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The Sacred in the Spatial Arrangements of Chartered Cities in Małopolska in 13th–15th Centuries

The question of the sacred space in mediaeval chartered cities of Małopolska has not been the subject of individual analyses. The author included general comments on the question in a work on spatial arrangements ensuing from city charters in the Land of Kraków (Ziemia Krakowska)¹. The church space of mediaeval Kraków was analysed by Andrzej Niewiński², and Anna Berdecka accounted for the sacred functions in the context of the design of Małopolska charter-related design of Małopolska cities in the reigns of Ladislaus the Short (Władysław Łokietek) and Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki)³. Spaces taken up by parish churches in the charter plans were mentioned by Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz in their synthetic presentation of burgher history⁴. The situation and various types of the sacred space in a chartered city were analysed by Zbigniew Morawski, who separately discussed the questions of cemeteries and religious functions of the city squares⁵.

¹ B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze Ziemi Krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, Kraków 2004, cz. 1, pp. 193–202, 221; cz. 2.

² A. Niewiński, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii średniowiecznego Krakowa. Próba syntezy*, Lublin 2004.

³ A. Berdecka, *Lokacje miast małopolskich za Władysław Łokietka (1306–1333)*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 31 (1983) z. 3, pp. 335–344; A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie miast królewskich w Małopolsce za Kazimierza Wielkiego (1333–1370)*, Wrocław 1982.

⁴ M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 98–99.

⁵ Z. Morawski, *Miejskie układy przestrzenne*, [in:] *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, red. T. Mroczko, M. Arszczyński, t. 1, Warszawa 1995, pp. 31–38; Z. Morawski, „*Intra muros*”. *Zarys problematyki cmentarza miejskiego w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Czas i przestrzeń w dawnych miastach. Studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. A. Wyrobisz, M. Tymoński,

Much like in the cities of Silesia, Wielkopolska, and Pomerania – and generally within the realm of German law – space in mediaeval cities in Małopolska, chartered in the second half of the 13th or in the 14th century was strictly defined in the charter plan. This was true also about the sacred space, used by complexes of parish churches and hospital churches (unless the hospital belonged to the parish church complex) and monastic ones. Filial churches made rare appearances, while chapels connected to the seat of the feudal lord situated in (or near) the city were somewhat more frequent.

The sacred space could result from an adaptation – as part of the charter plan and functional solutions – of a complex that had operated earlier, else it could also be staked out together with the development staked out at the time of the chartering as its integral and highly significant element. It could also be a secondary development. What should also be included in the sacred realm are the areas related to processions (e.g. Corpus Christi), and also the defence line or at least its elements, as holy images were displayed in the city gates. One could also account for the sacred character of the borders (of urban and rural areas, and of estates). It can be assumed that the placement of holy figures on the borders, documented incidentally from the 15th century (though occurring more often in modern times) in the preserved historical material from the discussed area could reach back to the time when such borders were defined, i.e. the time of the chartering.

Thus, the sacred space can be considered in two types of categories: first, related to its function, with the fundamental division into parish, monastic, and ‘other’ complexes, and secondly – into pre-charter complexes (churches) connected in various manner with the spatial layout and functions of a chartered city, developed as part of the charter system and post-charter ones. The last category will be taken into account here only in the cases when the development of the complex can be treated as a direct consequence of the chartering.

Although – unlike the modern era – the Middle Ages did not consciously build panoramic vistas and the spatial order of a mediaeval city was – unlike the order in the much less numerous modern cities – to a far greater degree the result of economic rather than aesthetic intentions⁶, yet the domination

Warszawa 1991, s. 93–99; Z. Morawski, *Funkcje religijne placów miejskich w średniowiecznej Polsce*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 40 (1992) z. 3, pp. 295–303.

⁶ Nonetheless, the aesthetic aspect was never omitted thoroughly. The ordering of the space, reminding of the harmony of the world in the capacity of God’s creation used to be perceived in aesthetic categories, as attested by the first comment of aesthetic nature in Polish legislation, to be found in the privilege issued for Kraków by Casimir the Great in 1358. Supporting the burghers’ investments, the king made the following remark: *dummodo civitas in locis celebrimus per*

of church buildings and towers over lay architecture had both ideological and aesthetic reasons.

The parish church complex is more than just the church itself. It is also the cemetery surrounding it (an expression of the community of the congregation, living and dead, typical for the Middle Ages, and an expression of the communion of saints)⁷, the residential quarters for the clergy (at least the vicarage), school buildings, and optionally also a hospital/refuge. Especially significant within the monastic complexes, besides the church and the monastery itself, were the garden greens: both the symbolic one, making a reference to the paradise and situated inside the cloister, and the farm garden, adjacent to the buildings and walled off together with them.

The best cases of sacred space of varied both content and origin in Małopolska, and exceptional also on European scale, are found in Kraków of the Great Charter of 1257 (fig. 1). These considerations do not include Wawel, as it was not a part of the city, even though with its cathedral church and the other churches of the 'Wawel town' it had an impact on the city⁸, nor do they account for the settlements distant from the chartered hub, which in the course of centuries nonetheless helped to develop – together with the 'Wawel town' – the unique Kraków phenomenon: space saturated with holy places⁹.

Three of the four original Kraków parishes Saint Mary's (Mariacka), All Saints' (Wszystkich Świętych), Holy Cross (św. Krzyża), and Saint Stephen (św. Szczepana)¹⁰ listed in the oldest Saint Peter's Pence roll (1325–1327) from the time when Bishop Jan Grot defined their borders, were established while the first municipality

inordinata edificia occupata non detureptur ('yet may the city not be defaced in magnificent places by disorderly constructions'; quoted and translated from: *Przywileje ustanawiające gminy miejskie wielkiego Krakowa (XIII–XVIII wiek)*, red. B. Wyrozumski, Kraków 2007, pp. 32, 58). The aesthetic impacts intended by the designers of charter plans are discussed broadly (perhaps too broadly?) by R. Eysymontt, *Kod genetyczny miasta. Średniowieczne miasta lokacyjne Dolnego Śląska na tle urbanistyki europejskiej*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 62–65 and ff.

⁷ Z. Morawski, „*Intra muros*”, op. cit.

⁸ J. Firlet, Z. Pianowski, *Wawel do roku 1300*, [in:] *Kraków, nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, red. J. Wyrozumski, Kraków 2007 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 150), pp. 45–66; Z. Pianowski, *Architektura i urbanistyka Wawelu do około 1320 roku*, [in:] *Małopolska*, z. 1: *Kraków*, red. Z. Noga, Kraków 2007, pp. 29–30 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, 5).

⁹ B. Krasnowolski, *Krakowski ośrodek religijny od x do xx wieku*, [in:] *Małopolska*, z. 1: *Kraków*, red. Z. Noga, Kraków 2007, pp. 86–91 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, 5).

¹⁰ *Acta Camerae Apostolicae*, vol. 1: 1207–1344, ed. J. Ptaśnik, Cracoviae 1913, pp. 113, 183 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, 1); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa: 1257–1506*, cz. 3, wyd. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1882, p. 499.

of Kraków, most probably based on the German law and perhaps not yet making use of a city plan based on surveyed measurements¹¹. Together with the space surrounding them, St Mary's and All Saints churches¹² became 'mounted' into the chartered city plan, and the Church of the Holy Cross – into the system, developed through the expansion of the defence line by King Wenceslas of Bohemia (Wacław II Czeski) in 1298¹³. The analysis demonstrates that St Mary's Church together with the cemetery surrounding it was 'mounted' into the northern half of the quarter of development situated by the Main Market Square (the southern part, reduced for the cemetery and the cemetery Chapel of Saint Barbara in 1313 and 1334¹⁴ was taken up by settlement plots. The premises related to the operation of the parish lay beyond the block mentioned above; they included the parish priest's residence and school. The land connected to the Church of All Saints lay in the southern section of the system, not undergoing major adaptations, where the sacred character of the space was determined by the two adjacent monastic complexes of mendicant orders: Dominicans and Franciscans (fig. 1). The church of the Holy Cross, an episcopal foundation from around 1200 – since 1244 forming a single sacred space with the complex of the church, hospital, and monastery of the Order of the Holy Spirit

¹¹ A. Wędzki, *Początki reformy miejskiej w środkowej Europie do połowy XIII wieku (Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia)*, Warszawa–Poznań 1974, pp. 144 and ff. 192 (Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 27); H. Samsonowicz, [reviewed by: J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, Kraków 1992], „Przegląd Historyczny” 84 (1993) z. 1, pp. 109–110; J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim?*, [in:] *Kraków, nowe studia...*, op. cit., pp. 121–151.

¹² The setting up of St Mary's parish (see: M. Friedberg, *Założenie i początkowe dzieje kościoła N. P. Marii w Krakowie*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 22 [1929], pp. 1–31), and probably also of the parish of All Saints and the construction (in their original forms) of the two churches was a consequence of Bishop Iwo Odrowąż entrusting the Church of the Holy Trinity to the Dominicans (for a listing of literature on the subject, see: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim a układy urbanistyczne Krakowa w wiekach XIII i XIV*, [in:] *Urbs celeberrima. Księga pamiątkowa na 650-lecie lokacji Krakowa*, red. A. Grzybkowski, T. Grzybkowska, Ż. Żygulski jr, Kraków 2008, p. 358, footnote 5). Probably already at that time, in the wake of division of the parish of the Holy Trinity, the scope of both new parishes was defined – of St Mary's in the north, and of All Saints in the south, including Okół and reaching the contemporary course of the Vistula (a border that has been preserved to this day); see: M. Słoń, *Fundatio civitatis. Program fundacyjny procesu lokacyjnego na przykładzie Wrocławia, Krakowa i Poznania*, [in:] *Procesy lokacyjne miast w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej w Łądku Zdroju 28–28 października 2002 roku*, red. C. Buško, M. Goliński, B. Kurkiewicz, Wrocław 2006, s. 231.

¹³ B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 1, pp. 104, 106–108, 110.

¹⁴ J. Paszcenda, *Kościół św. Barbary w Krakowie z domem zakonnym księży Jezuitów*, Kraków 1985 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 125).

de Saxia¹⁵ brought here from Prądnik (originally left beyond the borders of the city from the Charter of 1257, which was typical of hospital complexes) found itself within (although on the edge) of the city in the wake of the construction of defence wall (fig. 2). The parish church of St Stephen, mentioned first in 1310¹⁶ was built at a time close to the city charter, and its situation interfered with the urban system only to the small extent; the space related to it, corresponds more or less to today's Szczepański Square.

Churches of much older pedigree were also 'mounted' into the Great Charter Plan of 1257. Built by an early mediaeval cemetery¹⁷, the Church of St Adalbert, where the first patron saint of the Kingdom of Poland was venerated already in the 11th century, found itself within the Market Square of the chartered city, and – much like an array of religious rites (processions from Saint Mary's Church, sermons, and official entries of royal corteges that also had a religious aspect¹⁸) – contributed to the sacred nature of this space, functionally designed mostly for trade purposes and as the seat of self-government, which by the way also entered into the realm of the sacred, as city councillors were granted the papal legate's permission to participate in holy masses in the town hall (*in pretorio in altari viatico*)¹⁹ in 1383. A different type of 'mounting' into the urban plan (a quarter distant from the Market Square) from the time of the Charter is present in the case of the Church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, whose history most probably dates

¹⁵ *Zbiór dyplomów klasztoru mogińskiego przy Krakowie*, red. E. Janota, [in:] *Monografia opactwa Cystersów we wsi Mogile*, cz. 2, Kraków 1867, no. 19; J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, wyd. A. Przedziecki, Cracoviae 1864, pp. 38–40, 55–63; K. Antosiewicz, *Zakon Kanoników Regularnych Ducha Świętego de Saxia w Krakowie*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Krzyża w Krakowie*, red. Z. Kliś, Kraków 1996, p. 18; T. Węclawowicz, *Architektura kościoła św. Krzyża w Krakowie. Historia badań i nowe pytania badawcze*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Krzyża w Krakowie*, red. Z. Kliś, Kraków 1996, p. 32.

¹⁶ *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa*, wyd. F. Piekosiński, J. Szujski, Kraków 1878, no. 95; M. Rożek, *Nieznaný kościół św. Szczepana w Krakowie*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 36 (1974), pp. 215–226.

¹⁷ K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, Kraków 1975, pp. 160, 169–190; W. Głowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko szkieletowe na Rynku Głównym w Krakowie*, „Krzysztofor” 28 (2010) cz. 1, red. E. Firlet, pp. 129–144; C. Buśko, W. Głowa, *Osada przedlokacyjna na Rynku krakowskim*, „Krzysztofor” 28 (2010) cz. 1, red. E. Firlet, pp. 145–152.

¹⁸ W. Komorowski, A. Sudacka, *Rynek Główny w Krakowie*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 59–61.

¹⁹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa:1257–1506*, cz. 1, Kraków 1879, no. 32; W. Komorowski, *Krakowski ratusz w średniowieczu i domniemany dwór Artusa w Krakowie*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 64 (1998), pp. 7–8.

back to the mid-12th century²⁰. Its location resulted in deforming the rear part of one of the quarters adjacent to the market.

Both the mendicant complexes²¹: the Dominican²², founded by Bishop Iwo Odrowąż in 1222 and the Franciscan founded most probably by Voivode Klemens of the Gryf Clan acting on behalf of High Duke Henry the Bearded (Henryk Brodaty)²³ were connected to the functioning of the first municipality. As has been mentioned, the band of sacred complexes stretching from west to the east, with two monastic and one parish complex, was adapted in 1257 into the city development plan, and had a significant impact on the deformity of its southern section. One cannot follow Marek Słoń into rejecting the role of the Kraków urban hub as the attractor for the mendicant orders already in the 1220s and 1230s, yet one has to agree with his claim that in this case an important role was played by the power of both the bishop and the prince. This was to be reflected by the part played by the Kraków Franciscans and Dominicans in a great project, conducted jointly by the church and the state, namely the canonisation of St Stanislaus²⁴, and by the necropolis function of both the mendicant churches; after all Iwo Odrowąż and Prince Leszek the Black (Leszek Czarny) were buried in the

²⁰ K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, op. cit., pp. 210–213.

²¹ *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, red. K. Ożóg, K. Gałuszka op, A. Zajchowska, Kraków 2008; among others: J. Sepřka, *Nekropolie możnowładcze w krakowskich klasztorach mendykanckich w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Mendykanci...*, op. cit., pp. 59–74.

²² Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Założenie klasztoru oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 20 (1926), pp. 1–19; D. A. Dekański, *Początki zakonu dominikanów w prowincji polsko-czeskiej. Pokolenie św. Jacka w zakonie*, Gdańsk 1999; R. Grodecki, *Iwo Odrowąż, Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 10, Wrocław 1962–1964, pp. 187–192. On the pre-Dominican architecture of the parish church and the oldest structures in the Dominican complex: M. Szyma, *Kościół i klasztor dominikanów w Krakowie, architektura zespołu klasztorowego do lat dwudziestych XIV wieku*, Kraków 2004; M. Szyma, *Problem pierwotnych oratoriów we wczesnej architekturze polskich i czeskich dominikanów*, [in:] *Dominikanie. Gdańsk – Polska – Europa*, red. D. A. Dekański, M. Grubka, A. Gołębniak, Gdańsk–Warszawa 2003, pp. 307 and ff; A. Grzybkowski, *Zagadnienie długich chórów kościołów mendykanckich w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIII w.*, [in:] *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, cz. 1, red. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1989, pp. 227–247; W. Niewalda, H. Rojowska, *Najstarsze relikty kościoła św. Trójcy oraz kaplicy grobowej Pilekich odkryte przed zachodnią elewacją kościoła Dominikanów w Krakowie*, „Krzysztofor” 30 (2012), pp. 243–250. A new light on the architecture of the pre- and early Dominican complex will be shed by the still unpublished results of archeological studies conducted by Dariusz Niemiec and the team.

²³ A claim put forth by G. Labuda, *Kto był fundatorem-założycielem klasztoru Franciszkanów w Krakowie?*, [in:] *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, t. 1, cz. 1, red. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1983, pp. 369–382.

²⁴ M. Starnawska, *Dominikanie, św. Jacek i elewacja szczątków św. Stanisława przez biskupa Prandotę*, [in:] *Mendykanci...*, op. cit., pp. 407–424.

Dominican Church, and Salomea and Prince Boleslaus the Modest (Bolesław Wstydlivy) in the Franciscan one, where this function was emphasised after the middle of the 13th century by the architecture of its eastern section (the symbolic form of the Greek cross)²⁵.

The complex of the Church of St Mark with the monastery of Augustinians brought from Prague (fig. 3) is situated tangentially to the urban development from 1257. According to chronicler Longinus (Długosz), this foundation of King Boleslaus the Modest took place in 1263²⁶, that is a few years after the charter, perhaps to complement the sacred functions of the city, and was included into its perimeter in the wake of construction of the defence line (embankment and moat) in the days of Prince Leszek the Black (Leszek Czarny) around 1285–86²⁷.

The role of the sacred was significantly expanded with the inclusion of the former podgrodzie settlement in Okół: from the 11th to mid-13th century, five church complexes developed in the area. At least two of them were knightly foundations (St Andrew²⁸ and St Martin²⁹), while according to the Chronicle of the Anonymous Gaul the Church of St Giles was a foundation of King Ladis-

²⁵ For the architecture of the Franciscan complex in the 13th century, see: S. Skibiński, *Program ideowy i funkcje kościoła Franciszkanów w Krakowie*, [in:] *Sztuka i ideologia XIII w.*, red. P. Skubiszewski, Warszawa 1974; S. Skibiński, *Pierwotny kościół Franciszkanów w Krakowie*, Poznań 1977; A. Zwiercan, *Pierwotny kościół franciszkański w Krakowie*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 60 (1983), pp. 77–89; A. Włodarek, T. Węclawowicz, *Architektura krakowskiego kościoła Franciszkanów w XIII wieku. Problemy i hipotezy badawcze. Proponowane rekonstrukcje*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła Franciszkanów w Krakowie*, red. Z. Kliś, Kraków 2006, pp. 45–50; W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Zespół klasztorny Franciszkanów w Krakowie – relikt z XIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła Franciszkanów w Krakowie*, op. cit., pp. 81–130; M. Goras, *Układy dwunawowe w architekturze krakowskich mendykantów w okresie średniowiecza*, [in:] *Mendykanci...*, op. cit., pp. 299–324; W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Średniowieczny kościół Franciszkanów w świetle ostatnich badań*, [in:] *Mendykanci...*, op. cit., pp. 271–298.

²⁶ *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Marka w Krakowie*, red. Z. Kliś, Kraków 2001 (among others W. Niewalda, A. Sudacka, *Kościół św. Marka w średniowieczu. Badania historyczne i architektoniczne*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Marka w Krakowie*, op. cit., pp. 159–169).

²⁷ B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 1, p. 104; for archeological corroboration of the embankment and moat in the area, see: T. Dębowski, *Archeologiczny ślad najstarszych umocnień Krakowa lokacyjnego*, „Studia Archeologiczne” 48 (1996), pp. 199–207. The defence line remains still legible here in the property divisions set up after 1298 after its termination.

²⁸ A foundation of Palatine Sieciech, the protoplast of the Toporczyk Clan, from around 1079; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowska, *Z dziejów kolegiaty św. Andrzeja w Krakowie*, „Studia Historyczne” 10 (1967), pp. 23–30.

²⁹ According to Długosz (*Liber beneficiorum*, op. cit., vol. 2, s. 19) a foundation of the Clan of Gryf, which suggests origin in the 1st half of the 13th century, which has been corroborated

laus (Władysław) Herman from after 1087)³⁰, Saint Peter the Apostle³¹, and St Mary Magdalene³². Inclusion of the Okół should be associated with the repressions on the town's people instigated by King Ladislaus the Short after the rebellion of Wójt (Lat.: *advocatus*, German: *Vogt*) Albert (connection of the city to Wawel which controlled it after 1312)³³. The arrival of the Poor Clares to the Church of St Andrew (brought by Ladislaus the Short from Skała in 1316)³⁴ changed the function of both the complex and the Church of St Giles, which became a collegiate church. The two further urban planning regulations of the Okół, reconstructed by Waldemar Niewalda³⁵, and associated by the author with the aforementioned activity of King Ladislaus in 1311 (fig. 4) and King Casimir's chartering of the *Nova Civitas (in Okol)* in 1335 (fig. 5) changed the spatial environment of the churches in Okół, and had them 'mounted' into new urban contexts.

Another question are the sacred spaces within the suburbs (fig. 6) that were partially pre-Charter settlements developing by the roads radiating out from Kraków. This was, for example, the origin of the suburb situated by the Ruthenia road with the Church of St Nicholas³⁶, dating back to the 12th century and possibly linked to the Benedictine Order and a stronghold that was later connected to Kraków, which after the Great Charter of 1257 became the wójt's

by field studies conducted so far; K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, op. cit., p. 109.

³⁰ K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, op. cit., pp. 106–108; such an early origin seems to be confirmed in the recent, still unpublished results of field studies see also: J. Zathę, *Z dziejów kultu św. Idziego w Polsce*, Poznań 1951.

³¹ According to Tomasz Węclawowicz, the foundation of a church to the patron of the Catholic Church could be simultaneous with the foundation of a church devoted to St Adalbert – the patron saint of the kingdom.

³² Archeological studies suggest origin in the mid-13th century; T. Lenkiewicz, *Kościół Marii Magdaleny w Krakowie w świetle ostatnich odkryć archeologicznych*, „Biuletyn Krakowski” 1 (1959), pp. 78–98; K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, op. cit., pp. 100–106.

³³ B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 1, pp. 108, 110.

³⁴ J. Stosik, *Powstanie i późniejszy rozwój uposażenia klasztoru Klarysek w Krakowie w XIII i XIV wieku*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 35 (1961), pp. 91–128.

³⁵ W. Niewalda, B. Krasnowolski, *Układy urbanistyczne krakowskiego Okołu – próba rekonstrukcji*, „Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury Oddziału PAN w Krakowie” 15 (1981), pp. 69–83; W. Niewalda, H. Rojowska, *Układy urbanistyczne Okołu do połowy XIV wieku*, [in:] *Małopolska, z. 1: Kraków*, red. Z. Noga, Kraków 2007, pp. 27–29 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, 5).

³⁶ M. Kanior OSB, *Wczesnośredniowieczne dzieje kościoła św. Mikołaja w Krakowie*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Mikołaja w Krakowie*, red. Z. Kliś, Kraków 2002, pp. 9–21; H. Rojowska, W. Niewalda, *Kościół św. Mikołaja w świetle ostatnich badań historycznych i architektonicznych w latach 1994–1996*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Mikołaja w Krakowie*, op. cit., pp. 91–136.

stronghold of Gródek. Of originally suburban origin was the complex of the Church of St Florian: a sanctuary of the saint that developed after the translation of his relics from Rome thanks to the effort of Prince Casimir the Just (Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy) and Bishop Gedka in 1184³⁷; – a problem that calls for description in the context of much later urban developments around the chartering of Kleparz. It can be assumed that a suburb inhabited by craftsmen, corresponding to the later Garbary³⁸, was another element of the functional solutions in the charter of Kraków. The foundation of the Carmelitan complex by the royal majesties – St Jadwiga and Ladislaus (Władysław) Jagiełło, dating back to 1395–97 should be considered a late complementation of this settlement structure³⁹.

The sacred realm connected to Kraków's oldest Jewish community (fig. 7)⁴⁰ is a separate question. Perhaps after the Great Charter of 1257, both the sacred and residential development related to its operation occupied a part of the quarter limited with today's streets św. Anny (Żydowska i.e. Jewish – a name entered into the oldest preserved municipal records from 1304)⁴¹, Gołębia and Jagiellońska, and the line of defences. It was, therefore, a typical case for the situation of Jewish settlements in the design and practice of city development. The western part of the area, again typically – close to the defence line – was taken up by two synagogues: the great, situated in the place of the later Collegium Nowodworskiego, present in records since 1356 and small – on its southern side. The design included also a cemetery lying outside the city limits. Both its earliest mention from 1311 (*der Juden Kyrhof an der Radwa by den Mullen*)⁴², and the successive ones (with the last from 1599) make it possible to define its situation as the area from Dolne Młyny, that is close to today's Czysa and Skarbowa streets to the former *stróża rybna* (in the area of today's headquarters

³⁷ J. Wyrozumski, *Skąd pochodził krakowski św. Florian?*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 64 (1998), pp. 53–62; see also: K. Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu św. Florianiana w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1923 (Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 2).

³⁸ P. Tyszką, *Ulica Szewska w Krakowie, miejsce rozboju dokonanego wiosną roku 1497*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 1–2 (1999) z. 47, pp. 103–112.

³⁹ J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 473; W. Włodarczyk, *Kościół Karmelitów na Piasku*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 36 (1962), pp. 87–126.

⁴⁰ H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 344–366.

⁴¹ *Najstarsze księgi...*, op. cit., cz. 1, no. 28.

⁴² *Najstarsze księgi...*, op. cit., cz. 1, no. 167, 179, 208; J. Wiśniewski, *Garbary zw. też Przed Bramą Szewską*, [an entry in:] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* [quoted further as SHG], cz. 1, z. 4, Wrocław–Łódź 1986, p. 696.

of the AGH University of Science and Technology)⁴³. Beyond doubt, the cemetery developed together with the aforementioned Jewish settlement.

The mediaeval 'tricity' of Kraków included also Kazimierz and Kleparz, two satellite cities chartered by King Casimir the Great. Present in the city plan of Kraków's Kazimierz, chartered in 1335⁴⁴ are various forms of sacred space: parish churches, monastic churches, and a hospital one; holy places that were erected before during and after the charter. Related closely to the surveyings in the city plan is the compound of the Corpus Christi – the main parish church⁴⁵. The estate (fig. 8) earmarked in the charter plan for the parish church and the surrounding cemetery is a square with the side of 2 ropes. Lying most probably slightly beyond that area was the *curia domini plebani Corporis Christi*⁴⁶, recorded first in 1391. Its location can be guessed on the eastern side of the church, on the back side of charter-time settlement block oriented towards the south. Another element of the parish complex, the school, was situated (perhaps since the erection of the parish; it was recorded in sources since 1378⁴⁷) on a charter-time plot on the northern side of the cemetery, in what then was ul. Sukiennicza (today's ul. Józefa), by the corner of today's ul. Nowa. The design and development of the compound of the Augustinian monastery with the Church of St Catherine and St Margaret⁴⁸ was initially a royal foundation situated on a plot that was basically inscribed into a modular rectangle (disfigured by a 'skew' of the defence wall) with the dimensions of 4 by 1½ of ropes (fig. 9). When the Corpus Christi parish was set up it took over the parish rights from the Church of St Laurentius – the former parish church of the settlement of Bawół – so that the latter became the filial church. The charter of the older village (staked out to a typical rural charter design), which according to the author took place in 1276–78 included the erection of a parish and construction of the church, and in 1340 Bawół became incorporated into Kazimierz.

⁴³ B. Krasnowolski, *Młynówka Królewska – geneza i przekształcenia*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 69 (2003), p. 30.

⁴⁴ B. Krasnowolski, *Układ przestrzenny krakowskiego Kazimierza w wieku XIV*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 54 (1988), pp. 17–57.

⁴⁵ B. Krasnowolski, *Kościół Bożego Ciała z klasztorem Kanoników Regularnych Laterańskich na tle formowania i przekształceń układu przestrzennego Kazimierza* [in print, materials from the session, 2015].

⁴⁶ *Księgi radzieckie kazimierskie 1369–1381 i 1385–1402*, red. A. Chmiel, Kraków 1932, p. 269.

⁴⁷ *Księgi...*, op. cit., p. 104.

⁴⁸ M. Krasnowolska, *Z dziejów budowy zespołu augustiańskiego*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 47 (1976), pp. 23–44.

On the western side, outside the surveyed chartered city system yet within the perimeter of the city walls were two mediaeval church compounds that at the same time served as parishes: the national sanctuary connected to the tradition of St Stanislaus, that of St Michael and St Stanislaus 'on the Rock' (na Skałce) had the form of a rotunda, as testified by chronicler Longinus (*ecclesia alba rotonda*) and interpretation of somewhat later iconographic sources, and included a cemetery, vicarage, and the venerated Pond of St Stanislaus⁴⁹, and the complex of the Church of St James, the foundation of the Strzemińczyk clan, with traditions reaching back most probably to the 12th century⁵⁰. Years later, the sacred spaces were complemented by the foundation of the hospital complex situated – highly characteristically – in Stradom, i.e. a suburb. In 1360, Casimir the Great founded the hospital complex of the Church of St Jadwiga, and 15 years later, Elizabeth of Poland (Elżbieta Łokietkówna) instituted here the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (Bożogrobcy) from Miechów (fig. 10)⁵¹.

The more poorly developed realm of the sacred in Kleparz (Florenca) corresponded to the lower rank of this satellite of Kraków (fig. 11). An analysis of the city plan⁵² indicates that the sanctuary of St Florian was included together with its cemetery first into the 'street-based' urban plan of the *Alta Civitas*, the city arranged most probably by King Ladislaus the Short around 1321⁵³, and following the Charter of 1366 – already as the parish church⁵⁴ – into the successive urban development plan. Here, it was located by the north-eastern corner of the huge market square, corresponding to today's

⁴⁹ M. Krasnowolska, I. Kmietowicz-Drathowa, *Krakowska Skałka: topografia i zabudowa*, „Studia Claromontana” 17 (1997), pp. 201–271.

⁵⁰ K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny*, op. cit., p. 239; M. Wolski, *Nie istniejący kościół pod wezwaniem św. Jakuba Starszego na Kazimierzu*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 61 (1995), pp. 11–24.

⁵¹ S. Tomkowicz, *Klasztor szpitalny św. Jadwigi*, „Rocznik Krakowski” 22 (1929), pp. 59–79.

⁵² Z. Beiersdorf, *Kleparz*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Kraków 2007, pp. 432–436; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim a układy urbanistyczne Krakowa w wiekach XIII i XIV*, dz. cyt., pp. 23–82; B. Krasnowolski, *Układ urbanistyczny Krakowa Wielkiej Lokacji 1257 roku na tle średniowiecznej urbanistyki środkowoeuropejskiej*, [in:] *Mecenat artystyczny a oblicze miasta. Materiały 56. Ogólnopolskiej Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Kraków 8–10 XI 2007, Kraków 2008, p. 20 and fig. 8.

⁵³ Mentions of the *alta civitas* appearing in 1321 and 1345 (*Najstarsze księgi...*, op. cit., no. 619, 1493), were convincingly connected to the territory of later Kleparz by J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, t. 1: *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, Kraków 1992, pp. 259, 260–261, 264.

⁵⁴ The parish was first mentioned in 1373; T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, Kraków 1908, pp. 310–311; A. Niewiński, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii*, op. cit., p. 130.

Matejki and Rynek Kleparski squares, while the offset from that corner points clearly to the character of adaptation – secondary towards the church. Unlike the parish church, that of St Philip and St James, apparently a clan church (foundation of the knights of the Nowina coat of arms [?]), situated by the north-eastern corner of the market square, mentioned since 1373⁵⁵, and surrounded by a cemetery since the 15th century⁵⁶, seems to be connected to the Charter of 1366. Situated outside the city, in the area of Błonie, was a hospital complex with the churches of St Valentine (mentioned already in 1327, that is in the days of the *Alta Civitas*) and the Church of the Holy Cross (foundation of Jadwiga and Ladislaus Jagiełło from 1390)⁵⁷.

In S a n d o m i e r z⁵⁸, the second (after Kraków) in the hierarchy of Małopolska cities and the capital of the Ziemia Sandomierska (Land of Sandomierz), the sacred spaces were similarly differentiated, and the numerous early mediaeval churches were adapted as part of the urban planning regulations, which was often accompanied by changes in their functions.

The beginnings of the municipality governed by German law must be, like in the case of Kraków, referred to the 1220s, that is, the reign of Prince Leszek the White. There was an urban organism operating on Wzgórze Staromiejskie (literally ‘Old City Hill’) at the time. The situation was analogous to that in Kraków: Dominicans received the Church of Saint James (linked to an early mediaeval cemetery⁵⁹) from Bishop Iwo Odrowąż⁶⁰, and the parish was transferred to the

⁵⁵ *Najstarsze księgi...*, op. cit., p. 863.

⁵⁶ Z. Beiersdorf, *Kleparz...*, op. cit., p. 439.

⁵⁷ Z. Beiersdorf, *Kleparz*, op. cit., p. 442.

⁵⁸ *Małopolska, z. 2: Sandomierz*, red. Z. Noga, Sandomierz–Kraków 2014 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, 5); among others: M. Florek, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, pp. 5–6; M. Florek, *Sandomierz przedlokacyjny (od VIII do końca XIII wieku)*, p. 7; B. Krasnowolski, *Układ urbanistyczny lokacyjnego Sandomierza (1286) – analiza modularna*, pp. 8–9; B. Krasnowolski, *Poszerzenie układu urbanistycznego centrum po 1349 roku – analiza modularna*, [in:] *Małopolska, z. 2: Sandomierz*, op. cit., pp. 9–10; F. Kiryk, *Obiekty i instytucje sandomierskiego ośrodka religijnego w wiekach X–XX*, pp. 18–20. See also: *Dzieje Sandomierza*, red. H. Samsonowicz, t. 1: *Średniowiecze*, red. S. Trawkowski, Warszawa 1993; A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, Warszawa 1998; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 196–206; M. Florek, *Sandomierski ośrodek grodowo-miejski. Przemiany przestrzenne i funkcjonalne*, Warszawa 2005.

⁵⁹ M. Bajka, M. Florek, *Nowe dane do badań nad cmentarzyskami wczesnośredniowiecznego Sandomierza*, „Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego” 33 (2011), pp. 169–181.

⁶⁰ M. Florek, *Kościół św. Jakuba i dawny klasztor Dominikanów w Sandomierzu*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 42 (1994) z. 1, pp. s. 3–25; M. Florek, *Kościół św. Jakuba i dawny*

Church of St Paul⁶¹, at the time probably already completed, standing on the culmination of the hill by an early mediaeval cemetery⁶². Connected with that entity was also the non-extant Church of St John that certainly existed in 1160.

The chartering of the city on Wzgórze Nowomiejskie (literally 'New City Hill') by Prince Leszek Czarny in 1286 resulted in the staking out of a city plan with a rectangular Market Square. Reserved by the south-eastern corner was a vast space for the parish church and its cemetery. This intention was, however, never put to practice, and the new city received the Church of St Peter as its parish church. It was mentioned first in 1166 and situated on Gostomianum Hill (outside the surveying of the charter and the defence perimeter), and hailed from an early mediaeval fortress church enjoying the rights of a parish church since ca. 1226. The space of the intended church foundation, reduced in the north by a number of settlement plots, was taken in 1286–88 (thanks to Prince Leszek the Black already) by the Dominican monastery with the Church of St Mary Magdalene⁶³, built over land corresponding to three residential plots.

The extension of the planned area of the city resulting from the project of Casimir the Great in the wake of the Lithuanian invasion of 1349 resulted in an adaptation of the hospital complex of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia with the Church of the Holy Spirit (foundation from 1292, in an early mediaeval cemetery). It occupied an estate corresponding to four residential plots. The fortifications raised by King Casimir encompassed also some land lying beyond the plan of the chartered city, including the aforementioned Church of St Peter and the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built in the settlement by Castle Hill (Wzgórze Zamkowe) in 1148. A collegiate church since 1191, thanks to a foundation from King Casimir the Great (1350), it was replaced by an impressive structure and concentrated the construction projects of the Chapter.

An element adjacent to the city was the complex of the castle (or stronghold [*gród*]), which developed from the 12th/13th centuries on a prominence between

klasztor Dominikanów w Sandomierzu w świetle ostatnich badań archeologicznych i architektonicznych, „Zeszyty Sandomierskie” 1995 nr 3, pp. 19–24.

⁶¹ A. Zapart, *Kościół i parafia św. Pawła w Sandomierzu*, „Studia Sandomierskie” 2 (1981), pp. 275–281; F. Kiryk, *Kościół i parafia św. Pawła w Sandomierzu w okresie staropolskim*, [in:] *Ecclesia – cultura – potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, red. P. Kras, A. Januszek, Kraków 2006, pp. 105–127.

⁶² *Cmentarz świętopawelski w Sandomierzu*, red. P. Sławiński, Sandomierz 2010.

⁶³ D. Burdzy, *Sandomierski klasztor św. Marii Magdaleny w średniowieczu*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 108 (2007), pp. 215–234.

Staromiejskie and Nowomiejskie hills with the stronghold's Chapel of St Nicholas⁶⁴, adapted in King Casimir's foundation after 1349.

Other cities of Małopolska boasted far fewer sacred complexes. A rule, yet not devoid of exceptions, had a parish church erected usually as part of the design under the charter together with the surrounding cemetery. Sometimes, the sacred functions included a separate hospital complex situated in a suburb. On the edge of the urban development, by the defence line, also a monastic complex – Franciscan or Dominican – could also be developed. If the city was connected to the castle of a feudal lord, whether monarch, bishop or knight, the castle chapel provided an additional element.

Certain specific traits were prominent in the mining cities: Bochnia and Wieliczka connected to the Kraków salt mines, and Olkusz.

As a direct consequence of finding and mining salt deposits, the city plan of Bochnia⁶⁵ (fig. 12) charted on the Law of Magdeburg (Wrocław) by Boleslaus the Modest in 1253 differed significantly from what can be seen today. Faced with the obliteration of numerous elements, its detailed reconstruction may be today no more than a hypothesis. The system stretched along the trading route linking Kraków to Ruthenia, on a low hill. The presence of a burgher from Legnica among the founders (wójt) may suggest an intentional link to the design of the city of Legnica with a central rectangular square situated perpendicularly to the axis of the system, and a parish church situated by that square: a solution that had no analogy in urban development and planning in Małopolska. The church was dedicated to St Nicholas; typical of municipalities, it might also have been the name of the patron saint of city founder (Latin: *locator*). The founder of the church, as transpires from a document from 1278, was Grzymiśława the prince's mother.

A thorough transformation of the system, with the staking out of a square market square (defined as 'new' in 1405) and severance of the western section of the 'Boleslavian' city into a suburb took place (in the mid-1350s [?]), most probably as a project of King Casimir the Great. 'Mounted' into the new urban structure

⁶⁴ S. Jop, *Lokalizacja kościoła św. Mikołaja w przestrzeni miejskiej Sandomierza*, „Przegląd Sandomierski” 3 (1997), pp. 47–64.

⁶⁵ F. Kiryk, *Bochnia do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Bochnia, dzieje miasta i regionu*, red. F. Kiryk, Z. Ruta, Kraków 1980; J. Piotrowicz, *Żupa solna*, [in:] *Bochnia, dzieje miasta i regionu*, red. F. Kiryk, Z. Ruta, Kraków 1980, p. 91; A. Jodłowski, *Żupy krakowskie w pierwszych wiekach rozwoju od połowy XIII do początków XVI w.*, [in:] *Dzieje żup krakowskich*, Wieliczka 1988, pp. 103–158; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Bochnia*, [an entry in:] SHG 1, pp. 150–166. Studies of urban planning and development: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 27–36.

(fig. 13) was a parish church, together with the cemetery surrounding it. In 1357, possibly simultaneously with the regulation, Casimir the Great founded an institution that was typical of mining cities: a mining hospital with the Church of the Holy Cross⁶⁶. It took place in the western part of the suburb 'severed' from the city. In the 17th century, the monastic complex of the Bernadines (Brownfriars) developed here.

After 1375, Elizabeth of Poland founded the Dominican monastery with the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It occupied a residential plot by the eastern face of the city's market square, which can be recognised a phenomenon typical of the modern era (and in fact of the 17th and 18th centuries), namely monasteries taking over burgher quarters in the centre of the city.

The question of the chapel in the castle situated adjacently on the northern side of the city has not been clarified. Its dedication – to St Stanislaus – had not been recorded until the 16th century, which could be an argument supporting its origin under the charter, as the dates of the saint's canonisation and chartering of the city coincide. A mention of a mine's prebendary from 1368 is at the same time the oldest record pointing indirectly to the existence of a castle.

The city plan of Wieliczka⁶⁷ (fig. 14) with a centrally situated Market Square took shape as a result of chartering the city on Franconian Law, an initiative of King Henry (Henryk) IV Probus from 1288–89, finalised in the document for the wójt issued by Przemysław II in 1290. Not unlike in Bochnia, the chartering resulted from the earlier discovery of stone salt. The northern edge of the central band of the system, by the line of defence, was taken up by the parish Church of St Clement, surrounded by a cemetery, and flanked by two elements important for the defence system: the Salt Mine Castle (to the West) and the mansion of the salt mine overseer (*bachmistrz*, to the East). It cannot be ruled out that the church was of Benedictine provenance, predating the charter, yet connecting it to the mention in the Bull of Pope George IX from 1299 corroborating the estates of the

⁶⁶ The first to recognise this foundation was S. Fischer, *Losy kazimierzowskiej fundacji, szkic z dziejów Bochni*, Bochnia 1927.

⁶⁷ J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta Wieliczki w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *Wieliczka, dzieje miasta (do roku 1980)*, red. S. Gawęda, A. Jodłowski, J. Piotrowicz, Kraków 1990, pp. 61–124; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanistyczny Małopolski (XIII–XV w.). Województwo krakowskie (powiaty południowe)*, Kraków 1985, pp. 258–264; A. Jodłowski, *Żupy krakowskie*, op. cit. Studies in urban planning and development: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 260–270; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Urbanistyka Wieliczki*, [in:] *Małopolska*, z. 3: *Wieliczka*, red. Z. Noga (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, 5) [in print].

Benedictines from Tyniec Abbey can be considered no more than a hypothesis⁶⁸, and its ideal 'mounting' into the design of the chartered city points to the construction of the church being simultaneous with the staking out of the city.

Similarly, the oldest form of the Salt Mine Castle⁶⁹ took shape at the same time as the chartering of the city. Not unlike in Bochnia, the Chapel of St Stanislaus found itself (from the beginning [?]) within the perimeter of the castle.

The transformations under the reign of King Casimir were of lesser importance than in Bochnia. Much like in the other city, Wieliczka was surrounded by a defence wall, and the king founded a complex of the mining hospital with the Church of the Holy Spirit (1363) within a suburb on the northern side of the city, in a square that was regulated at the time.

The regular plan of the city of Olkusz⁷⁰ (fig. 15), charted either by Boleslaus the Modest or – before 1299 – by Wenceslaus II of Bohemia (Wacław II Czeski) defined the sacred space with great precision. Situated by the south-western corner of the market square, being at the same time the south-western corner of the chartered area, the complex of the parish Church of St Andrew (together with the cemetery) filled a rectangle covering a modular space of 1½ by 1 ropes, while the opposite corner of the system (basically a square with a side of 1 rope), perhaps reserved for a castle yet later in the hands of the parish, was taken over by the Augustinian monastic complex with a (destroyed) church founded by King Ladislaus Jagiełło in 1387.

Exceptionally interesting are the 'peregrinations' of Sącz⁷¹, and – together with them – the history of shaping the sacred spaces in the regional capital. The early Middle Ages brought about the development of the Castellan's Sącz, which Andrzej Żaki described as *podegrodzki* with a fortified core (*gród*) and settlement related to it (*podgrodzie*), within which the Church of St James was built. The following phase, this time connected to the development of urban plans related to the city charter included the transfer of the centre of the region – as the result

⁶⁸ The mention could refer to the Romanesque church [from the early 13th century (?)], whose remnants were discovered in archeological studies far away from the later city, on its western side.

⁶⁹ W. Niewalda, *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych na terenie zamku żupnego w Wieliczce*, [in:] *Badania archeologiczne prowadzone przez Muzeum Żup Krakowskich w Wieliczce w 1971 r.*, Wieliczka 1971, pp. 49–56; K. Kubik, *Wielicki zamek solinarny*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce” 5 (1976), pp. 77 and ff.

⁷⁰ Studies in urban planning and development: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 167–172.

⁷¹ A. Żaki, *Naszacowice – Podegrodzie – Stary Sącz*, „Acta Archeologica Carpathica” 1 (1959), pp. 222–224; A. Żaki, *Wędrówki Sączą*, Kraków 1974.

of the chartering and thanks to the effort of St Kinga – of the following *Sącz*, later called *Stary* i.e. *Old*⁷², which started after 1257 and ended by 1273. The Hungarian princess introduced the Hungarian model of the city (fig. 16) to Małopolska. Based on band structure (partially legible to this day) with the central band in the form of a square with the parish church surrounded by a cemetery in the centre. The church was dedicated to Hungarian saints – Elizabeth (the founder's aunt) and Margaret. In 1280, that is after the death of Boleslaus the Modest, Kinga expanded the design and at the same time the sacred space of her city, by founding an element lying on its border, by the steep bank of the Poprad River – the complex of the convent of Poor Clares with the Church of the Holy Trinity, whose abbess she became. After the death of Kinga, the part of the convent included into the church, and traditionally believed to be her cell, became the grave chapel of the princess. Without field studies it is impossible to determine whether the Franciscan monastic complex should also be connected to the foundation of Kinga, or whether it was a later development and the foundation was designed both for the female and the male branches of the order⁷³. Supporting the first option is the situation of the complex on the edge of the central band of the design, and even more so its dedication to St Stanislaus, whose veneration was so important in the activity of St Kinga. The transformation of the city plan in line with the Małopolska tradition of rectangular markets (fig. 17), which probably occurred in 1357–58, changed slightly the position of the sacred complexes within the city plan.

In 1292 the centre of the *Sądecka* Region was moved to the North, from the fork of the Dunajec and Poprad to the fork of the Dunajec and Kamienica. This political decision of Wenceslaus II, namely the foundation of *Nowy Sącz*⁷⁴, was to include translation of the city together with its churches and residents (a plan never completed). The sacred played a major role in the chartered development: the complex of the parish Church of St Margaret (where the Hungarian saint was, however, replaced by an early Christian martyr) found itself by the eastern section of the defence wall, and the Franciscan complex (founded by Wenceslaus II

⁷² Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Stary Sącz, zarys historii rozwoju przestrzennego*, Kraków 1984; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 226–234.

⁷³ This issue is interpreted by P. Pencakowski, *Gotyckie kościoły zakonu św. Franciszka w Starym i Nowym Sączu*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 36 (1991) z. 2, pp. 83–102.

⁷⁴ F. Kiryk, *Początki miasta*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, t. 1, red. F. Kiryk, Kraków 1992, pp. 86–96; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, op. cit., pp. 97–120; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 154–161.

in 1297 [?]) designed both for Franciscans and Poor Clares⁷⁵ was located by its western section. It can be guessed that chapels operated also in the monarch's castle, which assumed a strategic position above the fork of the Dunajec and the Poprad, and the residence of the bishop by the south-western corner of the defence perimeter. Despite the late mentions of the two centres of power (in 1394 and 1540, respectively), both the historical and urban development context (linking of the castle to the city being an element of reinforcement and monarch's control; chartering on the territory of an episcopal village of Kamienica) makes the hypothesis of their origin related to the charter probable.

The parish church in a chartered city was in most cases founded together with the chartering of the city, which found a reflection in its plan: together with the surrounding cemetery and accompanying developments. The church as a rule, took over a block by the corner of the market square. Besides those described above (Kazimierz, Olkusz), examples include Skała (charter thanks to the effort of Blessed Salomea, abbess of Poor Clares, on the power of privilege from her brother Boleslaus the Modest from 1267)⁷⁶, Nowe Miasto Korczyn (another Boleslavian charter, pre-1258), Jasło (1268)⁷⁷, Tarnów (1330)⁷⁸, Słomniki, Wolbrom, Żmigród Nowy, Piwniczna, Brzesko, Chrzanów, and Gorlice. Such a situation was pursued also when an older church was adapted for the chartered city (the aforementioned Kleparz, also Miechów, Wiślica, Czchów), which could find a reflection in a less regular design. Situation of the parish church complex within a block by one of the faces of the market square was almost always, as in the case of Kraków, the result of the church predating the chartered city plan (as was the case with Proszowice). Sometimes, the parish church was moved away from the market square (Nowy Sącz mentioned earlier), and was situated

⁷⁵ P. Pencakowski, *Gotyckie kościoły zakonu św. Franciszka...*, op. cit.

⁷⁶ F. Kiryk, *Pozostałe miasta regionu olkuskiego*, [in:] *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu olkuskiego*, red. F. Kiryk, R. Kołodziejczyk, Kraków 1978, pp. 341–370; M. Kornecki, *Fazy przebudowy gotyckiego kościoła w Skale*, „Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury Oddziału PAN w Krakowie” 1 (1967), pp. 181–194; studies in urban planning and development: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, op. cit., cz. 2, pp. 206–211.

⁷⁷ B. Krasnowolski, *Urbanizacja Małopolski w dobie Bolesława Wstydliwego: kompozycje i programy układów lokacyjnych*, cz. 1–2, „Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury Oddziału PAN w Krakowie” 38–39 (2006–2007), pp. 47–63.

⁷⁸ F. Kiryk, *Miasta regionu tarnowskiego*, [in:] *Tarnów, dzieje miasta i regionu*, red. F. Kiryk, Z. Ruta, Tarnów 1981, pp. 211–328; B. Krasnowolski, *Układy przestrzenne miast prywatnych w Małopolsce; wybrane przykłady*, [paper delivered at scientific conference:] *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Królestwa Polskiego i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, Zamość 23–24 kwietnia 2015 [in print].

either in the corner of the system (Bobowa⁷⁹, Skawina) or – in the case of grid-and-band layouts – at the end of the central band (besides the aforementioned Wieliczka, also e.g. in Biecz). Sometimes the tendency to gather a variety of sacred and public functions in a single band (distant from the market square) was visible. The cases included Wieliczka (the band with the church also covered the corner elements of the fortifications) and Lelów⁸⁰, where the parish church was accompanied by a Franciscan one, whose presence was the result of King Casimir the Great's exercise of transferring and re-chartering of the city set up in a different location in the 3rd quarter of the 13th century by King Boleslaus the Modest. Moving the parish church away from the market square could also result from an adaptation of a pre-charter church into the newly chartered city plan, as was for example the case with the Romanesque collegiate church in Opatów, but also from the 'superimposition' of a cross grid system on an older, street-based one (aforementioned Stary Sącz; also Nowy Targ⁸¹ and Zator) or on a rural system similar to it in construction, which could be the case in Sławków, Lipnica Murowana, Kłobuck, and Lanckorona). Moving away the church from the market square may at times be observed in the cases where, despite the city being chartered, the church in an older, rural settlement remained the parish one, while the church in the city had only the status of a filial one. (This was the case in Żarnowiec, where the parish rights remained with the church in Stary Żarnowiec – Łany Wielkie). There were also cases of the absence of such a church in the city (Tuchów, Dukla).

Apart from the grandest cities, one (parish) church was a norm, and further ones, if established, were in most cases of secondary origin. Yet already at the time of chartering, monastic complexes, especially Franciscan ones, were built in the cities. Besides those described above, two early charters issued in the Land of Sandomierz and linked to the activity of Boleslaus the Modest (and his fascination in the Franciscan movement) need mentioning here: the archaic city plan of Zawichost and the somewhat later of Nowe Miasto Korczyn, where the Franciscans took a characteristic location, on the edge of the system. The position of the convent of Poor Clares in Skała (1257–59, NB: uncertain to this

⁷⁹ B. Krasnowolski, *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Studia nad historią i sztuką pogranicza polsko-łemkowskiego*, Toruń 2010, pp. 63–65.

⁸⁰ J. Laberschek, *Rola średniowiecznego Lelowa jako rezydencji panującego, ośrodka dóbr monarszych i powiatu sądowego*, „Teki Krakowskie” 1 (1994), pp. 49–62; *Lelów*, [an entry in:] SHG 3/3, p. 496. Studies in urban planning and development: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, cz. 2, figs 116–119.

⁸¹ B. Krasnowolski, *Trzy układy przestrzenne Nowego Targu*, „Wierchy” 70 (2004), pp. 127–138.

day) was definitely not typical, as it was distant from the city chartered later (in 1267). In Nowy Żmigród, the Dominican monastery assumed its place on the edge of the city plan.

Hospital churches, if built, were a secondary phenomenon, and as a rule, were positioned in the suburbs (as mentioned above in Bochnia, Wieliczka, and Kazimierz, but also in Nowy Sącz, Skawina, Chrzanów, Lipnica Murowana, Wojnicz, and Chrzanów). As a rule they were dedicated to the Holy Spirit, the Holy Cross, and St Leonard. Sometimes they were later included into the perimeter of the city, both through the expansion of the defence perimeter (the complexes in Kraków and in Sandomierz mentioned in the text related to the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia), and ones that resulted from translation from the suburb (the complex in Nowy Sącz).

Abstract

The Sacred in the Spatial Arrangements of Chartered Cities in Małopolska in 13th–15th Centuries

The sacred space may be analysed in terms of function (parish, monastic and ‘other’ compounds) and origins (pre-incorporation compounds, from compounds from the incorporation and post-incorporation period). The Krakow from the incorporation period of 1257 together with the lower outer settlement – Okół and the suburbs; the *sacrum* related to the oldest Jewish community occupies a separate space. The *sacrum* made a considerable contribution to the urban landscape of one of the larger Krakow satellites, i.e. Kazimierz; it was rather modestly demonstrated in Kleparz. Significant differentiation can be observed in the pre-incorporation, during-incorporation period and post-incorporation Sandomierz. Mining towns such as Bochnia, Wieliczka and Olkusz were rather unique. The *peregrination* of Sącz is another, separate subject: it concerns the pre-incorporation Sącz associated with what later became Podgrodzie, St Kinga’s Sącz (Stary Sącz) and Nowy Sącz. In most small Lesser Poland towns, the *sacrum* was limited to a parish church compound (founded together with incorporation, sometimes preceding – less often following – incorporation), occasionally to a medicant monastic compound and a hospital (with a chapel).

Keywords

sacrum, German law, spatial arrangements, sacred space, church, Małopolska

Streszczenie

***Sacrum* w układach przestrzennych lokacyjnych miast Małopolski w XIII–XV wieku**

Przestrzeń sakralną można rozpatrywać pod kątem funkcji (zespoły parafialne, klasztorne i „inne”) oraz genezy (zespoły przedlokacyjne, z doby lokacji i polokacyjne). Wielkie zróżnicowanie tej przestrzeni prezentuje Kraków doby lokacji z 1257 roku wraz z włączonym doń podgrodzem – Okołem i przedmieściami; odrębne miejsce zajmuje *sacrum* związane z najstarszą krakowską gminą żydowską. Znaczącą rolę odgrywało *sacrum* w układzie urbanistycznym większego krakowskiego satelity – Kazimierza, skromniej przedstawiało się na Kleparzu. Znaczne zróżnicowanie obserwujemy w przedlokacyjnym, lokacyjnym i polokacyjnym Sandomierzu. Pewną specyfiką wyróżniały się miasta górnicze: Bochnia, Wieliczka i Olkusz. Odrębne zagadnienie wiąże się z „peregrynacją” Sącza: przedlokacyjnym Sączem wiązany z późniejszym Pogrodziem, Sączem św. Kingi (Starym) i Nowym Sączem. W większości niewielkich miast małopolskich *sacrum* ograniczone było do zespołu kościoła parafialnego (fundowanego wraz z lokacją, niekiedy ją poprzedzającego, rzadziej pojawiającego się po lokacji), niekiedy też do mendenckiego zespołu klasztornego i szpitala (z kaplicą).

Słowa kluczowe

sacrum, urbanistyka, lokacja na prawie niemieckim, przestrzeń sakralna, świątynia, Małopolska

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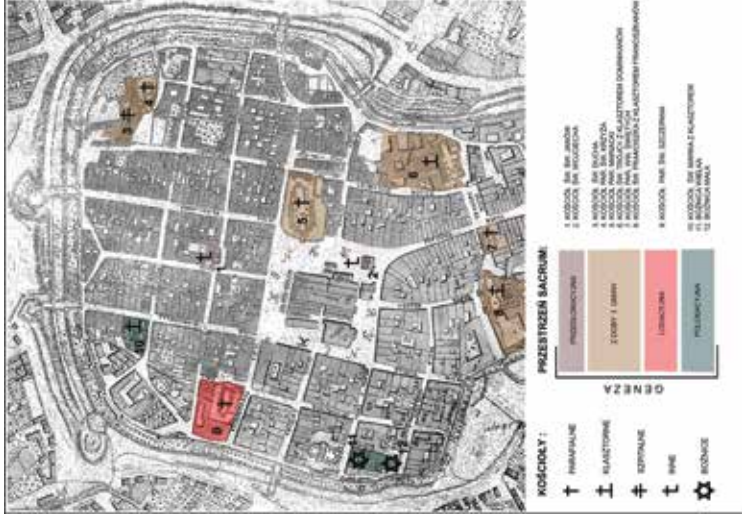
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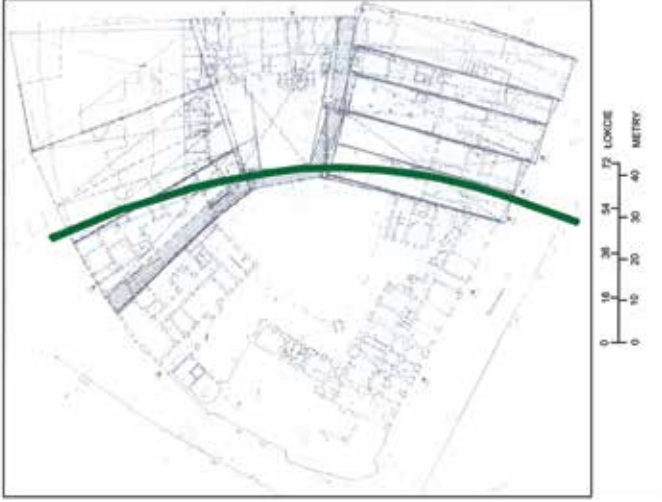
1. Kraków, the sacred in the city plan of the Great Charter and its secondary expansion, the author's concept



2. Kraków, relations between the complexes of the churches of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Cross and the borders of the city plan



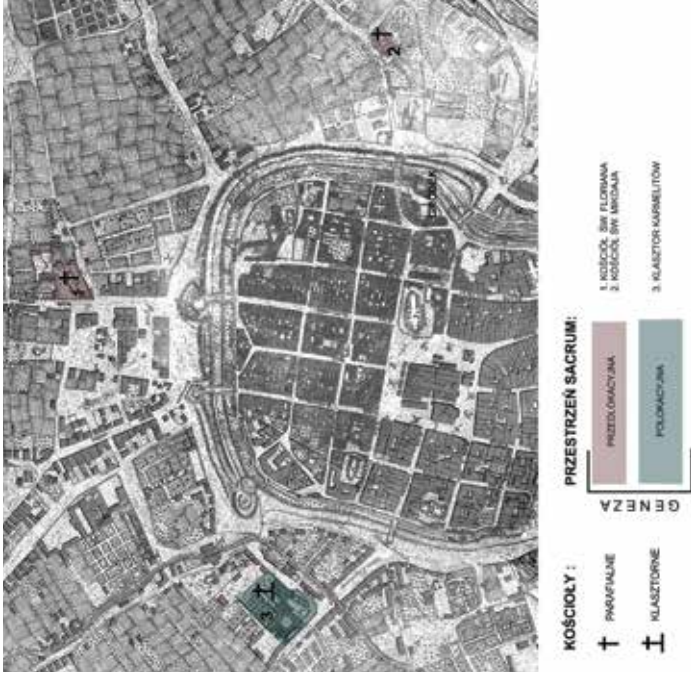
4. Inclusion of the churches of Okół into the city plan after 1312, based on W. Niewalda (dating by the author)



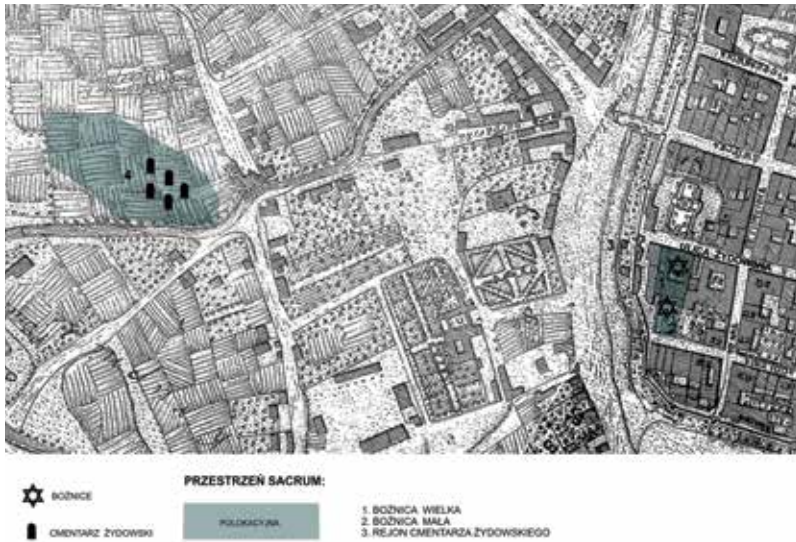
3. Inclusion of the Church of St Mark into the perimeter of the city in the wake of the construction of city fortifications in the days of Leszek the Black, 1285–87, the author's concept



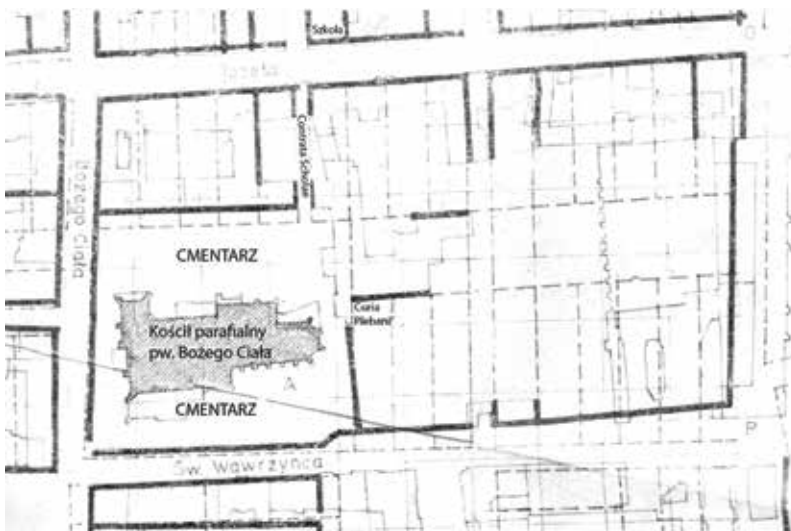
5. Inclusion of the churches of Okoń into the city plan after of the Nova Civitas in Okoń in 1835, based on W. Niewalda (dating by the author)



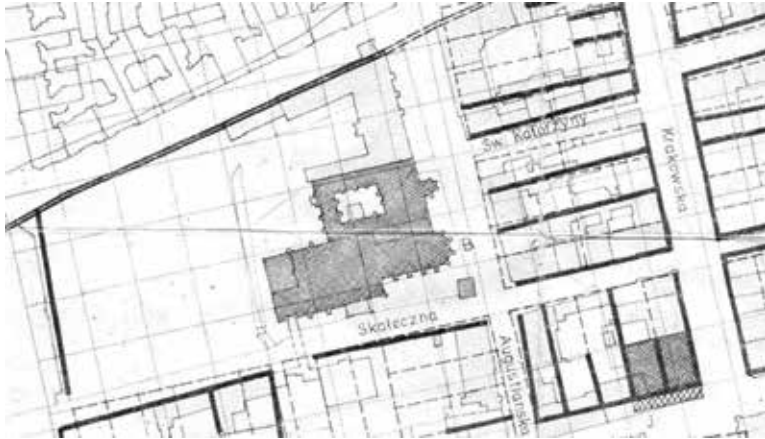
6. the sacred in the suburbs of Kraków: complexes of Saint Florian and Saint Nicholas churches, and the Carmelite monastery on the Kollgajtowski plan of Kraków from 1785



7. The area of the Jewish quarter with the synagogues and the oldest Jewish cemetery on the Kołłątajowski plan of Kraków, the author's concept



8. Kazimierz, the complex of the Corpus Christi parish church, an element of the charter design and functionality, the author's concept

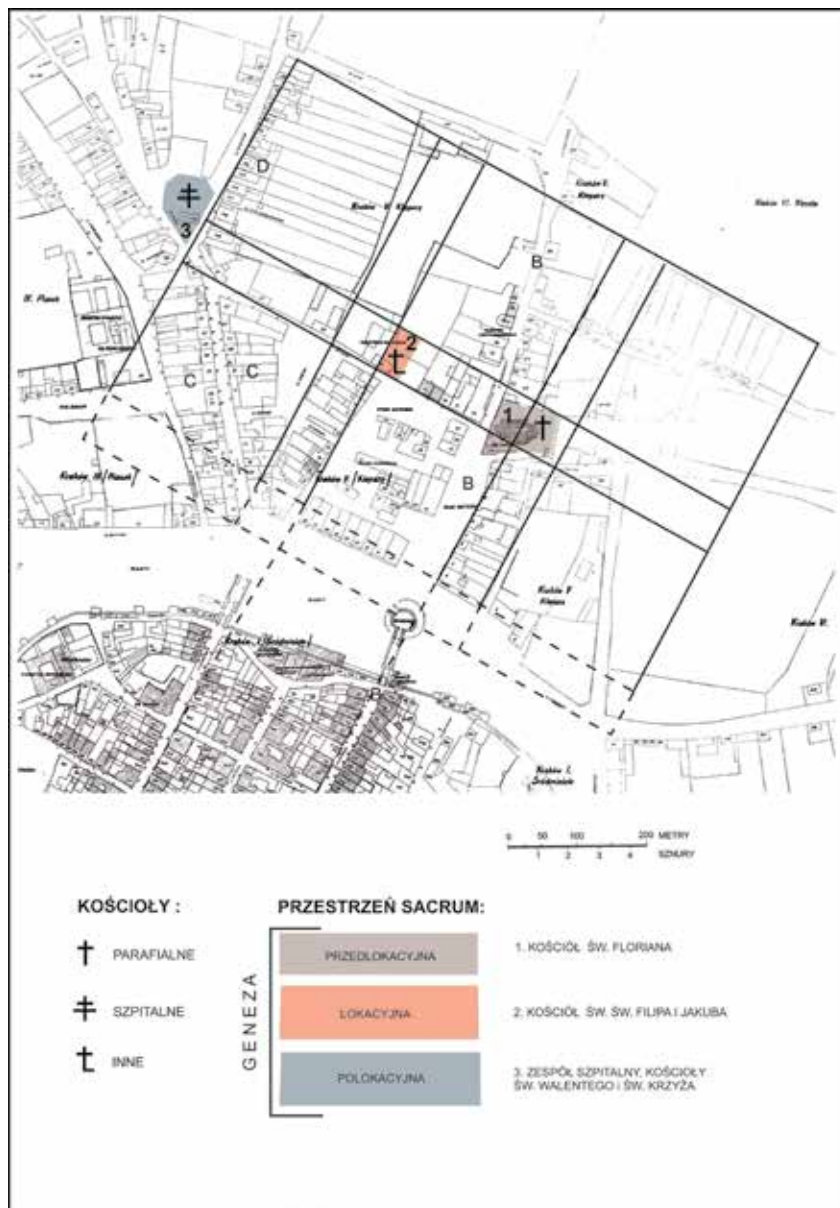


9. Kazimierz, the complex of the Church of St Catherine with the Augustinian monastery, an element of the charter design and functionality, with the modular grid (in ropes) visible, the author's concept

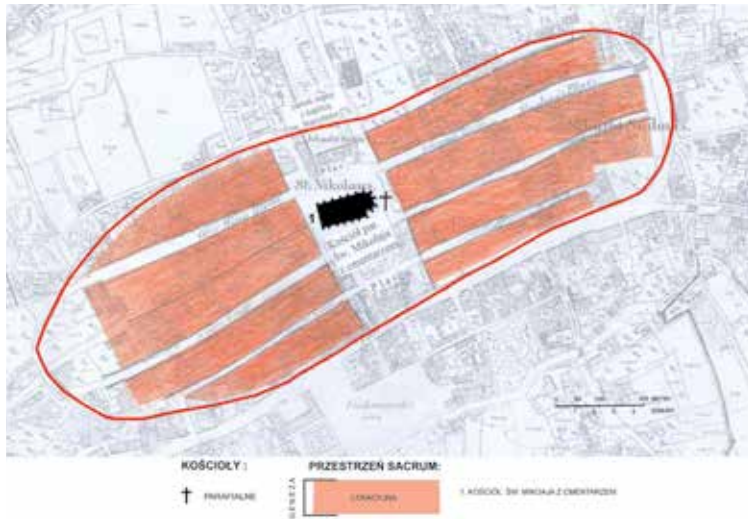


STRADOM - Zespół kościoła św. Jadwigi i szpitalem Bożogrobców - plan Kollątajowski

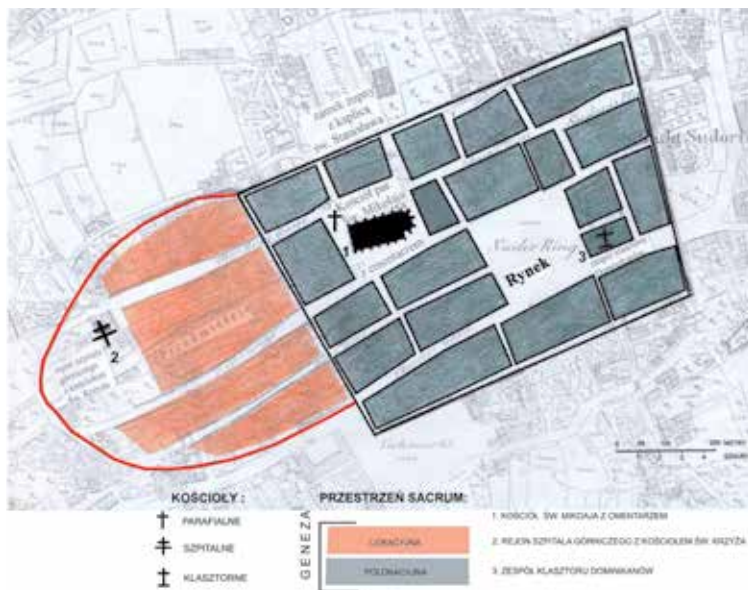
10. Stradom, the complex of the Church of St Jadwiga with the monastery and hospital of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre on the Kollątajowski plan of Kraków



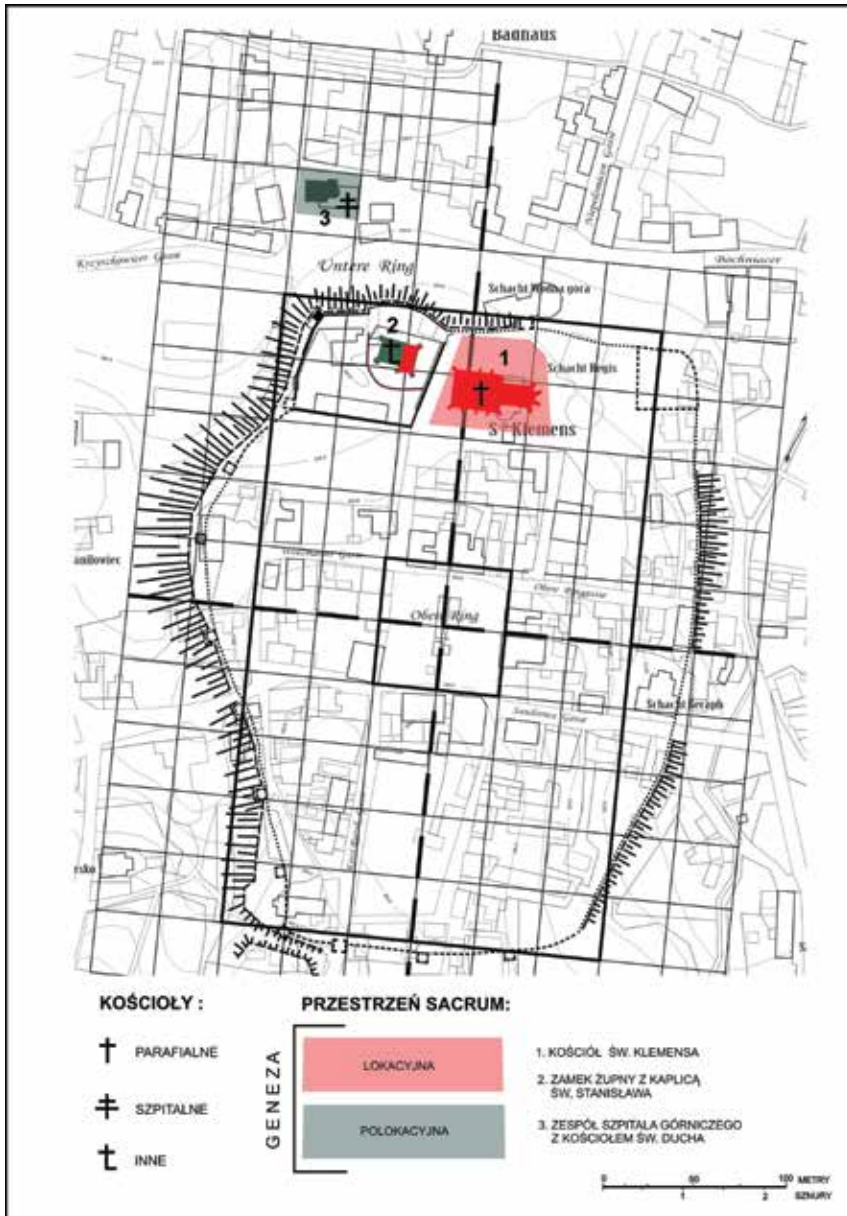
11. The sacred in the charter design of Kleparz (Florence), the author's concept, based on the studies by Z. Beiersdorf



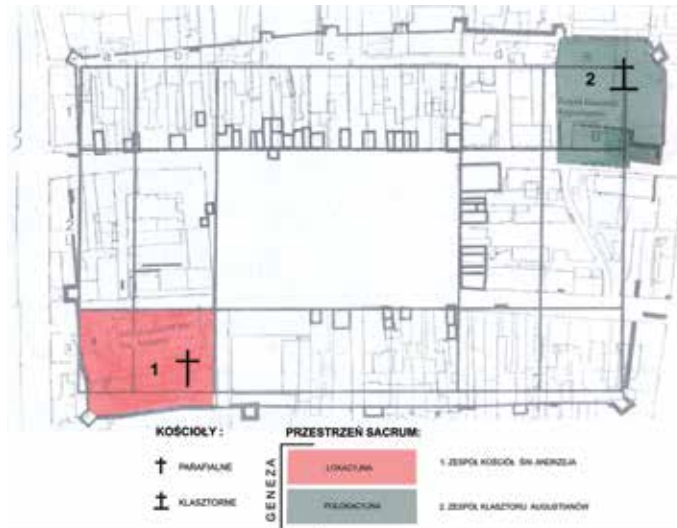
12. A hypothetical reconstruction of the design of the chartered city of Bochnia, 1253, the author's concept



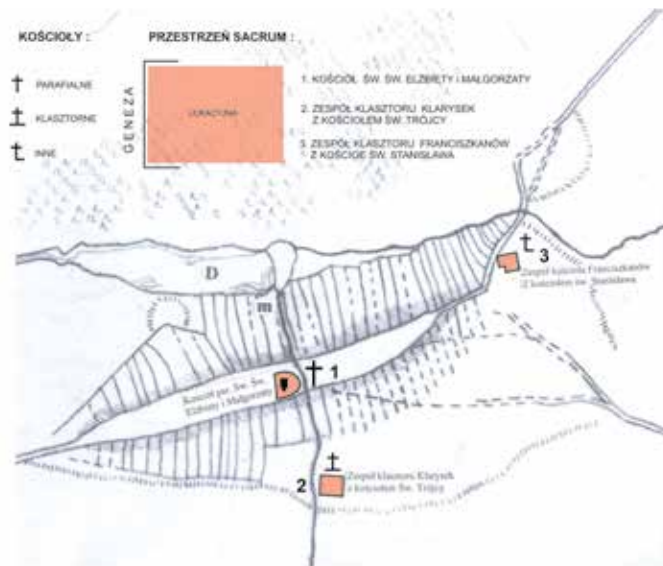
13. Schematic reconstruction of transformations in the city plan of Bochnia from the 1350s (?), with highlighted sacred spaces



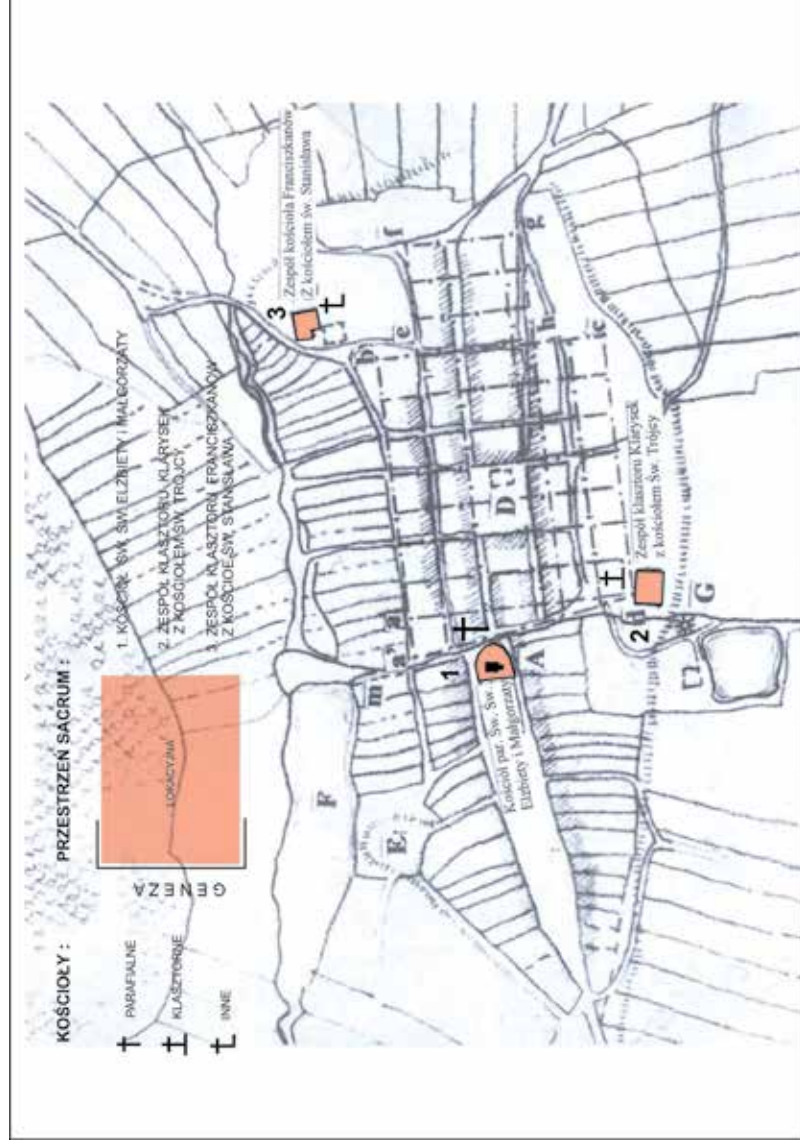
14. Wieliczka, reconstruction of the design of the chartered city (1290) with amendments from the reign of King Casimir, with highlighted sacred spaces



15. Olkusz, reconstruction of the design of the chartered city with highlighted sacred spaces



16. Stary Sącz, reconstruction of the original design of the chartered city, based on Z. Beiersdorf and the author



17. Stary Sącz, reconstruction of the design of the chartered city after 14th-century regulation, based on Z. Beiersdorf and the author