

ARTICLES

<http://dx.doi.org/10.15762/ZH.2018.52>

MARCIN STARZYŃSKI
(Jagiellonian University in Kraków)

SIGNS OF URBAN IDENTITY IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN TIMES:
CRACOW – KAZIMIERZ – KLEPARZ (THE 13TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Key words: Cracow's tricity, sigillography, city heraldry, urban identity

Although the research on sigillography and urban heraldry has a long tradition not only in European historiography, but also in Polish historiography, it was only recently that scholars started to perceive these sources, i.e. seals and coats of arms, from a slightly different angle, raising new research questions. These questions, in turn, are the result of the adaptation of the semiotic definition of a sign as an object that is supposed to evoke an idea of an 'object' other than itself in historical studies¹. In this way, 'objects' placed on the seals of municipalities, often appearing later as elements of coats of arms, began to be perceived as signs of their identity/self-presentation. In this way, a group of newcomers, 'guests', along with the municipal government authorities which observed 'foreign' law, lived their own rhythm and were separated from the world by a ring of fortifications, presented itself speaking not only about their own independence, but also about their own history.

Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, writing about identity signs in the era of the Middle Ages, pointed out that when in the mid-12th century cities began to use seals (in this context interpreted as a means of representation), their authors drew inspirations from two iconographic traditions. One of them referred to the ideogram of the city, already known from the artefacts of Carolingian art, the *Utrecht Psalter*, the *Bible of Charles the Bald* or the *Code of Egbert*. The other was described as "generic icon of the personal seal". This, in turn, could be referred to as individualized. If in the first case the reference was made to

¹ Mieczysław WALLIS, *O pewnych trudnościach związanych z pojęciem znaku*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Tadeusz CZEŻOWSKI [et al.], Warszawa 1967, pp. 213–222; see also: Grzegorz SZTABIŃSKI, *Pojęcie znaku w sztuce nowoczesnej*, *Studia Philosophiae Christianae*, vol. 8: 1972, pp. 113–131.

something abstract, then in the second case it was “the physical realization of the equivalents of the real presence”². What elements, then, constituted this visual identity of the city? These were: 1. the image of an ideal city; 2. its holy guardians; and finally 3. historical reminiscences. In connection with the content of the legend, they created a symbolic ‘portrait’ of the commune. It is at this angle that one should look at the signs of the identity of the Cracow agglomeration in its ‘long duration’, from the Middle Ages to the end of the Old Polish period.

At the outset of these considerations, it should be remembered that the city of German law was created in Cracow upon the strength of the document issued by the Duke of Cracow-Sandomierz Bolesław V the Chaste on June 5, 1257. This document, as it has recently been confirmed, closed the long-term process of forming the municipal commune³, which dated back to the 1220s. Cracow, ruled initially by the hereditary vogt and then from the beginning of the second decade of the 14th century until the end of the 18th century by the city council, was not only the largest city in the Cracow area, but also until the mid-15th century in the Kingdom of Poland. From 1320, it also held the title of the capital. With time, however, it began to lose its former position. The declining prestige of the University of Cracow lasted many years. As a result of transformations taking place in the economy, Gdańsk took the priority palm from Cracow as the most important centre for the exchange of goods. Finally, in 1598, the process of moving the royal court and central offices began in Warsaw, which finally closed in 1609. Although Cracow did not lose the status of the capital city, until the end of the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth it remained only a city of royal coronations and burials and the seat of Crown Archives (until 1765). As the centre of Magdeburg law, it ceased to function once the *Law on the Cities* had entered into force of in 1791⁴.

Apart from Cracow, two satellite cities developed in the 14th century; in the south it was Kazimierz, while in the north – Kleparz. The former was founded

² Brigitte Miriam BEDOS-REZAK, *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leiden–Boston 2011, pp. 238–239; eadem, *Du modèle à l'image. Les signes de l'identité urbaine au Moyen Âge*, [in:] *Le verbe, l'image et les représentations de la société urbaine au-Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international tenu à Marche-en-Famenne du 24 au 27 octobre 2001*, ed. Marc BOONE, Élodie LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN, Jean-Pierre SOSSON, Antwerpen–Apeldoorn 2002, pp. 189–205.

³ Jerzy WYROZUMSKI, *Eine Lokation oder mehrere Lokationen Krakaus nach deutschem Recht?*, [in:] *Rechtsstadtgründungen im mittelalterlichen Polen* (Städteforschung, Reihe A, Bd. 81), ed. Eduard MÜHLE, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2011, pp. 245–274.

⁴ Waldemar BUKOWSKI, Zdzisław NOGA, *Ustrój miasta Krakowa w XIII–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Kraków. Europejskie miasto prawa magdeburskiego 1257–1795. Katalog wystawy*, Kraków 2007, pp. 49–68.

by Casimir the Great in 1335 on the Vistula island located almost *vis à vis* the Wawel Hill, where there already operated settlements established around three parish churches and whose inhabitants were involved in different small manufactures⁵. This first urban foundation successfully carried out during the reign of Casimir the Great was of a special nature. As with Cracow, the foundation document closed the long-term process of organizing a new commune, which the ruler called after his own name and for which he had quite extensive plans such as including the organization of a modern production centre (cloth), which would not compete with the old city (Cracow). With time, he decided to locate there the University's headquarters. Kazimierz, out of the way to Cracow, belonged to second-rate cities. From the mid-16th century, it included a thriving Jewish town (*Oppidum Judeorum*), unique in Central Europe. However, the time of its magnificence was finished by the 'Swedish deluge'. The Christian city began to depopulate. In the 18th century, according to literature, the city was vegetating until 1802 when it was incorporated into the borders of Cracow⁶.

The second of the twin towns of Cracow grew around a church where the Bishop of Cracow Gedko brought from Italy in 1184 the relics of Saint Florian. It was there that over time a settlement of an urban character was formed, which was formally founded in 1366. Also in this case, the issue of the foundation document closed the long-term process of organizing the commune. The place was first called Florence (from the saint patron) and then from the end of the 14th century, Kleparz (maybe from the market tradition of this place, which consisted in *zaklepywanie* [guaranteeing] a transaction). Planned as part of *Stefanopolis* (in the times of Stefan Batory) – jointly fortified with Cracow, the suburbs of Garbary and in front of the Gate of Nicolaus, it was completely destroyed during the Swedish occupation. "After this calamity – as Zbigniew Beiersdorf wrote – it took Kleparz a long time to be rebuilt, which was done only partially"⁷. As an independent centre, it survived until the end of the Old Polish period (1791), when it was incorporated into the borders of Cracow. In each of these three cities there was a chancellery documenting the activities of

⁵ Marcin STARZYŃSKI, *Średniowieczny Kazimierz, jego ustrój i kancelaria*, Kraków 2015, pp. 18–20, 23–31; idem, *Collegium desertum – niedokończona fundacja uniwersytecka Kazimierza Wielkiego*, *Roczniki Historyczne*, vol. 82: 2016, pp. 109–139; Michał SCHMIDT, Marcin STARZYŃSKI, *Nowe miasto tkackie? Szkic do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych podkrakowskiego Kazimierza*, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 63: 2015, no. 1, pp. 15–27.

⁶ *Inwentarz archiwum miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem 1335–1802*, ed. Marian FRIEDBERG, Warszawa 1966, pp. 9–10; Bogusław KRASNOWOLSKI, *Bożnice i cmentarze kazimierskiego Miasta Żydowskiego*, [in:] *Cracovia Iudaeorum 3D. Katalog wystawy*, Kraków 2013, pp. 104–121.

⁷ Zbigniew BEIERSDORF, *Kleparz*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta* (Biblioteka Krakowska, nr 150), ed. J. WYROZUMSKI, Kraków 2007, pp. 429–451, quote p. 447.

the city's authorities. Each of them also used their own signs, which were at the same time the representation of their identity.

The oldest in this complex are undoubtedly the *signa* of Cracow, in its original form placed on the big city seal, the piston of which was made at the



Il. 1. The oldest preserved impression of the Kraków Town Council's Great Seal attached to the Treaty of Kalisz from 1343 (the seal matrix had been recreated from the matrix of the 13th-century Great Seal), Berlin-Dahlem, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA Schiebl. 109, no. 47

end of the 13th century⁸. At this point, it is worth looking at its iconography (see il. 1)⁹. In the centre of the seal, known today only from photographs, there is a detached building with a gate opening and three towers – one (central) higher and two side ones, which are lower, though not equal in height. The architectural element is interpreted as a gate building, i.e. a symbol of the independence, the autonomy of a municipal commune¹⁰, or a seat of municipal authorities, a tower house belonging to an hereditary vogt

– *sigillum* possessor, who is

represented in a pose of orans in an open gate. On the side towers there are two saint patrons of the Cathedral Church

and the city, Saint Wenceslaus on the right heraldic hand side and Saint Stanislaus, the Bishop, on the left side. They were precisely identified thanks to the

⁸ Marcin STARZYŃSKI, *Uwagi w sprawie genezy najstarszej pieczęci Krakowa z XIII wieku (na marginesie ostatnich badań)*, *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, vol. 50: 2012, pp. 25–40.

⁹ The only copy of the seal, reproduced in the literature of the beginning of the 20th century was lost in the archives of Cracow's convent of Franciscans. The piston with which it had been made, was slightly modified after the rebel of vogt Albert (1312). The old caption was replaced with a new one ("† S CONSVLVM ET COMVNITATIS CIVITATIS CRACOVIE") and stars were added in the seal field. The basic elements of the image were left unchanged. In the illustrative material accompanying this text I used the oldest preserved imprint of the great city seal of 1343, known exclusively from the low-quality photograph published at the end of the 19th century, see Franciszek PIEKOSIŃSKI, Edmund DIEHL, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich (ciąg dalszy)*, *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii i Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 6: 1899, no. 271, fig. 188.

¹⁰ Peter JOHANEK, *Die Mauer und die Heiligen. Stadtvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400–1800*, ed. Wolfgang BEHRINGER, Bernd ROECK, München 1999, pp. 26–38.

inscriptions and locations in accordance with the order of seniority, providing the newly created commune with the protection of the heavens. It can be added that the tower with the statue of St. Stanislaus is slightly higher than that of St. Wenceslaus, which clearly emphasized the role of the new, young saint (canonized in 1253) as the recently established patron of the state. The whole presentation is complemented by three coats of arms; one larger and placed above the central tower, with a non-crowned Eagle, and two smaller ones located on the sides, with the half-eagle and half-lion, which constituted the coat of arms of Kuyavian Piasts. In the rim there is a caption of the following content: “† S' ADVOCATI CIVITATIS ET CIVIVM CRACOVENSIVM”, constituting the most concise definition of the political system of the city during the reign of the hereditary vogt. The caption and images placed on city seals thus form a symbolic image of the city (*descriptio civitatis*), referring to its political assumptions, history or relationships with the rulers¹¹. In semiotic terms, these images reflect the commune's identity (*identitas*)¹².

In the above-mentioned icon, three threads described by Bedos-Rezak are intertwined: the ideal city (autonomous commune), the city and its sacred guardians, and the city and its history. The last one is told by the coats of arms. The eagle is associated with Boleslaw V the Chaste – the founder of the city, who used it as his personal mark¹³. In this image, however, there is no unification content, as Zenon Piech has accurately pointed out¹⁴.

Selected elements placed on this seal, subject to the process of heraldry, were next transmitted to the municipal coat of arms, which began to form probably at the end of the 14th century. On one of the bells in St. Mary's Church, dated 1386–1390, there is a coat of arms bearing the image of the city wall with

¹¹ See the extensive material in: Toni DIEDERICH, *Zum Quellenwert und Bedeutungsgehalt mittelalterlicher StädtSiegel*, Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, Bd. 23: 1977, pp. 269–285; Ruth WOLFF, *Descriptio civitatis. Siegel-Bilder und Siegel-Beschreibungen italienischer Städte des Mittelalters*, [in:] *Repräsentation der mittelalterlichen Stadt* (Forum Mittelalter. Studien, Bd. 4), ed. Jörg OBERSTE, Regensburg 2008, pp. 129–144. See also: *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch* (Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst, Bd. 1), ed. Markus SPÄTH, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2009.

¹² Brigitte Miriam BEDOS-REZAK, *Images of Identity and the Identity of Images*, [in:] *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, ed. Jeffrey F. HAMBURGER, Anne-Marie BOUCHÉ, Princeton 2006, pp. 46–64; eadem, *Ego, ordo, communitas. Seals and the Medieval Semiotics of Personality (1200–1350)*, [in:] *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel*, pp. 47–54.

¹³ Zenon PIECH, *Ikonoğrafia pieczęci Piastów*, Kraków 1993, p. 80.

¹⁴ Idem, *Skąd się wziął i co oznacza Orzeł w herbie Krakowa? Ze studiów nad genezą, etapami rozwoju i treściami ideowymi herbu miasta*, [in:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Toruń 1997, pp. 369–388 (with the description of the monuments discussed here, which bear the images of the coat of arms of Cracow, particularly 373).

three towers and an open gate¹⁵. The choice of this element was primarily its readability, however, as it has already been pointed out in the literature on



Il. 2. The impression of the Town Council's Lesser Seal with the image of St. Wenceslaus on a document of 1456, Capestrano, Convento di San Giovanni da Capestrano (Carteggio di San Giovanni da Capestrano), no. 303

the subject, it was “deprived of [...] any features that individualize it”¹⁶. It was in this form that it was used in urban sigillography (introduced to the pistons of two new city seals, made at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries¹⁷); it was later placed on the facade of the Town Hall Tower¹⁸, or in the Barbican's neck (next to the national coats of arms) – on the ‘main’ entrance gate to the city. It was also depicted in the manuscript of the book of the prestigious city fraternity gathering the most powerful representatives of the local patricians – the brotherhood of Virgin Mary, operating in the main parish church in Cracow¹⁹. In this context, one must pose a question what has hap-

pened to the other components of the image of the oldest judicial bench. The images of the saint patrons, Wenceslaus and Stanislaus, at the beginning of the 14th century were placed on the (smaller) seals of the bench and council, remaining in use until the end of the Old Polish period (see il. 2)²⁰. In turn, the Eagle, which with time gained new symbolic functions as a sign of the state

¹⁵ Władysław SEMKOWICZ, *Spiska sztuka odlewnicza i jej związki z Krakowem*, Rocznik Krakowski, vol. 25: 1934, p. 144; Henryk SEROKA, *Herby miast małopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2002, p. 47, il. 19.

¹⁶ Z. PIECH, *Skąd się wziął i co oznacza Orzeł*, p. 375.

¹⁷ Adam CHMIEL, *Pieczenie m[iast] Krakowa, Kazimierza, Kleparza i jurydyk krakowskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Rocznik Krakowski, vol. 11: 1909, pp. 100–102, il. 8–9.

¹⁸ Henryk ŚWIĄTEK, *Victricis aquilae signum w rzeźbie XIV–XV wieku budowli Waweli i Krakowa*, Krzysztofor, vol. 14: 1987, pp. 46–47, il. 12–13.

¹⁹ Józef MITKOWSKI, *Księga zmarłych bractwa kościoła Panny Marii w Krakowie (wiek XIV–XVIII)*, Studia Historyczne, vol. 11: 1968, p. 74.

²⁰ Zenon PIECH, *Święty Stanisław szafarzem korony Królestwa Polskiego. Ze studiów nad średniowieczną sfragistyką miasta Krakowa*, Rocznik Krakowski, vol. 57: 1991, pp. 5–17.

and the Cracow region, returned to the coat of arms of Cracow in the 16th century, when, as it seems, it was not remembered what it originally had meant. Owing to the fact that the city coats of arms were frequently accompanied by the state-dynasty coats of arms (e.g. in architecture or book graphics), associating the city wall with the Eagle as a sign of Cracow's being the capital city seemed most natural; all the more that at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries it was to become the matter of the past for Cracow.

The uncrowned Eagle on the city gate in the last quarter of the 16th century appeared on at least four monuments: in two armorials of Bartosz Paprocki *Gniazdo cnoty* (1578) and *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (1584), on the mayor's ring made in 1590 and on the door to the House of the Lord in the Town Hall (1593). At that time, a new municipal seal was made, which constituted an old form of the coat of arms dignified by a closed crown placed over the head of the escutcheon. On the sides of the escutcheon there was a sceptre and a sword, symbolizing the royal power. In the legend, a new title was added to the city: "SIGILLUM CRACOVIAE METROPOLIS REGNI POLONIAE"²¹. In the early 1620s, upon the strength of a separate resolution, the Cracow councillors ordered a new seal to be made, on which a city wall with three towers headed by a crown ("tres turres rubeas cum affixa corona") was to be placed. According to this statute, this sign was given to the city for its contribution to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ("pro singularibus meritis in rempublicam [...] concessum est")²². It should be borne in mind that the above-described monuments were made at a time when the city had lost its importance as a trade centre and, perhaps even more importantly, when after a several-year process initiated at the end of the 16th century, the royal court left Cracow. At that time, in the circle of the municipal chancellery, the appropriate means of expression were clearly searched, through which the position occupied by Cracow among other Polish cities would be read legibly (the Eagle, the royal insignia, the *Metropolis* title) – it was still the capital city, though gradually losing its capital character. When in 1661 a new set of city seals was made in the open gate, the crowned Eagle appeared. At the same time, until the end of the city's existence on the German law, the second version of the coat of arms was used – the one without the Eagle, which in religious literature was considered the host and guardian of the city: "The Eagle in Cracow's gate stretched out under three towers, welcomes visitors with its wings. However, it looks with diligence, when it protects your gates, who to let enter the city and who to take

²¹ A. CHMIEL, op.cit., pp. 109–110, il. 27.

²² *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa* (further cit. PPMK), vol. 2/1 (Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia ab anno 1507 ad annum 1795 [further cit. AH], vol. 12), ed. Franciszek PIEKOSIŃSKI, Kraków 1890, no. 909.

to the towers²³ [trans. A.C.]. By the means of the signs of their identity, the inhabitants of Cracow exhibited above all the independence of the commune, giving up the references to the protection of saint patrons, but emphasizing the city's metropolitan status. In this capacity, they used the Eagle – a personal mark of the city's founder, which, with the crown on its head, became the dynastic sign of the state.



Il. 3. The impression of the Kazimierz Town Bench's Seal attached to a document of 1400, Kraków, the National Archives, dok. perg. sygn. 29/657/124



Il. 4. The impression of the Secret Seal of Kazimierz (used by the Town Council) attached to a document of 1399, Kraków, the National Archives, Archiwum oo. Augustianów w Krakowie, sygn. 29/501/168

Next, it is necessary to answer the question, what signs determined the identity of Kazimierz and the city's inhabitants? In this case, as early as the 14th century, first on seals, the historical thread associated with the king-founder was exposed²⁴. Probably not long after the foundation of the city (1335) two stamp pistons were made – a larger seal belonging to the judicial bench and a smaller, secret seal, which remained at the disposal of the city council. The crowned royal monogram *K* was flanked by two crowned heads (see il. 3). In turn, on the secret seal, there was only the crowned male head (see il. 4). The correct identification of these images in the light of the present recognition of the signs of the ruler and the state does not constitute a major difficulty. They are both connected with the person of Casimir the Great, during the reign of

²³ Z. PIECH, *Skąd się wziął i co oznacza Orzeł*, pp. 387–388, citation from *Kazania* by Szymon Karpiński printed in Cracow in 1690.

²⁴ Presented in the most detailed manner by Zenon PIECH, *Herb miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem*, [in:] *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. idem, Kraków 2008, pp. 813–861.

whom the system of the visual identification of the Kingdom and the ruler was formed²⁵. The use of the crowned royal head as the monarch's representation had been known since the reign of Władysław the Elbow-high (*vide denars*)²⁶. Casimir the Great popularized the use of this symbol. Apart from the city seal of Kazimierz, in the middle of the 1350s it appeared on the seal of the Supreme Court of German Law, on coins of denars and quarters; finally, it was placed as an emblem in the coat of arms of Dobrzyń Land²⁷. In turn, the royal monogram *K* was a completely new mark in the realities of the 14th century, introduced to the iconosphere by Casimir the Great. It was placed next to the stamp of Kazimierz, on coins (denars and bracteates minted in the Crown, and on Cracow half-grosz and Ruthenian denars), on the monarch's seals, on the door leading to the Cathedral Church on Wawel, but also on the seals of other cities founded by the king: Grybów, Tymbark, as well as Radomsko and Radom²⁸. As has already been pointed out in the literature of the subject in Kazimierz – founded as a special town, to which the king gave not only his name, but also allowed the commune to present itself through his own royal signs – “a wider stream of manifestations of the king's power in the urban sphere was initiated”²⁹.

One of the two above-mentioned signs – the crowned royal head, probably less legible, was abandoned in the visual self-presentation of the city as an independent image, although at the end of the 15th century it was placed (in the coat of arms) on the top surface of one of the altars in the Parish Church of Corpus Christi. It was also reproduced on one of the keystones in the Chapel of St. Anne in this temple³⁰.

Thanks to Adam Chmiel's findings, it is known that in the municipal office of Kazimierz in the era when the city functioned as an independent centre, twenty-four seals were used. Fifteen of them presented the crowned monogram flanked by two heads – and it was this image considered by Piech to be the ‘main sign’ of the city³¹. Once again, however, it must be remembered that the images appearing on seals are not identical with coats of arms' emblems; they often constitute only ‘foundations’ for the future coat of arms. In the case

²⁵ See idem, *Symbolce władcy i państwa w monarchii Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuwały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, ed. Jacek BANASZKIEWICZ, Warszawa 1994, pp. 117–150.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 129–130.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 129–131.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 123–126.

²⁹ Idem, *Herb*, p. 820.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 822–824, fig. 3–4.

³¹ Ibid., p. 824.

of Kazimierz, the dominant representation of a monogram flanked by heads has never been placed on the coat of arms, unlike the monogram, which appeared on its own. Therefore, it will be reasonable to ask the question which of these two representations was the right sign of the city, or perhaps they were used interchangeably. Doubts in this context should be dispelled by the decision of King Sigismund August of 1566, by virtue of which the ruler prohibited the use of the city's coat of arms by guilds (both on seals and on their products), reserving this prerogative for the commune's authorities. This sign was described as: "littera ornata desuper corona regia ex utraque vero parte facies humana corona ibidem regia ornata"; what is important, it was used in the public sphere from the time of the foundation of the city by King Casimir ("a prima fundatione divi Kazimiri regis [...] insigne officii publici [...] obtineat")³². Piech, who has been quoted above, considered this ordinance to be a sign of a discussion on the shape of a proper city sign, carried out in the circle of the Kazimierz Town Hall (in the era when an independent monogram dominated on the city seals)³³. Despite the publication of the royal document of 1566 in the iconosphere of Kazimierz, the presentation of the independent crowned monogram was still prevalent. It is known from the seal of the Court of Six Cities (1542–1543)³⁴, at least from several superexlibris placed in the city books³⁵ and from the decoration of these books³⁶. The complex should also include the Town Hall bell founded by the city council in 1620, tokens of the city of Kazimierz (serving as "proof of payment for transporting beer or wine")³⁷, the oldest panorama of the city, known from the work of Jerzy Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1617), reproduced next in other publications³⁸, and the so-called Stockholm Roll depicting the ceremonial entry of Constance of Austria to Cracow in 1605³⁹. It is not possible to omit the book stamps, such as the one from 1667, in which the city's sign is described as follows: "Za Herb literę dano Miastu Kazimierskiemu, A Koronę na iey wierzch ozdobna włożono, Dwie osobie z obu stron Krolewskie przydano"⁴⁰. The city of Kazimierz used two signs, exposing the historical theme and preserving the memory of the king-founder, although it seems that the monogram "was more connected

³² PPMK, vol. 1/1 (AH, vol. 1), ed. Franciszek PIEKOSIŃSKI, Kraków 1885, no. 206.

³³ Z. PIECH, *Herb*, p. 829.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 832–833, il. 10.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 833–837, il. 12.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 837–842, il. 15–17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 842–844, cit., pp. 844, il. 20.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 844–847, il. X.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 847–849, il. XI.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 851.

with the name of the city than the founder's name" and the heads in the monogram became incomprehensible over time⁴¹.

Residents of Kleparz, or Florence, the other of Cracow's New Cities, throughout the entire period of its existence, used one sign, thus exposing the religious theme. On the oldest municipal seal, drawn up in the 14th century, probably soon after the formal foundation of the commune – known today from a copy from the end of the 15th century, there was a representation of the human hand (actually a palm and a fragment of the forearm) with fingers placed in the benediction gesture. This should be read, however, not as *pars pro toto* of the whole saint figure, because in the iconography Saint Florian was not presented with a hand raised to the blessing, but probably as a reliquary on the bones of the saint's hand kept in the Church of St. Florian in Kleparz. The Collegiate of Saint Florian ("manus argentea reliquias sancti Floriani continens") certainly had such a reliquary at the end of the 16th century, which was recorded in the files of the episcopal visitation⁴². The full figure of the saint, in the mantle, with the pennant on the spear, the sword and the shield bearing the image of the cross, was placed on the smaller seal of the city council, made in the early 15th century (see il. 5)⁴³. However, the figure of the saint guardian of the commune was not presented on the coat of arms; it should be recognized that at that time it was already a fully formed emblem of the municipal coat of arms. It was next copied on the 15th century larger seal of the city council and the vogt's seal from the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries⁴⁴.



Il. 5. The impression of the Kleparz Town Council's Lesser Seal with the image of St. Florian, 15th century, Kraków, the National Archives, Zbiór luźnych pieczęci, sygn. 29/1597/101

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 852.

⁴² A. CHMIEL, op.cit., pp. 150–151, il. 74.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 152–153, il. 75; comp. Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie [State Archives in Cracow], Zbiór luźnych pieczęci, sygn. 29/1597/101.

⁴⁴ A. CHMIEL, op.cit., pp. 153–156, il. 76–78.

In the 16th century, a significant change took place in the iconography of the saint, who began to be portrayed as a patron protecting from the fire; that is why a pail appeared in his hand. This is how St. Florian was presented on the 16th century seal of the mayor, the smaller seal of the city council (with a spear) and subsequent seals⁴⁵.

Recapitulating the above-mentioned information, it should be pointed out that in the visual identity of Cracow's tricity one may find all the three threads mentioned by Bedos-Rezak. In the sigillography of Cracow, both the image of the ideal city (autonomous commune), along with its saintly guardians and historical reminiscences were initially present; with time it was limited to the commune's *signum* and references to its having been the capital city in the past. In Kazimierz, however, only the historical thread of the king-founder was exposed, although it is not entirely certain whether in the late modern period, it was understood exactly in this way in the city. On the other hand, in Kleparz only a religious thread was represented – the saint patron (St. Florian) who stood guard over the city. Each of these signs, or sets of signs, grew out of their own local tradition; that is why, it is difficult to treat them as a homogeneous group. The keystone might have been the saint patrons, but in Cracow's self-presentation, they were marginalized slightly, appearing (except for the oldest municipal seal, next converted into the great seal of the city council) only on two medieval seals of the council and judiciary bench, though still used in the 18th century. The saint patrons of the Cathedral Church, Wenceslaus and Stanislaus, along with Florian seemed to go on guarding Cracow, as it was recorded in *Annals* by Jan Długosz, who described the dream vision of the burgheress Weronika, in which Saint Adalbert and Saint Florian went in a solemn procession from the church in Kleparz to the Wawel Cathedral to visit Saint Stanislaus and Saints Wenceslaus. St. Adalbert warned Cracovians against God's wrath that would affect the city were they not to repent of their sins⁴⁶.

trans. by Agnieszka Chabros

Received 15 September 2018

Received in revised form 24 October 2018

Accepted 30 October 2018

Dr hab. Marcin Starzyński
Institute of History
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
e-mail: starzynski@ymail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0946-2175

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157–162, il. 79, 81–85.

⁴⁶ Comp. Piotr KOŁPAK, *Rola patronów Królestwa Polskiego w geografii sakralnej późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa*, *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie*, vol. 6 (10): 2014, pp. 158–160.

SIGNS OF URBAN IDENTITY IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN TIMES:
CRACOW – KAZIMIERZ – KLEPARZ (THE 13TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Summary

Key words: Cracow's tricity, sigillography, city heraldry, urban identity

This article presents the issue of urban identity signs based on the example of Cracow's tricity (Cracow – Kazimierz – Kleparz) and their transformations in the 13th–18th centuries. Analysing preserved heraldic and sigillographic monuments, the author adapted a questionnaire developed by Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak in the Polish research, on the basis of which he distinguished three threads present in the self-presentation of those cities: 1. the ideal city (or self-government and independence of the commune); 2. religious (holy guardians); 3. historical, composed in conjunction with the content of captions of the seals with symbolic 'portraits' of municipalities. Originally, in Cracow, at the beginning of the 13th century, both the image of the autonomous commune (the gatehouse, the tower house of the Vogt), along with the statues of saint guardians (St. Wenceslaus and St. Stanislaus) and historical reminiscences (the founder's coat of arms) were used. With time, these references were limited to the *signum* of the commune in the form of a gate and the state's coat of arms accompanying it as a reference to the city's having been the capital of the state. In Kazimierz, however, only the historical thread of the king-founder was exposed (the emblems of the ruler: the *K* monogram and the crowned royal head), although it is not entirely certain whether in the late modern period it was understood exactly in this way in the city. On the other hand, in Kleparz only a religious thread was represented – the saint patron (St. Florian) who stood guard over the city. Each of these signs, or sets of signs, grew out of their own local tradition; that is why, it is difficult to treat them as a homogeneous group.

ZEICHEN STÄDTISCHER IDENTITÄT IM MITTELALTER UND FRÜHER NEUZEIT.
KRAKAU – KAZIMIERZ – KLEPARZ (13.–18. JAHRHUNDERT)

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Krakauer Dreistadt, städtische Sphragistik, städtische Heraldik, städtische Identität

Der vorstehende Artikel präsentiert das Phänomen der städtischen Identitätszeichen am Beispiel der Krakauer Dreistadt (Krakau – Kazimierz – Kleparz) sowie deren Veränderungen im 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Bei der Analyse der erhaltenen heraldischen und sphragistischen Relikte verwendet der Autor in seinen polnischen Forschungen einen Fragebogen, der von Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak entwickelt wurde, und unterscheidet drei Motive, die sich in der Selbstpräsentation der im Titel genannten Zentren finden: 1. das der idealen Stadt (oder die Selbstverwaltung und Unabhängigkeit)

gigkeit der Gemeinde), 2. das des Religiösen (der Schutzpatrone), 3. das historische, die sich in der Verbindung mit dem Inhalt der Siegellegenden zu symbolischen „Porträts“ von Gemeinden zusammenfügen. In Krakau bediente man sich zunächst (im 13. Jahrhundert) sowohl eines Bilds der autonomen Gemeinde (Torgebäude, Vogts-
haus mit Turm) als auch der Figuren von Schutzheiligen (hl. Wenzel und hl. Stanislaus) und historischer Erinnerungen (Wappen des Stadtgründers). Im Lauf der Zeit wurden diese Bezüge begrenzt auf das *signum* der Gemeinde in Gestalt eines Tors und auf das dieses begleitende Staatswappen als Hinweis auf den Hauptstadtcharakter der Stadt. In Kazimierz hingegen wurde ausschließlich das historische Motiv des Gründungskönigs herausgestellt (Zeichen des Herrschers: das Monogramm *K* und ein gekröntes Königshaupt), obwohl nicht völlig sicher ist, ob dieser in der späteren frühen Neuzeit in der Stadt selbst genau so verstanden wurde. In Kleparz hingegen war nur das religiöse Motiv vertreten, der heilige Patron (Florian), der über die Stadt wachte. Jedes dieser Zeichen oder Zeichengruppen erwuchs aus einer eigenen örtlichen Tradition, so dass man sie kaum als eine einheitliche Gruppe behandeln kann.

ZNAKI TOŻSAMOŚCI MIEJSKIEJ W ŚREDNIOWIECZU I CZASACH NOWOŻYTNYCH. KRAKÓW – KAZIMIERZ – KLEPARZ (XIII–XVIII WIEK)

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: Krakowskie trójmiasto; sfragistyka miejska; heraldyka miejska; tożsamość miejska

W artykule zaprezentowane zostało zagadnienie znaków tożsamości miejskiej na przykładzie krakowskiego trójmiasta (Kraków–Kazimierz–Kleparz) oraz ich przekształceń w XIII–XVIII w. Analizując zachowane zabytki heraldyczne i sfragistyczne, autor wyróżnił, adaptując w polskich badaniach kwestionariusz wypracowany przez Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, trzy wątki obecne w samoprezentacji tytułowych ośrodków: 1. miasta idealnego (lub samorządności i niezależności gminy), 2. religijny (świętych opiekunów), 3. historyczny, składające się w połączeniu z treścią legend napiętnych na symboliczne „portrety” gmin. W Krakowie początkowo (XIII w.) posługiwano się wizerunkiem autonomicznej gminy (budynek bramny, wieżowy dom wójtowski), figurami świętych opiekunów (św. Wacława i św. Stanisława) oraz reminiscencjami historycznymi (herb założyciela miasta). Z czasem odwołania te zostały ograniczone do *signum* gminy w postaci z bramą oraz towarzyszącego mu herbu państwowego jako nawiązania do stołeczności miasta. W Kazimierzu eksponowany był natomiast tylko i wyłącznie wątek historyczny, króla-fundatora (znaki władcy: monogram *K* oraz ukoronowana królewska głowa), choć nie jest do końca pewne, czy w dobie późnonowoczesnej w samym mieście rozumiano go dokładnie w ten sposób. Z kolei w Kleparzu reprezentowano jedynie wątek religijny – świętego patrona (Florian) stojącego na straży miasta. Każdy z tych znaków, czy też zespołów znaków, wyrastał z własnej, miejscowej tradycji, stąd też trudno traktować je jako jednorodną grupę.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam. "Du modèle à l'image. Les signes de l'identité urbaine au Moyen Âge." In *Le verbe, l'image et les représentations de la société urbaine au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international tenu à Marche-en-Famenne du 24 au 27 octobre 2001*, edited by Marc Boone, Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Jean-Pierre Sosson, 189–205. Antwerpen, Apeldoorn: Garant, 2002.
- Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam. "Ego, ordo, communitas. Seals and the Medieval Semiotics of Personality (1200–1350)." In *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, edited by Markus Spät, 47–54. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2009.
- Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam. "Images of Identity and the Identity of Images." In *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, 46–64. Princeton: University Press, 2006.
- Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam. *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Beiersdorf, Zbigniew. "Kleparz." In *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, edited by Jerzy Wyrozumski, 429–451. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2007.
- Bukowski, Waldemar and Zdzisław Noga. "Ustrój miasta Krakowa w XIII–XVIII wieku." In *Kraków. Europejskie miasto prawa magdeburskiego 1257–1795. Katalog wystawy*, 49–68. Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 2007.
- Chmiel, Adam. "Pieczęcie m[iast] Krakowa, Kazimierza, Kleparza i jurydyk krakowskich do końca XVIII wieku." *Rocznik Krakowski* 11 (1909): 77–176.
- Diederich, Toni. "Zum Quellenwert und Bedeutungsgehalt mittelalterlicher Städtiesel." *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 23 (1977): 269–285.
- Friedberg, Marian, ed. *Inwentarz archiwum miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem 1335–1802*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966.
- Johanek, Peter. "Die Mauer und die Heiligen. Stadtvorstellungen im Mittelalter." In *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400–1800*, edited by Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck, 26–38. München: C. H. Beck, 1999.
- Kołpak, Piotr. "Rola patronów Królestwa Polskiego w geografii sakralnej późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa." *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 6 (2014): 158–190.
- Krasnowolski, Bogusław. "Bożnice i cmentarze kazimierskiego Miasta Żydowskiego." In *Cracovia Iudaeorum 3D. Katalog wystawy*, 104–121. Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 2013.
- Mitkowski, Józef. "Księga zmarłych bractwa kościoła Panny Marii w Krakowie (wiek XIV–XVIII)." *Studia Historyczne* 11 (1968): 77–81.
- Piech, Zenon. "Herb miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem." In *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75. rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Zenon Piech, 813–861. Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2008.
- Piech, Zenon. *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów*. Kraków: Universitas, 1993.
- Piech, Zenon. "Skąd się wziął i co oznacza Orzeł w herbie Krakowa? Ze studiów nad genezą, etapami rozwoju i treściami ideowymi herbu miasta." In *Venerabiles, no-*

- biles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, 369–388. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997.
- Piech, Zenon. “Święty Stanisław szafarzem korony Królestwa Polskiego. Ze studiów nad średniowieczną sfragistyką miasta Krakowa.” *Rocznik Krakowski* 57 (1991): 5–17.
- Piech, Zenon. “Symbole władcy i państwa w monarchii Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego.” In *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, edited by Jacek Banskiewicz, 117–150. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 1994.
- Piekosiński, Franciszek, ed. *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa*, vol. 1/1–2/1. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1885–1890.
- Schmidt, Michał and Marcin Starzyński. “Nowe miasto tkackie? Szkic do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych podkrakowskiego Kazimierza.” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 63/1 (2015): 15–27.
- Semkowicz, Władysław. “Spiska sztuka odlewnicza i jej związki z Krakowem.” *Rocznik Krakowski* 25 (1934): 129–149.
- Seroka, Henryk. *Herby miast małopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: DiG, 2002.
- Späth, Markus, ed. *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte in Gespräch*. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2009.
- Starzyński, Marcin. “Collegium desertum – niedokończona fundacja uniwersytecka Kazimierza Wielkiego.” *Roczniki Historyczne* 82 (2016): 109–139.
- Starzyński, Marcin. *Średniowieczny Kazimierz, jego ustrój i kancelaria*. Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2015.
- Starzyński, Marcin. “Uwagi w sprawie genezy najstarszej pieczęci Krakowa z XIII wieku (na marginesie ostatnich badań).” *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 50 (2012): 25–40.
- Świątek, Henryk. “Victricis aquilae signum w rzeźbie XIV–XV wieku budowli Wawelu i Krakowa.” *Krzysztofor* 14 (1987): 38–49.
- Sztabiński, Grzegorz. “Pojęcie znaku w sztuce nowoczesnej.” *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 8 (1972): 113–131.
- Wallis, Mieczysław. “O pewnych trudnościach związanych z pojęciem znaku.” In *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Tadeusz Czeżowski, 213–222. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967.
- Wolf, Ruth. “Descriptio civitatis. Siegel-Bilder und Siegel-Beschreibungen italienischer Städte des Mittelalters.” In *Repräsentation der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, edited by Jörg Oberste, 129–144. Regensburg: Schell and Steiner, 2008.
- Wyrozumski, Jerzy. “Eine Lokation oder mehrere Lokationen Krakaus nach deutschem Recht?” In *Rechtstadtgründungen im mittelalterlichen Polen*, edited by Eduard Mühle, 245–274. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2011.