also about the merits of Prandota, whose cult was being revived at that time:

*Libertatem clero omnimodam secundum Deum, iustitiam et tutelam a persecutione laicali omnimoda, et patriae liberationem studiosissime procuravit.*²²⁹

Here the motif of bishops' engagement for the welfare of the country appeared. Długosz intended to strengthen the prestige of the Bishopric of Cracow by mentioning its alleged archdiocesan past. He claimed that Cracow used to be an archdiocesan see besides Gnesen, until Lambert Zula, the predecessor of Saint Stanislaus in the office, did not request a *pallium* from Rome and Cracow lost its title because of his negligence.²³⁰

The cult of Saint Stanislaus in the second half of the fifteenth century, by that time firmly rooted in Polish society, got new support in the form of the new hagiographic work of Jan Długosz. This was only one of enterprises that focused on the ideal of bishop, criticised bad contemporary prelates, and intended to manifest the prestige and merits of Church representatives, even if they confronted the secular power. Besides the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, the *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae*, the praise of the deeds of Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the efforts at Bishop Prandota's

²²⁷ *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae (Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium)*, 441-442.

²²⁸ *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae (Catalogus episcoporum Cracoviensium)*, 394.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 403.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 379, 386-387. For the issue of archbishopric, see also above, page 29.

canonisation had the same implications. The care for the well being of both the *ecclesia* and the *patria* was what all these bishops had in common. Their high esteem stemmed from their virtuous lives and the dignity of their office. Not coincidentally, all this happened in the time when the Church representatives had great authority, in the monarchy where the king' power was weakened, similar to the thirteenth-century situation.

2. 2. A Model Bishop in Fifteenth-Century Sermons on Saint Stanislaus

This subchapter presents observations from research on a sample of fifteenth-century sermons about Saint Stanislaus.²³¹ More thorough research is still to be undertaken in this field, neglected up to this point, concerning the cult of Saint Stanislaus. This study deals with a small sample of three fifteenth-century sermons, examined for hints pertaining to the topic of ideal bishop that is developed there.

The sermons about Saint Stanislaus were probably preached after his canonisation in the thirteenth century (at least) on his feast days: the anniversary of his martyrdom, and of the translation of his relics.²³² The sermons illustrate the manner in which Stanislaus was understood and used by the preachers of the Church as a model of saintliness and as an example to other prelates in the Church. This discussion will demonstrate on this sample how medieval preachers interpreted the lesson of Stanislaus' saintly life and martyrdom to their own spiritual or other purposes. They used the image of holy bishop that they found in the hagiography, but they also contributed to the construction of the saint's image.

²³¹ A list of the sermons on Saint Stanislaus that I have identified so far is attached in the Appendix 2.

²³² For the analysis of Peregrinus' of Opole sermon about Saint Stanislaus, see above, pages 40-43.

The examples are three sermons from the fifteenth century: two by Pawel of Zator (1395-1463)²³³ and one by an anonymous author.²³⁴ The former was a well-known preacher, a contemporary of Długosz and Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki. He was a professor at the University of Cracow, general vicar of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, and a permanent preacher in the Wawel Cathedral from 1454, when the office was established.²³⁵ Given his activity in the very same milieu, his views on the role of bishops must have been very similar to those of Długosz and Zbigniew Oleśnicki discussed in the previous chapter. These model sermons, which were used also as a teaching material in the cathedral school,²³⁶ often perhaps meant for a clerical audience, are much more erudite than the sermon of Peregrinus.²³⁷

The sermons were not limited to the description of the life, martyrdom or miracles of Saint Stanislaus. Rather, the preachers used certain elements from his legend and actualised them to provide very specific examples for their audiences. The most frequent opening Biblical verse of the sermons was the quotation from the Gospel of John (John 10. 11): *Ego sum pastor bonus*.²³⁸ They also quoted and explicated other verses from this Gospel chapter throughout the sermons. Undoubtedly, the connection between this theme and the liturgy of the feast day

²³³ Pawel of Zator. “Sermo de sancto Stanislao,” in *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitibus*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 1506, f. 82r-83r (henceforth: MS BJ 1506, f. 82r-83r); idem, “De sancto Stanislao,” “Secundus ad idem,” in *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitibus*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 491, f. 194-199 (henceforth: MS BJ 491). The sermon in the MS BJ 1506 is identical with the “Secundus ad idem” in the MS BJ 491. For a transcription of this sermon, see Appendix 1.

²³⁴ Anonymous. “Sermo de sancto Stanislao,” in *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), MS BJ 1626, f. 152v-153r (henceforth: MS BJ 1626). For bibliographical information, see Jerzy Wolny, “Pawel z Zatora” (Pawel of Zator), in PSB 25, 401-403. For Długosz’ relation and positive attitude toward him see the article of Jerzy Wolny, “Krakowskie,” 100-103.

²³⁶ Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 287-288.

²³⁷ The authors quoted various authorities like Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, Valerius Maximus, Helmandus.

²³⁸ For other sermons with this incipit, see Appendix 2. Other themes besides this one were: “Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis” (Eccl 45. 40), “Talis decebat, ut esset nobis pontifex” (Heb 7. 26), and so on.

played an important role in favouring this view of the saint.²³⁹ This choice suggests that the leitmotif of these sermons was Stanislaus' image as the good shepherd who served his flock well in life and in death and whose example the contemporary clergy should follow. These are the same elements as this study analysed in the hagiographical works. With regard to this theme, the sermons about Saint Stanislaus are similar to those about Saint Thomas Becket.²⁴⁰

Similar themes to those developed in the hagiographical works appear in the sermons. However, given their function, the sermons go further and give more explicit examples and instructions based on Stanislaus' model of bishop. The motif that is usually accentuated at the very beginning of the sermon is that Stanislaus as a good shepherd, in contrast with hirelings, gave his life for his flock. Naturally, the comparison to Christ, the model of a good shepherd, is omnipresent throughout the texts. One of the most accentuated motifs is that a good shepherd should prefer the care of the people entrusted to him to his own interests. Pawel of Zator argues in the sermon that:

*status pastoralis est status bonitatis, caritatis et utilitatis, in quo homo intendere debet quod etiam sui et suorum obliviscatur et se debitorem omnium sapientum et insipientum esse cognoscat.*²⁴¹

²³⁹ The Gospel to be read was taken from the Second Easter Sunday, as the feast day of Saint Stanislaus was celebrated on May 8. See Waclaw Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława biskupa na Śląsku w świetle średniowiecznych rękopisów liturgicznych* (The Liturgical Cult of Saint Stanislaus in Silesia in the Light of Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts) (Lublin: Nakładem Towarzystwa naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego: 1959), 63.

²⁴⁰ For the analysis of the sermons on Saint Thomas Becket, see the study of Roberts, "Thomas Becket." Sermons dealing with the topic of the good shepherd beginning with the same verse were quite popular in the Middle Ages, they were not limited to the feast days of bishop saints. For the most famous of these, see for instance Saint Augustine's sermon *De verbis Evangelii Ioannis (10, 11-16)*, in PL 38 coll. 760; and the sermon of Pope Innocent III, in PL 217 coll. 405-410. For a quite long index of these sermons from the later Middle Ages, far from complete, see *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1150-1350*, vol. 10, ed. Johannes Baptist Schneyer (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 278-280. For the problem of the good shepherd in the age of Pope Innocent III, also recommended are the articles of Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings," and J. M. Powell, "Pastor Bonus: Some Evidence of Honorius III's Use of the sermons of Pope Innocent III," *Speculum* 52 (1977), 522-537.

²⁴¹ MS BJ 491, f. 197; MS BJ 1506, f. 82r.

To support his point, the author brings in a quotation from the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury about Melchisedech as an example of both king and priest.²⁴² For the author, good shepherd Stanislaus was not only an example for bishops and clergy, but also for secular rulers (*dedit Deus seculari potestati gladium quasi pastori baculum*). In his second sermon, Pawel of Zator uses a similar argument. Following the example of Christ, priests, kings and dignitaries are all supposed to be good shepherds.²⁴³

The example of the Good Shepherd is to be followed because *ad officium pastorale ad culmina dignitatum Deus non proposuit angelos, sed homines*.²⁴⁴ As the preacher says, however, shepherds often do not care about the people and turn to wolves:

*Si pastores et tutores conventuntur in lupos... Ecce venerunt leones rugientes, ursi insidiantes, lupi rapaces, subditas et animas rapientes et totum Dei honorem delere cupientes.*²⁴⁵

The author does not forget to remind the audience that because he gave his life for his flock Saint Stanislaus was not a shepherd like these. Similar themes are developed in the sermons on Thomas Becket. Preaching about him, preachers also spoke about the saint as *pastor bonus* and then condemned and denounced those clergy who pillaged and robbed their flocks, comparing them to the beasts of the field. They even said that the prelates were more like princes than like shepherds.²⁴⁶

After the criticism, the preacher suggests what is required: *primo, Dei timor in superioribus; secundo, morum reformatio in minoribus*.²⁴⁷ As he further states, there are still people who do not observe this:

²⁴² “Melchisedech rex et sacerdos nec patrem nec matrem legitur habuisse, non quod utroque careat, sed...oblivisci debet affectionem carnis et id solum agere quod subditorum salus exposcit.” MS BJ 491, f. 197.

²⁴³ MS BJ 491, f. 195.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., f. 198.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., f. 198.

²⁴⁶ Roberts, “Thomas Becket,” 9.

²⁴⁷ MS BJ 491, f. 198.

*quis superuit Deum et Dei honores quilibet magnates, quis magis contradicit Deo quilibet potentes, quis magis infestat Dei ecclesiam et cultum, quasi milites quot conspirationes, quot condictiones, contra Dei ecclesiam, et prodolor libentius eius destructionem viderent quasi a Deo poniti essent ad desolationem non ad tutionem vere mundo a scandalis.*²⁴⁸

Finally, good shepherds should not only take care of the temporal pasture of their subjects, but also leave their flocks to the eternal pasture, where they themselves find their reward. The anonymous sermon accentuates the good shepherd's *utilitas populi* because it is his duty to provide the faithful with three kinds of bread (later discussed as three *distinctiones*): *corporalis*, that is, material help for those who need it;²⁴⁹ *perpetualis*, that is, the Christian faith and doctrine through preaching; and *eternalis*, that is, the sacramental body of Christ. The second sermon of Pawel of Zator emphasises the great dignity of the pastoral office that encompasses also the offices of *magisterium* and *dominium*. All three are required of a good prelate or ruler: *bonitas* makes a shepherd, *scientia* a teacher, and *disciplina* a lord.²⁵⁰

Besides instructing the leaders, the sermons also address the faithful subjected to good prelates. They have to know their shepherds and follow them.²⁵¹ This was not always the case in the time of Pawel of Zator, as he pointed out. Instead of obeying the prelates, the faithful listened to *erroneos homines* and went against their true shepherds.²⁵² He must have spoken about the spreading Hussite movement that was also a threat for Polish territories.²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 198.

²⁴⁹ “pauperes, infirmi, viduas, defuncti...” MS BJ 1626, f. 152v. Cf. the *Vita maior*, 372. The sermons on Thomas Becket also pointed out that he had fed the poor, see Roberts, “Thomas Becket,” 9.

²⁵⁰ MS BJ 491, f. 195.

²⁵¹ Here the authors made use of the Biblical imagery again: “Oves meae vocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me. Debent ergo oves pastorem noscere, ipsum audire, ipsum sequi.” Ibid., f. 198.

²⁵² “Ululantur lupi heretici... sequuntur homines errorem... Venit tempus infelicitatis magna in quo oves suos pastores non cognoscunt, sed abutentur, non audiuntur, sed contempnunt, non secuntur, sed persequuntur... Recognoscamus igitur pastores nostros, audiamus eos, et obediamus, fugiamus lupos, erroneos homines.” Ibid., f. 198-199.

²⁵³ Compare with the description of Zbigniew Oleśnicki as an opponent of the Hussites above, page 57.

The preachers often compared Saint Stanislaus to other saints or personalities, to Christ in the first place, and also to the apostles Peter and Paul.²⁵⁴ The anonymous sermon enumerates several analogies. The preacher could perhaps choose and develop some examples from these included in the model sermon depending on his objectives and audience. Saint Stanislaus was said to have died for the liberty of the Church as Thomas Becket, for the Christian faith as had Saint Lawrence and Saint Vincent, for Christ as the innocents killed by Herod.²⁵⁵ The author also compared him to John the Baptist.²⁵⁶ Multiple analogies only strengthened the impact of the saint's example.

The sermons show the variety of ways Stanislaus's life and martyrdom were interpreted to medieval audiences, what elements were emphasised and chosen for preaching. The importance of the role of Saint Stanislaus as a good shepherd, as the man of saintly qualities, consequently as an example for modern prelates, seems to be by far one of the most important themes appearing in these sermons. The very same conclusion emerged from the corpus of sermons on Thomas Becket. Phyllis Roberts viewed this feature as evidence of the rooted conception of sanctity, which became closer to real life, to everybody, something achievable that can be followed here and now, a concept that emerged in the thirteenth century, as André Vauchez has discussed it.²⁵⁷ The observations on these sample sermons only support her thesis; the example of Saint Stanislaus for prelates and rulers was the most important focus of the preachers.

²⁵⁴ MS BJ 491, f. 195.

²⁵⁵ MS BJ 1626, f. 153r.

²⁵⁶ The biographer of Pope Innocent IV used the same analogy when speaking about Stanislaus' canonisation to such an extent that he incorrectly spoke about decapitation of the saint: "Papa ibidem, beatum Stanislaum... qui, ut alter Iohannes Baptista, ducem Polonie super nephandissimis immunditiis arguebat, propter quod ab ipso duce in civitate Cracovia capitis truncationem sustinuit... in cathalogo sanctorum martyrum ascripsit." Niccolò da Calvi, *Vita Innocentii IV*, ed. F. Pagnotti (Roma: Societa Romana di storia patria, 1898), 110-111.

²⁵⁷ Roberts, "Thomas Becket," 8-9, 11-12; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 340-352.

The second half of the fifteenth century was the period of the emergence of new hagiographic material about Saint Stanislaus, the *Vita* composed by Długosz, as well as a great production of sermons. Once again (after the thirteenth century), it was in a period when Church representatives had great authority in the Polish monarchy. These materials glorifying the deeds of the saint, together with other works devoted to the praise of Polish bishops, were intended to manifest the high esteem of his successors. The saint was presented as an example to contemporary prelates. One of the qualities that were accentuated the most was his care for the welfare of both *ecclesia* and *patria*. These two objectives were becoming more intertwined. In a similar way, the sample of sermons that I presented also used Stanislaus as an example for the secular leaders. The theme of the saint was also used to discuss topical issues like the danger of the Hussite movement, for instance.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has analysed the image of holy bishop that was presented in the hagiographic works and sermons about Saint Stanislaus, that is, his personal characteristics and his episcopal activities. The image of Stanislaus as an ideal bishop has been taken for granted. Scholars have often addressed certain aspects pertaining to this issue. However, a study in this form, analysing both the *vitae* and the sermons from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, looking for the meanings, implications, and uses of this image construction, has not been written hitherto.

The personal characteristics and description of the episcopal activities of Saint Stanislaus had to be constructed, to a certain extent, as there were no authentic sources dealing with these. The oldest records concerning Saint Stanislaus were poor in this respect. After the *Cronicae sive Gesta principum Polonorum*, which denoted him as a *christus* and *traditor*, the sources turned to perceiving him as an ideal of bishop. However, Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum* still did not offer more than an account of his conflict with the king, describing thus a bishop defending his flock, denoting him simply *sacerrimus*. Nevertheless, the basic tendency was clear. Stanislaus was one of the martyr-bishops, a type popular especially after the canonisation of Thomas Becket.

The thirteenth-century *vitae* offered a more thorough characterisation of Stanislaus and description of his episcopal activities. In these, he was a reform bishop, virtuous and ascetic, but at the same time an able administrator of his diocese and zealous defender of the Church. In the fifteenth century, Długosz enriched the image of an ideal bishop, accentuating his care for both the Church and the country.

Naturally, the image of Saint Stanislaus as a holy bishop mostly pertained to his successors in the episcopal office, especially the bishops of Cracow. Scholars have been looking at the involvement and interests of bishops of Cracow in the cult of Saint Stanislaus, often denoting them as the initiators of the cult. This study has correlated the image of an ideal bishop presented in the works on the bishops contemporary to these sources. The bishops like Prandota in the thirteenth century and Zbigniew Oleśnicki in the fifteenth century contributed considerably to the construction of this image by their support and commission of the authors of the *vitae*. Thus, Vincent of Kielce and Długosz composed the *vitae* of Saint Stanislaus with full support from the bishops. Not coincidentally, the hagiographical works glorifying the saintly bishop emerged in the periods when the bishops of Cracow had a special interest in the cult. It was in the periods when the bishops, Prandota and later Zbigniew Oleśnicki, had great authority in the country, often at the expense of the weaker secular ruler. These bishops were also active in the monarchy's politics, as scholars have many times claimed.

The image of Saint Stanislaus as an ideal bishop and good shepherd was also a very frequent theme of the sermons preached on his feast days, although it was not the only one. They also devoted attention to the saint's miracles, these being perhaps the second most frequent topic of the sermons, especially those intended for the audiences of common people. I analysed a sample of several sermons for the features pertaining to episcopal imagery: Peregrinus of Opole's sermon from the turn of the fourteenth century, which was intended for a popular audience, and three sermons from the second half of the fifteenth century. From the sermons I brought up the examples illustrating the topic of an ideal prelate. I have started research on the sermons on Saint Stanislaus that has not been conducted before. I have gathered quite a

voluminous material and started its analysis. This rich material from the fifteenth century, when preaching flourished in Poland, has not been published yet. These sermons certainly deserve a complex research that will throw new light on studying of the cult of Saint Stanislaus. The analysis presented in this study was only the first step; I intend to continue this research.

The authors of these hagiographic works were influenced by contemporary models in the hagiographic and pastoral literature. In this field there is still a space for more complex comparative research based on the textual analysis, although certain tendencies have been highlighted in this study and in the works of other scholars. However, Stanislaus' hagiographers were not simply copyists of the contemporary trends. Authors and commissioners of these works projected their imaginings, concepts of various issues, as sainthood, episcopal duties, relationship of the secular and the spiritual power, and so on, onto the saint they talked about.

This study also demonstrated in what manner the image and the cult of the holy bishop corresponded to the bishops' concerns and interests. The thirteenth-century *vitae* propagated an image of the bishop that fully corresponded to the contemporary reform tendencies after the Fourth Lateran Council. Both the thirteenth- and the fifteenth-century *vitae* spoke of an alleged archdiocesan past of the bishopric of Cracow. This was intended to increase the prestige of the local Church of Cracow, in the same way as the cult of the martyred bishop of Cracow itself. The topic of the defense of the material wealth of the Church was also significant. All the *vitae* and sermons presented a virtuous prelate. On the basis of this high moral authority and the great dignity of his office, he, and subsequently all the good prelates who followed his example, could justify their interference in social and political life. The bishops had an imminent interest in presenting this image of a highly dignified episcopal office to

both common people and the secular power. They managed to spread it among their flock through the preaching activity of the Mendicant orders and other preachers, a good example of which is the praise of the episcopal office in Peregrinus' sermon about Saint Stanislaus. The moral victory of Saint Stanislaus in the conflict with the king represented the Church representatives' prestige over the secular power. The very fact that it was a martyr-bishop who achieved canonisation is significant. The thirteenth-century *vitae* presented a whole political programme, the bishops taking the initiative in the propagation of the idea of the *renovatio regni*, relying upon the example of their predecessor. The fifteenth-century sources accentuated the merits of Saint Stanislaus and also other bishops in supporting both the Church and the State, which was a justification of their activities in the secular sphere. All the sources, both thirteenth- and fifteenth-century *vitae* and sermons, presented Saint Stanislaus as an example for the contemporary clergy and an occasion for the criticism of those who contrasted with this ideal, either in their way of life or their attitude towards their flock. They differed in what they accentuated, depending on the topical issues. In the fifteenth century, for instance, a point for criticism was the lenience of some clerics and faithful toward the Hussite heresy or the luxurious way of life of prelates.

This study demonstrated that the sources, both *vitae* and sermons, always attempted to actualise Saint Stanislaus' material, make use of it and apply it to their time. Thus, the image of Saint Stanislaus was being constructed and changed over time, but always stayed an influential example for those who constructed it.

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Abbreviations

MPH *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*

MPH SN *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series nova*

PSB *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary)

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APPENDIX 1: PAWEL OF ZATOR'S SERMON ON SAINT STANISLAUS

The transcription of this sermon is based on the two manuscript copies listed below, which are identical, with small alternations only. The sermon was transcribed for the purposes of this thesis, in order to supply the reader with a sample of material that is still unpublished and to give the reader an impression of this material, although certain measures are still to be undertaken in order to prepare a proper edition. For the future, a proper edition of this sermon, among more sermons on Saint Stanislaus will be prepared.

Pawel of Zator. "Secundus ad idem (De sancto Stanislao)." In *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitibus, quibus sermo Ioannis de Slupcza insertus est*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 491, f. 197-199.

Pawel of Zator. "Ego sum pastor bonus (De sancto Stanislao)." In *Sermones de sanctis et in praecipuis festivitibus*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 1506, f. 82r-83r.

Ego sum pastor bonus. Iohannis 10 [11].

Non dudum audivimus quomodo Dominus noster discipulis de sua resurrectione dubitantibus ostendit manus et pedes, quomodo comedit de pisce asso et de mellis fano reliquias vero dedit illis, vero dicit se bonum pastorem quasi diceret: Non dubitetis de meis consiliis ornamentis et preceptis, quia non sum mercenarius cuius oves non sunt proprie, sed pastor, non talis qualis sed pastor bonus, pastor verus qui animam meam posui pro vobis.

Quasi diceret: Non ambigite quod vos bene pasco qui animam meam pro vobis pono. Dicens itaque se bonum pastorem, allicit provocat et inflammat allicit ad gratiam, provocat ad imitationem, inflammat ad eternam refectionem.

Primo itaque dicens: Ego sum pastor bonus, allicit ad se quasi diceret: Nolite spernere, nolite abicere mea pascua quia sum bonus pastor, mirabiliter et singulariter bonus pastor, alii pascunt terrarum vastitatibus in pascuis alienis, hic vero toti mundo in flore et feno sue caritatis pascum dedit.

In carne enim existens verbo docuit, opere exemplavit, miraculis confortavit, paciens erudit, moriens libertavit, resurgens iustificavit, ascendens glorificavit, sanguinem in poculum dedit, carnem in cibum obtulit, sanguine redemit, carne incorporavit, ita ut sicut ipse cum patre unum est in natura, ita cum eo unum sumus in gratia.

Mirabilia huius pastoris pascua in quibus nihil supervacuum, nihil nocivum totum ad pascum.

Unde ait Bernardus in Sermone de resurrectione: *Omnia quae de Salvatore legimus medicamenta sunt animarum nostrarum*, videamus ergo ne quando dicatur nobis, curavimus Babilonem et non est sanata, videamus ne in tanta pascus ubertate fame, interreamus ne sub tam diligenti pastore erremus in campis proprie voluntatis, iniquitatis, et predictis. Ne inanium statum pastorem ipsius qui ait: *Pastor bonus animam suam dat pro ovibus suis*. Quia dicit animam suam nota caritatem, quia dat nota bonitatem, quia pro ovibus nota utilitatem, ut sciamus quia status pastoralis est status bonitatis, caritatis et utilitatis, in quo homo ita intendere debet, quod etiam sui et suorum obliviscatur et se debitorem omnium sapientum et insipientum esse cognoscat. Cur enim ut ait Pollicraton: *Melchisedech rex et sacerdos nec patrem nec matrem legitur habuisse, non quod utroque careat, sed adsignandum quod cum alter utriusque culminis apicem quisquis conscenderit oblivisci debet affectionem carnis et id solum agere quod subditorum salus exposcit ad quod etiam pagani ratione naturali ducebantur*.

Unde narrat Valerius de Marco Attilio: *Qui a Romanis contra Cartaginem missus ipsos evincens plures ex eis captivaverat tandem per Carthaginenses detentus iuramento constrictum Romam ipsam miserunt cum haec fine ut Romanis persuaderet ut omnes captivi iuvenes (ex eis) libertati restituerentur quod si non efficeret ex tunc apud eos constitui debet et misera morte mori. Veniens itaque Romam exposuit legationem et persuasit Romanis ut nullatenus pro liberatione unius persone tot captivos darent, dicens: non est utile rei publice ratione captivos mutare. Voluit sed potius ad captivitatem reddere quam bonum rei publice lesum fuisse. Cumque reddisset incluserunt eum in angusto ligno clavis ubique atulis confixo ut se in nullam partem movere posset. Itaque interiit, ecce gentiles et si cultu infideles, quam*

fideles erant rei publice quod pro eius felici conservatione plus mori eleguntur quam vivere. Ex quo patet quanta Christianis confusio qui videntes et rem publicam destrui et animas interire, Christi fide ancillari se non oportunt et causam heresis praebent. Spoliati enim per eos et alii cernentes eos, ita esse securos in eorum votis apperte provocantur profiteri eorum errorem et confundere Christi fidem.

(De) secundo (Christus) se bonum pastorem dicit ut imitationem provocet quasi diceret: *exemplum dedi vobis ut et vos similiter faciatis*. Quare ad officium pastorale ad culmina dignitatum Deus non proposuit angelos, sed homines, hominibus ut necessarii in participio boni communis tanto carius, tanto affectius curam agant, scientes quia in haec ipsimet bene faciunt. Unde Helmandus: *Sicut potentes tormenta potenter patiuntur* [Sap. 6. 7], si a iusticia deflixerit(n)t. *Sic et iusticie praemiis fruuntur habundantius si recte exercuerint potentatum*. Hec ille: Quare Christianis datur corpus Christi in pane non permixto non fermento, sed simplici triticeo iusi ad signandum quod inter eos esse debet sinceritas, amor, concordia, iustitia, ab omnium fermento odii, invidie aliena. Sed heu dicitur Lamentationes I [6]: *facti sunt principes eius velut arietes non invenientes pascuam*, ad hec enim venit, de quo dolendum est quod superiores cornibus potestate ubi defendere deberent, ibi opprimunt, angariant, nulla iusticia ubique angaria, sed consolatio miserorum longe ab eis. Et ut ait Petrus Damiani: *Qui animas ad Deum trahere debuerant importune student qualibet homines a Dei virtute recedant*.

Si pastores et tutores convertuntur in lupos que spes poterit esse ovibus et si hi qui defendere tenentur, destruere pervertere intuntur. Quid consolationis erit miseris nisi ululatus et ploratus. Dedit Deus seculari potestati gladium quasi pastori baculum adiutorii ad pauperum et ecclesiarum tutoriens. Ovis non curans clamorem accipit ictum, sic dum subditi non curant nisi eundem est ab adiutoribus ad verbera.

Ecce venerunt leones rugientes, ursi insidiantes, lupi rapaces subiectas et animas rapientes et totum Dei honorem delere cupientes. Nonne seniores fugierunt dum gladium, non ostenderunt, nisi quia mercenarii sunt querentes que sua sunt, non que Iesu Christi honore praeliacionis gaudent, lucrarum animarum contemnunt.

Non talis pastor fuit **Sanctus Stanislaus** qui pro ovibus animam posuit, horrendum regem non expavit, sed viriliter arguit ab eo per miserabilem laceracionem corporis suscepit.

Si respublica debet in robore manere duo requiruntur: primo Dei timor in superioribus. Unde ait Valerius [Valeri Maximi: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium, Liber 1.1.9]: *Non dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire. Et ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen existimancia, si divine potentiae bene atque constanter fuissent famulata.*

Secundo morum reformacio in minoribus. Nam et si superiores Deum timent et inferiores in suis pravis moribus durabunt, nonne detrimentum sequitur. Unde ait Valerius [Valeri Maximi: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium, Liber 2, 9init.]: *Quid prodest foris esse strenuum, si in domo male vivitur?* pro dolor.

In ambabus causis deficiamus quis superuit Deum et Dei honores quilibet magnates, quis magis contradicit Deo quilibet potentes, quis magis infestat Dei Ecclesiam et cultum, quanti milites quot conspirationes, quot condictiones, contra Dei ecclesiam, et pro dolor libentius eius destructionem videntur quasi a Deo poniti essent ad desolationem non ad tutionem remundo a scandalis. Necesse est durante tali hominum perversitate ut scandala fiant, sed vere per quem scandalum venit enim in hec male thesaurisanius nisi nobis et filiis nostris. Unde ut voluit Helmandus dicere de virtute parentum, saepe praetenditur succesio filiorum, ita succedentium felicitas ex decedentium iniquitate prociditur. Mala itaque rectorum gubernatio non solum ipsis dampnacione, sed et filiis suis augent infelicitem.

Tertio Christus bonum pastorem se dicit ut nos ad illa eterna pascua inflameret, quasi diceret: Summo affectu tendite ad pascua eterne beatitudinis quia si sum bonus pastor in hac peregrinacione, quantum bonitas apparebit in patria. Si ita dulciter pasco in deserto quantum dulcedinis sencietur in domo, si sum bonus pastor in his amaritudinibus, in his dispersionibus, quantum relucebit bonitas in pascuis uberrime regionis, ad pastum sanctorum amalium aptissime. Numeri 32 *ubi eternaliter pascet* dicitur, in Ezechyele [34.14] *in pascuis uberrimis, in montibus excelsis, ubi requiescent in herbis virentibus, in pascuis pinguibus.* Ubi erunt in terra sua absque timore et non erunt ultra in rapinam gentibus neque bestiis terre, sed habitabunt confidenter absque terrore. Quia dicit in pascuis uberrimis nota bonorum plenitudinem, quia dicit in montibus excelsis nota summam gratitudinem, quia dicit in herbis virentibus nota summam delectationem, quia dicit in pascuis pinguibus nota summam voluptatem, quia dicit habitabunt absque terrore nota summam securitatem. In illis itaque pascuis eternis erit perfecta plenitudo plenitudinis, perfecta gratitudo

perfecte gratitudinis, summa delectatio summae delectationis, summa voluptas summae voluptatis, eterna securitas, ibi apparebit retributio bonorum prelatorum pro ceteris. Quapropter nostri pastoris operam pensantes curam nostrarum animarum, ita habeamus ut ab his pascuis temporalibus ad pascua eterna pervenire valeamus.

APPENDIX 2: A LIST OF SERMONS ON SAINT STANISLAUS

I compiled a list of sermons on Saint Stanislaus that I have identified during my research so far, except for Peregrinus' sermon manuscripts that have been identified to a great extent. I have used some sermons out of these (three examples) in this thesis, to demonstrate the uses of the topic of the ideal bishop. The sermons with incipits *Ego sum pastor bonus* are marked with *. The frequent appearance of this incipit illustrates the popularity of the theme of the good shepherd. In order to identify the sermons, I used the catalogues of manuscripts listed below and very few references in the secondary literature. I want to express my gratitude for guidance and help to Dr. Stanisław Sroka.

*Anonymous. *De sancto Stanislao: "Ego sum pastor bonus [John 10.11]."* Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 188, f. 187r.

Anonymous. "De sancto Stanislao." In *Alii Sermones de sanctis auctore Polono, passim cum vocabulis Polonicis*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 1550, f. 182v (the fifteenth century).

*Anonymous. "De sancto Stanislao Sermo (*Ego sum pastor bonus [John 10.11]*), De sancto Stanislao (Translatio)." In *Sermones de sanctis*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 1638, f. 70, 127 (the fifteenth century).

Anonymous. *De Stanislao martyris: Testimonium habuit placuisse Deo [Hebrews 11.5]*. Kapitulní knihovna (Chapter Library), Prague. F 46, f. 80r (1328).

Anonymous. "De Translacione sancti Stanislai." In *Alii Sermones de tempore et de sanctis a dominica I Adventus ad ultimam post Trinitatis*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 1613, f. 631 (the fifteenth century).

Anonymous. *Sermo de sancto Stanislao: Dies adest celebris*.
Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library), Cracow. MS BJ 1609, f. 184v-185v (the second half of the fifteenth century).
Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library), Warsaw. MS 3023, f. 334-336.
Biblioteka Kapitulna (Chapter Library), Kielce. MS 3, f. 314-315.
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