

Doctoral Thesis

PREACHING SAINT STANISLAUS

Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow

and

Their Role in the Construction of His Image and Cult

by

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Submitted to

Central European University  
Department of Medieval Studies

in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

Budapest, Hungary  
2010



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## Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have helped during the research and writing of my dissertation: first and foremost my supervisor Prof. Gábor Klaniczay; my former supervisor Prof. Gerhard Jaritz; Doc. Martin Homza from the Comenius University in Bratislava who first directed my interest to my patron-saint; Prof. Nicole Bériou who helped me in the early stage of my work; and Prof. David d'Avray who advised me during my stay in London. My thanks go to Prof. Stanisław Sroka from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, who, together with my supervisor, turned my attention to sermons on St. Stanislaus.

I am grateful to CEU for making my studies possible, to the Doctoral Support Research Grant for financial support and for making possible my stay in Lyon and Paris, to the International Visegrad Fund for enabling my research stay in Cracow, to the Marie Curie Fellowship of the European Doctorate in Social History of Europe and the Mediterranean for my research stay at the UCL in London.

I want to thank to numerous librarians, archivists and others, who are recognised throughout the dissertation. My appreciation extends to my colleagues, who have always been generous with their time, friendly support and expertise and especially Dagmara Wójcik, Anna Zajchowska, Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei, Ottó Gecser, and many others too numerous to mention here. I have learned a lot during my PhD studies, through discussions with them and my supervisors, and look forward to continuing to learn.

I want to thank to Katie Keene, who read most of my work and commented on my English, and to Alice Choyke and Judith Rasson who read various shorter parts of my work in an earlier stage, as well as to all friends at the department who helped me.

My deepest gratitude is reserved for my family – my parents, my sister, and my grandmother, who unfortunately did not live long enough to see me finish the dissertation – who have always supported me and without whom I would not have come this far.

## Abbreviations

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| AC     | <i>Analecta Cracoviensia</i>   |
| AASS   | <i>Acta Sanctorum</i>  |
| CCCM   | <i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>  |
| KDKK   | <i>Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej (Monumenta Medii Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia 1) (The Codex Diplomaticus of the Cracow Chapter).</i><br>Ed. Franciszek Piekosiński. Cracow: Akademia umiejętności Krakowska, 1874. |
| KH     | <i>Kwartalnik Historyczny</i>  |
| KUL    | Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (Catholic University of Lublin)   |
| MPH    | <i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i> . 6 vols. Lviv: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1864-1893.   |
| MPH 4  | <i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i> , vol. 4. Ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński. Lviv Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884.   |
| MPH SN | <i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series nova</i>  |
| PAN    | Polska akademia nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences)  |
| PAU    | Polska akademia umiejętności (Polish Academy of Arts)  |
| PL     | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> . Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris: J.-P. Migne 1841-1857. Facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982-1993.   |
| PSB    | <i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> (Polish Biographical Dictionary)  |
| PWN    | Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (National Scientific Publishers)   |

### Frequently used abbreviations for manuscript location:

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| BCzart                      | Cracow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich (Czartoryski Library)  |
| BJ                          | Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library)  |
| Budapest University Library | Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library)   |
| Cracow Chapter Library      | Cracow, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Katedralnej (Archives and Library of Cracow Cathedral Chapter)  |
| BUWr                        | Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (University Library)  |
| Prague Chapter Library      | Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Fond Metropolitní Kapitulní knihovna u sv. Víta (Archives of the Prague Castle, Fund Metropolitan Chapter Library of St. Vitus) |
| Uppsala                     | Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek  |
| Kórnik                      | Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN (Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences)  |
| Ossolineum                  | Wrocław, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Library of the National Foundation of the Ossolinski Family)   |

## Introduction

Numerous studies of Saint Stanislaus of Cracow dealt with various issues concerning the construction of his legend and his cult, including the obscure issue of the origins of his cult, his hagiography, the miracle collections, and the liturgy. These studies have demonstrated that devotion to the saint, variously manifested, flourished among all strata of society in the Late Middle Ages. However, sermons have been largely neglected from these studies, despite the fact that they were certainly instrumental in facilitating the cult's proliferation. Thus, an essential element in the construction of the image of Saint Stanislaus as he was perceived in the Late Middle Ages has been omitted from consideration, an omission which this study proposes to correct.

Stanislaus was the bishop of Cracow in the eleventh century. His legend tells the story of his conflict with Boleslaus II, the King of Poland, which resulted in the bishop's murder in 1079. The oldest preserved evidence of his cult dates back to the turn of the thirteenth century only. The Polish Kingdom, which had long since ceased, splintered into several principalities. The popularity of the cult grew in the thirteenth century and, thanks primarily to the efforts of the bishops of Cracow, but also with the concerted support of the mendicant orders, the Prince of Cracow and the area of Little Poland centred in Cracow, Bishop Stanislaus was canonised by Pope Innocent IV at Assisi in 1253. It was one of the few successful canonisation processes in those times, when the new formalized and centralized procedure of canonisation gradually developed in the Roman Church. The centre of the cult of St. Stanislaus was in the city of Cracow, where he had lived and acted as a bishop and where he had also attained his martyr's crown. It was only natural that the cult and devotion started to flourish at a place where people could approach his relics and benefit from their supernatural power, as they were firmly convinced. As the first Polish native to be canonised, he became an especially prominent figure among the saints venerated in Cracow and later in all Poland. St. Stanislaus enjoyed respect and devotion from both the official and popular part, which lasted well into the fifteenth century and, in a way, still continues to be very much present even in today's Poland. He became patron-saint of Poland, one of the symbols and icons of Polish history and society.

Nevertheless, almost no attention has been given to sermons on him, which were important vehicles of his cult. In an age before modern mass media, preaching was an important means by which the faithful received information about a saint and about the significance of the feast. Preachers would retell and use the material from the saint's legends and other hagiographic sources together with the material from the Bible and various authorities, in order to interpret and present a lesson about the saintly figure. Sermons on saints were an integral part of the "hagiographic



discourse,” and the preaching functioned as the vehicle by which the cult was interpreted, reiterated and disseminated in the later Middle Ages.

George Ferzoco has recently argued that sermons on saints have not attracted adequate attention within the study of hagiography, despite the fact that their role in the diffusion of saints' cults is beyond question.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, an increasing number of studies have dealt with medieval sermons on individual saints, including monographs and important articles on St. Thomas Becket,<sup>2</sup> Mary Magdalen,<sup>3</sup> St. Elizabeth of Hungary,<sup>4</sup> St. Louis,<sup>5</sup> St. Wenceslas,<sup>6</sup> St. Ladislaus,<sup>7</sup> St. Claire,<sup>8</sup> St. Francis of Assisi,<sup>9</sup> St. Katherine of Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> St. Bartholomew,<sup>11</sup> St. Michael the Archangel,<sup>12</sup> and also the studies of Carlo Delcorno<sup>13</sup> and George Ferzoco<sup>14</sup> on the relation between hagiography and sermons on saints.

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<sup>1</sup> George Ferzoco, “The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints,” in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: Brill, 2002) 279-280.

<sup>2</sup> Phyllis B. Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Traditions: An Inventory of Sermons about Saint Thomas Becket c. 1170 - c. 1400*, *Instrumenta Patristica* 25 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992); and eadem, “Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation,” in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 1-22.

<sup>3</sup> Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and also Nicole Bériou, “La Madeleine dans les sermons parisiens du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 104 (1992): 269-340 [reprinted in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: essays on marriage, death, history and sanctity*, ed. Nicole Bériou and David L. d'Avray (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1994), 323-400].

<sup>4</sup> Ottó Gecser, *Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231-c. 1500*, PhD. Thesis (CEU, Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Literární prameny svatováclavského kultu a úcty ve vrcholném středověku* (Literary Sources of the Cult and Devotion to Saint Wenceslas in the High Middle Ages) (Prague: Národní knihovna ČR, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Edit Madas, *Sermones de Sancto Ladislao Rege Hungariae. Középkori prédikációk Szent László királyról.* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Klasszika-Filológia Tanszéke, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Nicole Bériou, “Les sermons sur sainte Claire dans l'espace français (vers 1255-1350),” in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa postérité*, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'occasion du VIII<sup>e</sup> centenaire de la naissance de Sainte Claire, U.N.E.S.C.O. (29 septembre-1er octobre 1994), ed. G. Brunel-Lobrichon, D. Dinet et al. (Paris-Nantes, 1995), 119-154.

<sup>9</sup> Nicole Bériou, “Saint François, premier prophète de son ordre, dans les sermons du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 102 (1990), no. 2, 535-556 (reprinted in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, 285-308); and J.-G. Bougerol, “Sermons médiévaux en l'honneur de saint François,” *AFP* 75 (1982), 382-415.

<sup>10</sup> David d'Avray, “Katharine of Alexandria and Mass Communication in Germany: Woman as Intellectual,” in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, 401-8.

<sup>11</sup> Nicole Bériou, “*Pellem pro pelle* (Job 2. 4). Les sermons pour la fête de saint Barthélemy au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *La pelle umana. The Human Skin* (Firenze: Sismel Edizioni Galluzzo, 2005), 267-284.

<sup>12</sup> Eadem, “Saint Michel dans la prédication (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en Occident: Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange*, ed. Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto et André Vauchez (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2003), 203-217.

<sup>13</sup> Carlo Delcorno, “Il racconto agiografico nella predicazione dei secoli XIII-XV,” in *Agiografia nell'occidente Cristiano secoli XIII-XV*. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 48 (1980), 79-114. For the reprint of the article under the title “Agiografia e predicazione” and another study “La *Legenda aurea* dallo scrittorio al pulpito,” see Delcorno's book *Exemplum e letteratura tra medioevo e rinascimento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), chapters 1 (pp. 25-78) and 2 (pp. 79-101) respectively, 25-101.

<sup>14</sup> Besides the study cited above, George Ferzoco, “Sermon Literatures concerning Late Medieval Saints,” in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle et al., *Textes et études du Moyen Âge* 5 (Louvain-La-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 103-125.

However, medieval sermons and preaching on Saint Stanislaus have not yet received the critical attention they deserve as a new perspective on his image and cult and a complement to other material in his dossier. The sermons provoked only cursory interest among historians of his cult, focusing on texts from the late sixteenth century onwards.<sup>15</sup> Several historians called for a systematic study of sermons on the saint.<sup>16</sup> Only the sermon by Peregrinus of Opole, a Dominican friar, has been edited in addition to a very few editions and translations which are little known and often overlooked in historiography.<sup>17</sup> Some sermons about St. Stanislaus have been mentioned briefly in the context of studies regarding other aspects of his cult. This study is the first step towards a systematic, critical analysis of the sermon corpus.

### The Research Problems

The following is a comprehensive analysis of the sermon corpus on St. Stanislaus within the late medieval discourse on him. Some hagiographic materials, such as legends, miracle collections, iconography, liturgy, have already been extensively researched. This study will instead examine the relationship between sermons on St. Stanislaus, the construction of his image and the operation, spread, and uses of his cult. The sermons will be addressed from two interconnected aspects.

- 1) First, the image of the saint: What image of St. Stanislaus was presented in the sermons, why, and in which contexts and how does this image compare with how he is represented elsewhere?
- 2) Secondly, the saint's cult: How did the preserved sermon texts function in relation to the actual preaching and cult?

The enquiry is based primarily on the sermon texts preserved in manuscripts, supported by references to preaching in a variety of other historical sources. A general study of the subject is necessary to provide the context in which the sermons were transmitted in preachers' manuscripts

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<sup>15</sup> Jan Związek, "Św. Stanisław Szczepanowski w polskim kaznodziejstwie do końca XVIII. w." (St. Stanislaus in the Polish Preaching until the End of the Eighteenth Century), *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 615-637; Tadeusz Ulewicz, "Św. Stanisław ze Szczepanowa w kulturze umysłowo-literackiej dawnej Polski" (St. Stanislaus of Szczepanow in the Literary Culture of Ancient Poland), *ibid.*: 461-498.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim," (St. Stanislaus in Silesian Medieval Historiography), in *Kult świętego Stanisława na Śląsku (1253-2003)* (The Cult of St. Stanislaus in Silesia 1253-2003), ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Opole: Redakcja wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2004), 131 and footnote 66; Maciej Zdanek, *Kultura intelektualna dominikanów krakowskich* (The Intellectual Culture of Cracow Dominicans), PhD. Thesis (Jagiellonian University: Institute of History, 2005), 268-279. Some studies, for instance Dola's, suggested and pointed out the potential of research into sermons about Saint Stanislaus, especially their political and patriotic aspects; Kazimierz Dola, "Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa i męczennika a tradycje polskie na Śląsku" (The Cult of St. Stanislaus, the Martyr Bishop, and Polish Traditions in Silesia), *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 7 (1979), 256-259.

<sup>17</sup> For the editions, see the appendix *Register of Sermons*, no. I, XLV, XXIX.

and in terms of real preaching (i.e. the techniques and socio-cultural implications of their transmission). First, the functions and uses of the sermons that survive in manuscripts must be identified, and then the functions and uses of the cult of St. Stanislaus as they are presented in sermons and preaching will be determined. It must be remembered, however, that manuscript texts are a written medium and there will always be a barrier between the written text and its actual oral delivery. The preserved texts represent sermon material in various stages of their actual preparation or delivery, sometimes for purposes other than preaching, such as personal study, for example. In many cases it is impossible to reconstruct the oral performance.

The sermons consciously constructed an image of the saint, favouring certain aspects of his sanctity. This concept of sanctity as a social construction and a historical category was elaborated by, among others, the renowned French historian André Vauchez, who argued that there was no absolute ideal of officially recognised sainthood. Ideals and representations of sainthood differed according to historical periods, regions, and communities.<sup>18</sup> They were formed by both the ideals of the Church hierarchy, and those of society.<sup>19</sup> Thus, sainthood was a social phenomenon that should be examined within its social, historical, and cultural contexts.<sup>20</sup> People projected their own expectations and experiences onto the persons who died in the odour of sanctity. This concerns not only the officially recognised sainthood, but also the evolution of any saintly person's cult and its representations, and sermons about the saints as well. The preachers chose what to emphasise depending upon the conditions and considerations during the composition and delivery of sermons.

All this is also related to the concept of the sermon genre as a social force, the so-called reception theory, which David d'Avray applied to the study of medieval sermons.<sup>21</sup> The preachers not only formed an image of the saint in sermons, but were also influenced by the expectations established by previous sermons on a given topic or occasion and by the expectations of their audience under given historical circumstances.

Composed and exploited by authors of diverse backgrounds, sermons were meant for a variety of uses. The texts therefore do not yield a homogeneous, repetitive, and automatic image of this saint, but rather diverse and heterogeneous representations (e.g. intercessor, miracle-worker, exemplar of pastoral and moral perfection). The emphasis of the sermon varied according to the character of audience or historical circumstances. Likewise, the image of St. Stanislaus could be quite variable and diverse, depending on the type of text and circumstances; the layfolk perhaps admired their miracle-worker and intercessor, the clerics the ideal of pastoral perfection, and so on.

<sup>18</sup> André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Countries: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>21</sup> David d'Avray, "Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons," in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, 6-8.

Thus, on the one hand, I will argue that sermons on St. Stanislaus offered various images of the saint, depending on the ever-changing circumstances. However, it may be difficult to verify whether the sermons on St. Stanislaus reflected social, political, intellectual and religious conditions and changes (with respect to time, place, audience, constituencies, and so on) since for many sermons it is difficult to determine the occasion for their composition and delivery, while others remain anonymous or generic model sermons.

On the other hand, however, I will argue that the inventory of images of the particular saint utilised by preachers was limited to a certain extent, most importantly by the type of sainthood that Stanislaus represented. This brings me back to the work of André Vauchez and other scholars of medieval hagiography, who determined certain types of sainthood which were “successful” in certain periods and places. I would also add that a martyr-bishop must have offered different paths for preachers than other types of saints. For example, sermons probably presented St. Stanislaus more naturally as an exemplar of moral perfection for bishops and priests than widows. Thus, this study of sermons, supplemented with other parts of the hagiographic discourse about the bishop of Cracow, will contribute to the study of the functions of the cults of bishops and martyr-bishops in the Late Middle Ages, identifying those images and ideas which were recurrent in sermons on saints in general, and extrapolating those that might be specific to this particular type of saint.

The variability of the saint was neither *ad infinitum* nor *ad absurdum*. It was also constrained by the fact that preaching occurred within the repetitive liturgical framework of the saint’s feast-days, which occurred each year on the same days, and was characterised by a relatively stable repertory of liturgical texts. Preachers frequently tended to distil the message about a particular saint (within a particular sermon, but also in general) to an essential image, which was recurrent in numerous sermons. They were at all times focused on highlighting for their audience what was admirable and imitable about the saint.

Thus, the study attempts to present the multiple images and functions of the cult of St. Stanislaus in the Late Middle Ages, and at the same time to point to those which were the most prominent and successful.

### The Source Material

First step in my work was to identify and inventory relevant texts in medieval manuscripts, establishing a repertory of sermons and sermon materials pertaining to St. Stanislaus, which could then be analysed. This enquiry will confine its examination to those manuscripts produced between the turn of the fourteenth century, the date of the oldest identified text, and the end of the fifteenth century, with most of the texts dating to the fifteenth century. The source corpus of this enquiry

comprises 80 different texts (sermons and sermon materials) in 86 various codices, which comprise altogether 129 instances in which St. Stanislaus appeared in sermons in the manuscripts under consideration.<sup>22</sup> The complete dossier is detailed in Chapter 3 of the dissertation, where the reader will also find a discussion of the characteristics of medieval sermons.

My method of compiling the corpus of sermons on the saint was a bit different from several studies of sermons on some other saints. The first step of any sermon scholar leads to the *Repertorium* of Schneyer,<sup>23</sup> which covers the period between 1150 and 1350, and to the posthumously published electronic continuation of his *Repertorium*,<sup>24</sup> which records the works of the best known authors and some of the more widespread anonymous collections between 1350 and 1500. From the beginning, the heuristics of the study of sermons on St. Stanislaus differed from those of other saints (such as, for example, from the studies of sermons on Sts. Elizabeth, Mary Magdalen, Thomas Becket, Claire, Francis, etc.). In this enterprise, I turned to the repertory of Schneyer only as a supporting resource when identifying and contextualizing some sermons, but not, however, as the principal tool of heuristics. Schneyer's repertory is not does not include a comprehensive examination of Polish manuscripts, with the result that it offers only very few references and sermons on St. Stanislaus are almost entirely missing. While historians who studied sermons on some other saints could rely on the repertories compiled by Schneyer and even decide not to look for the sermons on the saint which were not registered in his repertories, I would not have gathered a sufficient corpus and would have finished my enquiry even before starting it. The collection of source materials has been further complicated by the lack of research tools and by complex logistics, as the manuscripts are scattered throughout Europe. The absence of modern catalogues of resources or inventories of sermon manuscripts for Central Europe, meant that at some places I had no other choice than to undertake the laborious and time-consuming task of reviewing individual sermon manuscripts in order to identify relevant texts. In the end, however, I have been able to compile a catalogue of sermons concerning St. Stanislaus from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, which had not previously existed (there is a close-to-complete short bibliographic list of the published sermons only from the late seventeenth century onwards).<sup>25</sup>

Geographically, this enquiry focused primarily on the central area of the cult of St. Stanislaus. More precisely, the search for sermons on the saintly martyr-bishop concentrated firstly

<sup>22</sup> The number of the manuscripts includes MS. Gniezno 24. There are 18 other identified MSS., of which I do not have copies – some of them include sermons already known, like e.g. the sermon by Peregrinus.

<sup>23</sup> Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 9+2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-1995).

<sup>24</sup> Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1350 bis 1500*, CD-ROM, ed. Ludwig Hödl and Wendelin Koch (Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> Zygmunt Sułowski and Zygmunt Wiktorzak, "Stanisław ze Szcepanowa" (Stanislaus of Szcepanow), in *Hagiografia Polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny* (Polish Hagiography. A Bio-bibliographical Dictionary), vol. 2, ed. Romuald Gustaw (Poznań: Księgarnia świętego Wojciecha, 1972), 446-448.

on the major reservoirs of medieval manuscript resources in the area – the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow and the University Library in Wrocław. Further enquiry led to other accessible libraries and archives with medieval codices in the region. Secondly, I turned to the libraries in Poland and abroad which possessed good catalogues of manuscripts and then to other places in which my research had led me to expect the presence of sermons on St. Stanislaus. My collection therefore includes sermons on St. Stanislaus in manuscripts from some libraries and archives outside the Polish lands – in Prague, Budapest, Bratislava, Uppsala, Oxford, Sankt Florian, and the Vatican. Some have been identified in Munich and Vienna. More manuscripts still remain to be identified in the catalogues of other Polish and non-Polish libraries and archives, including today’s Ukraine and Lithuania, which were then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom (possibly manuscripts in Vilnius and Lviv, or nowadays in Sankt Petersburg, etc.) and also the neighbouring countries (where the same friars preached or which were related to Poland in other ways). Any sermon collection of a Central European provenance might have included a sermon on St. Stanislaus. Although his cult was bound primarily to this area, this geographical focus does not mean a final restriction. I wanted to trace, as far as possible, the diffusion of the already known pieces, and if by chance I found further ones, I added them to the corpus.

## Structure

Chapter 1, “**The Image of St. Stanislaus in Various Sources of His Cult**” is intended to familiarize readers with the figure of St. Stanislaus as he was presented in the main written and visual sources, allowing the reader to trace the development of his image and cult. In addition to reflecting the development of the cult, hagiography, liturgy, visual representations and other sources help to establish the setting for preaching on St. Stanislaus. The resulting picture presented in these sources will be compared with the images of the saint in sermons afterwards. The section on **Hagiography (1.1)** presents in chronological order the basic hagiographic works pertaining to St. Stanislaus, and in addition also some sources of historiographic rather than hagiographic character, which contributed to the creation of his image and cult. These works were the main sources of information for preachers and authors of sermons on the saintly martyr-bishop. I give the basic characteristic of each work, its origin and function, and the image of St. Stanislaus that it presented. The subchapter **Liturgy (1.2)** provides the development and characteristics of the liturgical works which belonged to the mass formulary and breviary office used on the feast-days of St. Stanislaus. The chapter **Iconography (1.3)** presents basic trends in the visual representation of St. Stanislaus and the development of his iconography. It maps the main themes, motifs and patterns which occur in the saint’s iconography, and relates them to the written sources.

Chapter 2, **“The Contexts of Preaching on St. Stanislaus - Preaching Occasions,”** provides the background to the preaching on St. Stanislaus and determines the contexts in which the sermons on the saint occurred. First, **“Preaching and the Canonisation Campaign and Process” (2.1)** delineates possible occasions for preaching about St. Stanislaus before and during the process of canonisation. It specifies the circumstances in which the sermon was expected on the basis of other canonisation proceedings. Additionally, I mention a couple of records in the sources which possibly indicate preaching on such occasions, although no sermon texts are extant from this stage. The second subchapter **“Preaching Occasions after Canonisation” (2.2)** covers essentially the preaching on the regular feasts of St. Stanislaus in the liturgical calendar. It consists of several subparts which together present a background for the preaching on the feasts of St. Stanislaus. First, it was necessary to describe the observance of the two feasts of St. Stanislaus **(2.2.1)** in Polish dioceses on the basis of various synodal statutes, calendars and church dedications. The second part **(2.2.2)** presents the dissemination of the cult outside the Polish dioceses, because these places could possibly be also venues for sermons about the Polish saint. The feasts of St. Stanislaus were also celebrated beyond Polish boundaries; breviaries, missals, and church dedications constitute evidence in the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary, and other places. The third part **(2.2.3)** focuses on a description of the festivities in Cracow as the most prominent centre of the cult and preaching on St. Stanislaus. The last subchapter, **“Prescriptions and Records of Preaching – on St. Stanislaus and in general” (2.2.4)**, provides an overview of the records concerning preaching on the feasts of St. Stanislaus in sources other than sermons, and in general at the places relevant for preaching on him. It is further supported by the references to preaching practice preserved in other sources, including some contemporary chronicles and other works, such as Długosz’s *Liber beneficiorum*, synodal statutes, hagiographic sources, narrative sources, chancery documents.

The third chapter **“Sermons on St. Stanislaus of Cracow in Manuscript Codices – an Overview” (3)** presents the source corpus. It shows the variety of sermons and sermon materials present in manuscripts. The two chapters – on preaching occasions and on sermons in manuscripts – are like the two sides of a coin, they are complementary and together form a whole. While the previous chapter presented the occasions and contexts for preaching on St. Stanislaus – for real delivery of the sermons about him – this chapter presents the sermons as they survive in medieval manuscripts. I also try to connect them with real preaching where possible and identify the circumstances of their composition or delivery. First I explain the distinction between the sermons as texts, perhaps only virtual, and sermons as preserved in the manuscripts. Then an overview of the dossier which I collected follows in which I describe in sequence the sermons which were parts of the sermon collections, model sermons, then other sermons especially from the milieu in Cracow. Sermons were composed by authors from a variety of backgrounds, ranging from Mendicant friars

to cathedral, courtly and university preachers, and maybe also parish priests. A number of authors and preachers still remain unidentified while many personalities from the flourishing intellectual milieu of the University of Cracow are found among the authors of the sermons and whole sermon collections in the fifteenth century. Other sections provide an overview of the genres and the *themata* of sermons on St. Stanislaus, summarise some remarks on the liturgical occasions of the sermons on the basis of their manuscripts, and describe the relationship of sermons and hagiography (legends) in the manuscripts.

I have realized, with the growing number of sermons and codices with sermons on St. Stanislaus, that it is possible to analyze each text from the sermon dossier neither in an equally comprehensive way, nor from all aspects. Therefore, the fourth part of the dissertation (4) is a case study, a detailed analysis of the oldest and the most influential text, which is a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole from the turn of the fourteenth century, including consideration of its posterity, transmission and reception. Not only was the text by Peregrinus of Opole perhaps the oldest preserved and the most frequently copied text, it was also well-known to authors of other sermons, who took inspiration from his work and used the same structure or whole parts of this text within their own works. The chapter is a case study of the mechanism by which sermons, and especially model sermons, worked. Firstly, it elucidates how a sermon on the saint could be composed: including the use of hagiography, the images of the saint, and rhetorical devices. Secondly, the chapter investigates how a sermon was received, transmitted and spread, i.e. its manuscript copies and versions, utilization of its parts and so on. The sermon by Peregrinus can also be used as a reference point against which other sermons can be evaluated and analysed.

The analysis of the remaining sermons focuses on two basic aspects of Stanislaus' cult, corresponding to the two most prominent groups of topics addressed by preachers, as well as to the two basic functions of saints' cult in general: articulation and definition of the admirable and the imitable. The chapter *An Exemplary Shepherd* (5.1) deals with the imitable: the image of St. Stanislaus as an exemplar of the good shepherd for contemporary clergy and non-clerical lords as well, in the case of the former connected with contemporary efforts to reform of clergy. Another part focuses on *A Powerful Intercessor* (5.2), as the saintly bishop was often presented as an effective advocate and a patron-saint of the city of Cracow, the region, the emerging nation and the kingdom, and the individual faithful who were urged to turn to him during times of spiritual or physical hardship.



# Chapter 1: The Image of St. Stanislaus in Various Sources of His Cult

## 1.1 Saint Stanislaus in Hagiography

The image of Stanislaus, a holy martyr-bishop, was formed gradually in several stages. This section presents the basic hagiographic sources and some works of historiographic rather than hagiographic character, which contributed to the creation of his image and cult. These works also served as the main source of information for preachers and authors of sermons on the saintly martyr-bishop. This overview is primarily a summary of the results of previous research of various scholars. I will provide basic information about the works and their character (composition, style, dating, and function) and summarise the type of image of St. Stanislaus presented in each. I will point out new information about the saint that a particular work brought up and explain in what way it amplified or contributed to the saint's image. The chapter explains also the function and uses of the particular hagiographic and historiographic works. Last but not least, I will also mention the important scholarly debates concerning these sources and possible further avenues of research.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1.1 The First Accounts of the *factum sancti Stanislai* ("the affair of St. Stanislaus") (*Gesta principum Polonorum* and Master Vincent's Chronicle)

The oldest preserved sources on Saint Stanislaus originated in the period long after his life and death in 1079. There is very little of a "historical" Stanislaus to be found there, although his story can be partially reconstructed on the basis of some historical sources. The oldest record pertaining to the bishop of Cracow dates back to the twelfth century, to the period approximately forty years after the saint's death. It is found in Chapter 27 of the First Book of the *Cronicae et Gesta principum Polonorum* (1110-1114) written by an anonymous author, who is widely known as Gallus the Anonymous<sup>2</sup> and recently has been recently convincingly identified as a monk from Venetian Lido.<sup>3</sup> The chronicle was written at the court of Boleslaus III as a celebration of the great deeds of the three strong Piast rulers named Boleslaus, including Boleslaus II. This first record

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<sup>1</sup> My M.A. thesis, *The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century* (CEU: Medieval Studies Department, 2003), analysed and summarised most of these hagiographic sources; I will not repeat all the information, but give a succinct summary, correcting and supplementing with additional where necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Gallus Anonymus, *Cronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum*, MPH SN 2, ed. K. Maleczyński (Warsaw: Nakładem PAU, 1952), 52-53 (hereafter Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*) and an English translation in *Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, transl. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Budapest-New York: CEU Press, 2003), 96-99 (hereafter *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*).

<sup>3</sup> A summary of both earlier and more recent findings concerning the origin of the author of the chronicle, including the arguments supporting his Italian – Venetian origin and the analogies of the chronicle with the *Translation of St. Nicholas* by *Monachus Littorensis* (Monk of Lido) in Tomasz Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima* (On the Origin of Gallus the Anonymous) (Cracow: Avalon, 2008).

concerning Saint Stanislaus does not even mention the name of the bishop. The only words characterising the bishop to be found here are: *peccatum* and *traditor*. The author suggested that the king should not have punished an anointed prelate, despite his inappropriate behaviour:

How King Boleslas came to be driven out of Poland is a long story, but this may be said, that no anointed man must take bodily retribution on another anointed man for any wrong whatever. For this harmed him much, when he added sin to sin, when for treason he subjected a bishop to mutilation of limbs. For neither do we forgive a traitor bishop, nor do we commend a king for taking vengeance in such a shameful way. Still, let us leave this question open, and tell how he was received in Hungary.<sup>4</sup>

This short and vague account, which does not tell anything about the sanctity of Stanislaus, caused even more polemics among the Polish scholars who tried to decipher the author's message and to find out what actually happened in the year 1079. Another passage referring to the aftermath of the events, which motivated some attempts at the reconstruction of the *factum sancti Stanislai*, appeared in the following Chapter 28 in the *Gesta* and started with the following verses:

When Ladislas heard Boleslas was about him to approach, / As his friend he welcomed him, but there remained still some reproach; / For as a friend and brother he was glad he did him see, / But he grieves [him, i.e. Ladislas] [that Boleslas] shows homage to [him, i.e. Ladislas] because of a hostile act [i.e. Boleslas's banishment].<sup>5</sup>

These words described the arrogant and inappropriate behaviour of the Polish king towards King Ladislas of Hungary and hinted at a certain problem, which might have been connected with the events that had led to the king's expulsion. The account of the events in the *Gesta* would thus present a frequent motif, although perhaps deliberately covered by mystery: a bishop who opposed secular power.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, 96-97. Latin original: "Qualiter autem rex Bolezlauus de Polonia sit eiectus longum existit enarrare, sed hoc dicere licet, quia non debuit christus in christum peccatum quodlibet corpolariter vindicare. Illud enim multum sibi nocuit, cum peccato peccatum adhibuit, cum pro traditione pontificem truncationi membrorum adhibuit. Neque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, neque regem vindicantem sic se turpiter commendamus, sed hoc in medio deseramus, et ut in Vngaria receptus fuerit disseramus." Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*, 52-53.

<sup>5</sup> *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, 98-99. Latin original: "Cum audisset Wladislauius Bolezlauum advenire, Partim gaudet ex amico, partim restat locus ire, Partim ex recepto quidem fratre gaudet et amico Sed **deferre/de fratre** Wladislauo facto dolet inimico." Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*, 52-53. The translation with the reading *de fratre*, which is favoured in the English edition in the main text, reads as follows: "but he grieved his brother Wladyslaw had become an enemy." The Latin transmits two quite different readings of the last sentence [of the words marked in bold, emphasis mine], see especially footnote 1 on the pages 98-99 in the English edition and Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta*, footnote x on the page 53. The reading *de fratre* assumed that *Wladislauo* referred to Boleslaus II's brother Wladislaus Herman, who would by implication be charged with conspiring with the martyred bishop against the king and driving Boleslaus into exile. I preferred the reading *deferre*, which has been accepted as correct by most experts now; see Gerard Labuda, *Święty Stanisław. Biskup krakowski, patron polski. Śladami zabójstwa – męczeństwa – kanonizacji* (Saint Stanislaus, the Bishop of Cracow, the Polish Patron Saint. Murder – Martyrdom – Canonisation) (Poznań: Instytut historii Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 2000), 50-76; and idem, "Wznowienie dyskusji w sprawie męczeństwa i świętości biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława" (Repeated Discussion Concerning Martyrdom and Sanctity of Cracovian Bishop Stanislaus), *Nasza Przeszłość* 108 (2007), 5-57 passim.

The first detailed account of the events of 1079 and at the same time the first hagiographic piece concerning St. Stanislaus appeared at the turn of the thirteenth century in Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*.<sup>6</sup> It is the work of the first Pole to write about the history of his own country. It describes the legendary prehistory and history of Poland up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The first three parts of the chronicle, including the passage concerning St. Stanislaus, are written in the form of a dialogue between two ecclesiastical dignitaries. The fourth part is a narrative based on the author's own experience. The author used a high ornamental style, including many allusions to ancient and contemporary literary, theological and legal works. The well-educated author, later known also as Kadłubek, was the bishop of Cracow from 1207 to 1218, and finally retired to a Cistercian monastery. The work is highly moralising and didactic. In contrast to "Gallus", Master Vincent was clearly on the side of Bishop Stanislaus in his conflict with the king. The author narrated an episode about King Boleslaus, who changed from a good and successful king to a furious tyrant. While the king and his knights were spending a long time waging war and conquering lands outside Poland, the noblemen learnt that their wives had been unfaithful with servants and peasants. They rushed home in order to avenge themselves, which infuriated the king. Having returned to Poland as well, Boleslaus wanted to punish both his knights and their wives in an extraordinarily severe and cruel way, ordering that the babies of the breastfeeding women be exchanged for puppies. At this point of the episode Bishop Stanislaus appeared, admonishing him not to proceed with the punishment. The bishop is presented as a defender of his people. He is denoted as *sacerrimus pontifex*. For the first time in the sources, he was portrayed as an ideal prelate, a perception that was to become dominant later. The contrast between the king and the bishop is an important stylistic device in the account. Stanislaus is depicted as "holy" and "harmless" (*sanctus, innoxius*).<sup>7</sup> A completely opposite characterisation of the bishop is found in the speech of King Boleslaus II, who escaped to Hungary, although this is again only a literary device. In his eyes, Stanislaus was "the root of all evil" and the "origin of treason" (*totius mali radix, proditionis origo*).<sup>8</sup> However, the focus of Master Vincent's episode is neither the bishop's characterisation, nor his biographical details. The hagiographic text is limited to the story of the conflict and martyrdom. All we get to know is that he was a perfect bishop, whatever that implied,

<sup>6</sup> Magister Vincentius, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH SN 11 (Cracow: Nakładem PAU, 1994), 55-60. For more information about the chronicle, see Brygida Kürbis, introduction to Mistrz Wincenty, *Kronika Polska* (The Polish Chronicle), ed. and transl. Brygida Kürbis (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1996); and Marian Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze* (Concerning the Affair of St. Stanislaus. A Study of Sources) (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Homini, 1999; first published in *AC* 11 (1979): 251-413), 105-127. An English summary and analysis of the account is found in Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae: The Cult of Saint Stanislaus and the Patronage of Polish Kings 1200-1455* (Cracow: Unum, 2008), 47-54.

<sup>7</sup> Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 57.

<sup>8</sup> The chronicler continued with narration of further king's accusations: "Pontificem illum non pontificem, pistorem vocat non pastorem, pressulem a pressura non presulem, opiscopum ab opibus non episcopum, e speculatore spiculatorem fuisse..." Ibid., 59.

whatever the content of the word *sacerrimus* meant, except for the defence of the faithful and courage to stand against the king. The author did not make use of the account to instruct the clergy in detail on the example of Stanislaus; rather, he focused on the didactic motif concerning Boleslaus, who in his pride did not repent for his deeds as did the biblical David. Master Vincent accentuated the didactic aspect of glory and fall into sin in the story of a king, who was a strong and generous ruler at the beginning, but then he was overcome by sin and his pride did not allow him to repent. The chronicler implied that the king died in sin and caused his own death himself, and even his descendants were to be punished for his wrongdoing and for the terrible murder.<sup>9</sup>

The characterisation of the saintly bishop in Master Vincent's chronicle is only sketchy. There is very little of any ideal characteristics such as asceticism and moral virtues to be found there. The saintly bishop in Master Vincent's account is, above all, a martyr. He described the scene of martyrdom in poetic language with many biblical allusions. The motif of a murder in front of the altar is a popular *topos*.<sup>10</sup> Danuta Borawska claimed that the story and the characteristics were Vincent's literary invention, formed upon the popular contemporary model of the bishop-martyr Thomas Becket.<sup>11</sup> No matter how much Master Vincent drew on hagiographic models, the basic tendency was clear: Stanislaus was one of the martyr-bishops, a type popular especially after the canonisation of Thomas Becket in 1173.

Master Vincent described the martyrdom and the miraculous events that happened immediately after the saint's death, when his body was cut into pieces. His shining remains were guarded by four eagles from the beasts until the body was found miraculously restored on the next day.<sup>12</sup> Clerics buried the body of St. Stanislaus and light radiated from his sepulchre until the day of his translation. These miraculous events became standard motifs in later hagiographic accounts about St. Stanislaus. Master Vincent briefly alluded to the translation of the saint's remains from

<sup>9</sup> "Non multo vero post, inaudito correptus languore, Boleslaus sibi mortem conscivit." Ibid., 59.

<sup>10</sup> Krzysztof Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Reception of Gregorian Ideas in Poland up to the Early Thirteenth Century) (Wrocław: Fundacja na rzecz nauki polskiej, 2005), 211-242.

<sup>11</sup> Danuta Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy: W sprawie genezy kultu św. Stanisława* (From the History of a Legend: The Origins of the Cult of St. Stanislaus) (Warsaw: Towarzystwo miłośników historii, 1950); Waław Uruszczak, "Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket en Pologne (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)," in *Thomas Becket*, 121-124.

<sup>12</sup> For the *topos* of luminous phenomena at the saint's death, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 435-437. For an overview of luminous phenomena in sources from Europe, and especially from Poland, see Maria Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (The Life of Saints After Life. The Relics in Religious Culture in Polish Lands in the Middle Ages) (Warsaw: DiG, 2008), 443-452. Among others it was frequent in the *Legenda aurea*, in the *Vita I* and *Passio* of Tegernsee of St. Adalbert. In the case of St. Stanislaus, the light appeared above his dismembered limbs (446-7, 450) and then it emanated from his tomb until the translation (448). For the *topos* of birds above the saint's body and its meanings, in Poland also in the life of St. Adalbert, see *ibid.*, 460-5, for St. Stanislaus, 462-3. For the *topos* of reintegration of the saint's body, see *ibid.*, 473-81, especially St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus, 479-81.

Skalka to Cracow.<sup>13</sup> The legend about Stanislaus' sanctity had been quite modest then: it was founded on his martyrdom in 1079 and the miraculous reintegration of his body.

The gap between the saint's death in 1079 and the first records describing his martyrdom has consistently puzzled historians. The silence about the saintly bishop up to that time and his sudden appearance in the sources set off a discussion about the origins of his cult that continues to this day.<sup>14</sup> This much-discussed issue of the *factum sancti Stanislai* is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>15</sup> Historians trying to resolve the problem had to base their hypotheses primarily on the accounts of the *Gesta* and Master Vincent's *Chronicle*.<sup>16</sup> The two works have thus become the main resources for any attempt at the reconstruction of the events that had led to the death of Bishop Stanislaus. The account of Master Vincent, which had once been downgraded, complements the obscure record of the anonymous chronicler. Tadeusz Wojciechowski, one of the most important and at the same time controversial voices in the extensive polemics, constructed a whole theory about the bishop's involvement in a plot against Boleslaus II, together with his younger brother Wladislaus Herman, who succeeded to the throne after Boleslaus II had been expelled or fled to Hungary. Consequently, he asserted that it was this branch of the Piast dynasty that cultivated devotion to the bishop. According to Wojciechowski, it was Master Vincent Kadłubek, Bishop of Cracow, and the people around him, who created the legend of this saint and spread the cult in order to pursue their own political objectives.<sup>17</sup> He did not consider Master Vincent's account as a reliable historical source and relied instead mainly on the fragment in the anonymous *Gesta*. Conversely, Gerard Labuda formulated a persuasive theory about the existence of the veneration of the martyred bishop in the milieu of the cathedral chapter in Cracow since 1079, along a different tradition cultivated by the ruling house. He does not consider Master Vincent's account as a pure fiction

<sup>13</sup> Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 58: "Unde usque ad translationis diem, cuius causam ipse non ignoras, iugis dictarum splendor lampadum non discessit."

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Jerzy Rajman, "Przedkanonizacyjny kult św. Stanisława biskupa" (The Cult of Bishop Saint Stanislaus before the Canonisation), *Nasza Przeszłość* 80 (1993), 5-49.

<sup>15</sup> An immense number of studies on this issue have been written, among them most importantly: Tadeusz Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne 11. wieku* (Historical Sketches of the Eleventh Century) (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), especially pages 260 onwards. Then two overviews of sources pertaining to St. Stanislaus by Marian Plezia, *Dookoła* and Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*. Among the most important recent analyses of the passages concerning St. Stanislaus and his conflict with Boleslaus II also Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich*, which dealt especially with legal aspects of the events in Polish and European context. An English summary and analysis of the fragments of the two chronicles, as well as a reconstruction of the conflict and an overview of historiography is found in Tadeusz Grudziński, *Boleslaus the Bold, called also the Bountiful, and Bishop Stanislaus: The Story of a Conflict* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985). The most recent summary of the historiography concerning this issue appeared in Labuda, "Wznowienie dyskusji," 5-57.

<sup>16</sup> The two main sources are supplemented sometimes with others, such as the actual remains of St. Stanislaus (e.g. Plezia, *Dookoła*, 67-75), the bull of Pope Paschal II *Significasti frater karissime* to an unknown addressee [*Bullarium Poloniae* 1, no. 8, e.g. recently Skwierczyński (*Recepcja idei gregoriańskich*, 147-90) against the hypothesis that the bull had been addressed to Poland], and so on.

<sup>17</sup> Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, 301.

invented in the thirteenth century. According to him, Master Vincent only reproduced the two contrasting traditions.<sup>18</sup>

The translation of the martyr's body from Skalka, where he had been buried after the martyrdom, to the cathedral has been considered as a piece of the evidence of his cult shortly after his death 1079. However, the date of the translation has been disputed. Most probably, the first translation happened ten years after the events, in 1088/89, which is the date that appeared in some later sources and in the annals as well. The transfer of the body to the cathedral on this occasion was more an act of rehabilitation of the bishop, an "honourable burial," although not necessarily an act with liturgical implications.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*, 14, 102-110.

<sup>19</sup> Maria Starnawska (*Świętych życie po życiu*, esp. 200-203) discussed the dating and the character of the translation most recently. See also eadem, "Dominikanie, św. Jacek i elewacja szczątków św. Stanisława przez biskupa Prandotę" (Dominicans, St. Hyacinth and Elevation of Remains of St. Stanislaus by Bishop Prandota), in *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, 419. Plezia maintained on the basis of the expression in Master Vincent's *Chronicle* and some other suppositions that the translation could not have happened earlier than the mid-twelfth century and dated the event into around 1142, when a new, so-called Second Romanesque, cathedral was consecrated; see Plezia, *Dookoła*, 70-102. For the dating to 1088 see besides Starnawska among others: Rajman, "Kult," 9-18; and Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, 134-8, 142-3. There is even a possibility that the body could have been translated twice: first from Skalka to the Church of St. Gereon on Wawel Hill in 1088, and for the second time from there to the newly-consecrated cathedral around 1142; for a summary of the discussion concerning translation and some new, especially architectural and art-historical, arguments, see Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 17-26. The translation from Skalka is dated to 1088/89 in both thirteenth-century *vitae* ("per decennium", *Vita maior*, II, 20 (ff.) 388-9 and *Vita minor*, 282; and III, 1, 394 – the translation was preceded by an apparition of the saint to a devout woman) and in *Short Cracow Annals*.

### 1.1.2 The Image of Saint Stanislaus in the Thirteenth-Century Lives and Miracula

Master Vincent's account of the bishop's martyrdom remained the main source for later hagiographers. The image of Stanislaus was shaped in a richer form in the thirteenth-century hagiographical works at the time of his canonisation and afterwards. The first step in initiating the official canonisation was the *elevatio* of his relics, which took place most probably in 1244. Bishop Prandota (1242-1266)<sup>20</sup> together with the cathedral chapter (*cum consilio sui capituli*) elevated the relics from the ground, washed them in wine and water and placed them upon the ground.<sup>21</sup> This ceremony was allegedly preceded by several miraculous apparitions, which encouraged the bishop to undertake the action.<sup>22</sup> For example, Count Falus had a vision after Prandota had succeeded the late Bishop Wislaus (1229-1242) in the episcopal see of Cracow. In the vision he met Wislaus, who was not allowed to enter the Cracovian cathedral and celebrate a holy mass there. When Falus asked him for the reasons, he explained that he had neglected the veneration of the saintly bishop buried in the cathedral. Wislaus regretted it and urged him to go to Bishop Prandota in order to amend this. One of his arguments was that through the elevated relics even more miracles could be accomplished, when compared to the number of miracles that had happened up to that time by the means of Stanislaus's episcopal ring.<sup>23</sup> Falus did not obey the late bishop, however, fell ill again and consequently had another vision to remind him of his duty. He then did immediately as he was told.

Starnawska argued that the *elevatio* initiated by the bishop, unlike the translation, before the candidate had been canonised, without the consent of the pope, had been a breach of the newly established rules of canonisation and a reminiscence of earlier customs of local canonisation. She

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<sup>20</sup> Stanisław Trawkowski, "Prędota (Prandota)," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (The Polish Bibliographical Dictionary) 28, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski (Wrocław: PAN. Instytut Historii, 1978-1985), 447-452. KDKK 1, no. 33, 41-42. Prandota was praised for his merits in the efforts for the canonisation of St. Stanislaus in later sources, for instance, *Miracula venerabilis patris Prandothae episcopi Cracoviensis*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in MPH 4, 442 (hereafter *Miracula Prandothae*).

<sup>21</sup> *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita maior)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4 (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884) (hereafter *Vita maior*), III/7, 399 (*De negotio et processu canonizacionis*): "Prandota Cracoviensis episcopus cum consilio sui capituli ossa beati martiris Stanislai de terra levavit, vino et aqua lavit et in vase mundo super terram reverenter collocavit." A description of the elevation in the *Vita maior*, 399-400 and also in the *Vita Kyngae*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in MPH 4, 711, with emphasis on Princess Kinga's part in it.

<sup>22</sup> The miracles are recorded in the miracle collections; the apparitions to a German noblewoman in *Miracula sancti Stanislai*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, in MPH 4 (hereafter *Miracula*), Art. 27, 305-306; and *Vita maior* III/5, 397-398. An apparition to Count Falus in *Miracula*, Art. 35, 311; and *Vita maior*, III/4, 395-396). Cf. my M.A. thesis *The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century* (CEU: Medieval Studies Department, 2003), 25-7.

<sup>23</sup> "Non permittor ibi venire, quia tot annis fui in ipsa ecclesia et sustinui corpus sancti Stanislai tantum iacere in terra et procurare neglexi, ut corpus eius a terra levaretur et idcirco hiis indumentis exspolior, sed tu vade et dicas episcopo Prandote, quod ipse non negligat predictum sanctum virum elevare de terra. Et ipse testis respondit: Non credet mihi. Et ipse vir venerandus dixit: Tunc dicas ei: trunce, trunce, quare non advertis, **quali morte mortuus est et pro qua causa?** Quare non attendis, quanta et qualia miracula fiunt per anulum suum? Si per ipsius anulum fiunt tanta, quanta fierent per ossa eius, si levarentur de terra." *Vita maior*, III/4, 395-396.

saw it as the initiative of the Dominicans who had followed the precedent of the elevation of St. Dominic as a way to bolster his cult and force the beginning of the canonisation procedure. In her eyes, in the 1240s the elevation should have taken place only after the cult had been authorized by official papal canonisation.<sup>24</sup> However, although the papacy achieved to reserve the right to canonise, supported by the canonists' argumentation, episcopal elevation remained not so unusual. In reality until the sixteenth century bishops continued to initiate translations *in loco decentiori* without previous papal approval and ordinary people tended to confuse translation and canonisation.<sup>25</sup>

The Church dignitaries petitioned for canonisation in Rome in 1250. The supplication for the canonisation must have been supported with some kind of an account of the saint's life. Traditionally the *Vita minor* was believed to have been this work, but its dating and function have been questioned and reconsidered in the last decades. There could have been "a pre-canonisation life," now lost, which was reworked into the later thirteenth-century lives described below.<sup>26</sup> The only extant hagiographic account about the saint which could be dated safely to the period before the canonisation is thus the passage in Master Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*. Did the Poles attach this account of the conflict, the martyrdom and subsequent miracles to their request for his canonisation? Still, the chronicle did not talk much about the saint's life (*vita et conversacio*) before the clash with the king. But neither did the bull of canonisation. Labuda thought that the main content of the petition was a "martyrology" of the bishop written on the basis of Master Vincent's Chronicle and a short list of miracles.<sup>27</sup>

A board of investigators with papal mandate, consisting of Archbishop Fulco of Gniezno, Bishop Thomas of Wrocław, and Cistercian Abbot Henry of Lubiąż, was established after the petition in 1250.<sup>28</sup> The local enquiry *in partibus* collected the depositions of the beneficiaries and

<sup>24</sup> For the elevation, see, importantly, a new discussion by Starnawska, "Dominikanie," 407-424. She formulated the argument already in her book *Świętych życie po życiu*, esp. 204-7, 285-293, 297. She found some other parallels in Poland, including bishop Werner of Płock in the thirteenth century and some local cults in the fifteenth century. She also noted (Ibid., 204-5, 285) that Długosz, "correcting" the information about an unbecoming pre-canonisation elevation and modifying the order of the events, dated the elevation by Prandota to 1254 after the canonisation only; see Joannes Dlugossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, in *Joannis Dlugossii Opera omnia* 1, ed. I. Polkowski and Z. Pauli (Cracow: Typographia Ephemeridum "Czas" F. Kluczycki, 1887) (hereafter Dlugossius, *Vita*), 126-151; similarly *Kronika wielkopolska* (The Chronicle of Greater Poland), ed. Brzydka Kürbis, MPH SN 8 (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 101. The initiative of the Mendicant orders who urged the bishop to the elevation which would help to spread the cult more effectively and to start the canonisation efforts also mentioned by Labuda (*Św. Stanisław*, 157), who dated the elevation into 1243 and noted that it was not mentioned in any annals.

<sup>25</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 32 (and 91-4). For the confusion of the translation and canonisation of St. Stanislaus in sermons, see below Chapter 3.10.

<sup>26</sup> For the discussion of the dating and function of the *Vita minor*, see below. Witkowska ("The thirteenth-century *miracula*," 150), when reconstructing the canonisation process, maintained that the *Vita minor* was the oldest life written shortly before 1250.

<sup>27</sup> Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, 157.

<sup>28</sup> For the canonisation process of Saint Stanislaus, see *Vita maior*, III/7, 399-400; and the studies by Aleksandra Witkowska, "The thirteenth-century *miracula* of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakow," in *Procés de canonisation au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2004), 149-163;



witnesses of the miracles. The Polish delegation, including Cracow canons, Jacob of Skarzyszew and Gerard, and the representatives of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, took the report, which is not extant, to Rome in 1251, but did not achieve immediate success.<sup>29</sup> The canonisation procedure observed the contemporary requirements, which were established by the papacy and gained a more precise juridical form in the 1230s and 1240s. Rome replaced episcopal control of canonisation proceedings with its own. Some requests for canonisation, after an initial check by the papal curia, did not proceed to trial and some trials did not end successfully.<sup>30</sup> Vauchez mentioned that in the case of the saints from the margins of Christendom, including Poland, the papacy was “*a priori* doubtful” and “had to be firmly persuaded that the cult was deep rooted and extended to the whole of a country,” a bias which is visible in the trial of St. Stanislaus.<sup>31</sup>

A new commission was established with a papal legate, the Franciscan Jacob of Velletri, as chief. He was instructed to undertake a comprehensive investigation of the case and re-examination of the miracles collected by the first committee.<sup>32</sup> Thus, in keeping with the contemporary requirements established by the papal curia, not only the miracles (which are addressed below) but also the sanctity of the candidate’s life was to be investigated, which already the first committee was said to have done (*de uirtute morum et ueritate signorum operibus uidelicet et miraculis diligentissime inquirentes*) and documented in the report for the Pope. Besides the re-examination and verification of miracle testimonies, there was also the effort to find out more about the life of the bishop who had been deceased for so long, about his martyrdom and its causes and the evidence for his cult and even about its possible uses – the legate was asked to inquire about the proximity of the missionary regions. Besides that the legate was asked to examine the two hundred-years old witnesses mentioned in the acts who had known the candidate’s contemporaries and thus had second-hand information about the saint’s life.<sup>33</sup> A detailed study of the written sources was

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and eadem, *Miracula małopolskie z XIII i XIV wieku*. Studium źródłoznawcze, *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 19, no. 2 (1971), especially 43-52; Jan Lisowski, *Kanonizacja św. Stanisława w świetle procedury kanonizacyjnej kościoła dzisiaj i dawniej* (The Canonisation of Saint Stanislaus in the Light of Canonisation Procedure in Present and in Past) (Rome: Hosianum, 1953), 129-237; and Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, 156-162; *Papsturkunde und Heiligensprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch*, ed. Otfried Krafft (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 500-518.

<sup>29</sup> “magister Jacobus doctor decretorum et magister Gerardus canonici Cracouienses cum Predicatoribus et Minoribus pro canonizatione beati Stanyzlai certi nuncii et procuratores eiusdem negotii ad Romanam curiam destinantur.” See the contemporary note in the *Rocznik kapitulny krakowski* (The Annals of the Cracow Chapter), which noted several steps in the procedure; *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz* (The Oldest Cracow Annals and Calendar), ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in *MPH SN 5* (Warsaw: PWN, 1978), 83.

<sup>30</sup> For the evolution of the canonisation procedure, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 22-84.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-70.

<sup>32</sup> *KDKK 1*, no. 33, 41-42. Another edition and a Polish translation by Roman M. Zawadzki, “Innocentego PP. IV Bulla Kanonizacyjna Swietego Stanisława oraz Bulla Delegacyjna dla Jakuba z Velletri” (The Bull of Canonisation of St. Stanislaus of Pope Innocent IV and the Bull of Delegation for Jacob of Velletri), ed. R. Zawadzki, *AC 9* (1979), the edition 42-45 and a description of the document, 28-29 (hereafter Zawadzki, “Bulla”).

<sup>33</sup> *KDKK 1*, no. 33, 41: “Ac illos duos Centenarios si superstites fuerint de quibus mentio est in actis qui dicuntur ab aliquibus accepisse uel eorum alterum quod sanctum nouerunt eundem et de ipsis clara et honesta conuersatione dum

required as well: a *liber cronicorum* (i.e. Master Vincent's *Chronica*), a *liber annalium* (i.e. the Old Annals of the Cracow Chapter, now lost), and an epitaph on the bishop's tomb.<sup>34</sup> The protocol of testimonies listed only miracles that happened long after the bishop's death, and documented the fame of the candidate's sanctity, but it did not include testimonies of his contemporaries about his virtuous life. This was the practice in the case of the old saints – witnesses were produced only to the miracles. Instead of the direct evidence for the candidate's life, the examination relied on written sources and authentic archival documents, like in case of St. Stanislaus, which is documented in the bull of delegation of Jacob of Velletri.<sup>35</sup>

It was during the second investigation under Jacob of Velletri that the judicial protocol of the *Miracula sancti Stanislai* was produced (1252).<sup>36</sup> A contemporary copy in an unusual form of a scroll (*rotulus*) is kept in the Archives of the Cathedral Chapter in Cracow.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, the beginning and the end of the protocol have not been preserved, so we do not have the introductory information on the circumstances of the proceedings and the persons involved from this source. The miracles of the saint had to be gathered in an appropriate form and examined. The protocol was highly juridical in nature, including detailed information about the circumstances, witnesses, and chronology (probably building partially on the first unpreserved list of testimonies). It includes 42 miracle testimonies.<sup>38</sup> Most of the events took place within the decade of 1242-52, although certain efforts at collecting the miracles could have existed earlier. The prelates and the canons of the cathedral chapter appear in the miracle accounts as the guardians and promoters of the cult. At the time of the official investigation at the latest, the martyred bishop and the candidate for canonisation, who had appeared in his pontifical vestments to several witnesses by then, was renowned as a powerful and efficient miracle-worker, which the *miracula* protocol attested. A number of miracles came about thanks to his episcopal ring, but also through his apparitions and at his tomb. Through his intercession God healed various illnesses and helped many in difficult situations.

Certain doubts were said to have arisen in the Curia, especially because Stanislaus had lived almost two hundred years before that time. A letter of Cardinal John of Gaeta, the auditor of the

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uiuerent audierunt, inquisiturus ab ipsis an ita sit et inspecturus nichilominus deuotionem populi et famam communem super martirio et causa martirij necnon et sanctitate ipsius.”

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 41-2: “Ad hec librum cronicorum quo ad Capitulum pertinens ad negotium memoratum ex Archiuo... Ducis Polonie editum, et etiam librum annalium et Epitaphium considera diligenter.” The plausible identification of the written sources in Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, 158.

<sup>35</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 46-7 with a mention of St. Stanislaus in fn. 57.

<sup>36</sup> *Miracula*, 285-318. Edited bilingually with a Polish translation and attempted reconstruction of the missing articles, as “Cuda świętego Stanisława” (The Miracles of St. Stanislaus), ed. Z. Perzanowski and transl. J. Pleziowa, in *AC 11* (1979): 68-140 (hereafter Perzanowski, “Cuda”). I refer to the more accessible first edition.

<sup>37</sup> A detailed description of the MS. 228 in Polkowski, *Katalog*, 166-8; Witkowska, *Miracula małopolskie*, 37 et passim; Perzanowski, “Cuda,” 47-50.

<sup>38</sup> Witkowska, “The thirteenth-century *miracula*,” 149-163; and also a comprehensive analysis of the miracles and testimonies in the miracle collections in eadem, *Miracula małopolskie*.

case, to the Cracow Chapter (*sine dato et loco*, dated to 1253 by Witkowska) praised the efforts and the good work of the Polish postulators, especially the *procurator* Jacob of Skarzyszew. But Cardinal John also mentioned the doubts and problems that occurred in Rome. The envoys had to go through unspeakable torments and difficulties and close to a thousand “sharp obstacles and toothed objections.” Cardinal John, stupefied at so many difficulties when so much evidence was diligently presented, said metaphorically (*quasi parabolice*) that the saint would probably have to operate a final miracle and unify and persuade the cardinals at the papal curia. No matter if he meant it allegorically or not, he did not mention any particular miracle, but concluded that everybody agreed in the end.<sup>39</sup> Later sources did provide the decisive miracle account as well, though: the *vita* explained that Cardinal Reginald of Ostia, the future Pope Alexander IV, had opposed the canonisation, alleging that events had occurred a long time ago (*antiquitatem temporis allegando*). However, he fell seriously ill, and was healed through the miraculous apparition of Stanislaus, the candidate for canonisation. Consequently, the cardinal’s hesitation disappeared.<sup>40</sup> Labuda saw the curial obstacles of the canonisation in the written sources, and not in the collected miracle testimonies: in the insufficient entry in the annals (which had been later corrected) and in the chronicle which contained besides an account of the martyrdom also a register of the king’s accusations against the bishop. The two versions (the bishop’s and the king’s) in the Chronicle could not be verified because of the length of time that had elapsed and the fact that the miracles had occurred centuries after the saint’s death.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, Bishop Stanislaus was canonised by Pope Innocent IV in Assisi on the feast of the Nativity of Virgin Mary on September 8, 1253.<sup>42</sup> The bull of canonisation, besides being a formal legal document, typically contained a brief description of the saint’s life and miracles. The bull of canonisation of St. Stanislaus *Olim a gentiliis* from September 17, 1253 succinctly described St. Stanislaus as a good shepherd who offered his life for his sheep, a martyr, a patron and an intercessor. The bull accentuated certain episcopal qualities of Saint Stanislaus. He was depicted as the good shepherd, elected by God, guarding his flock and comforting and helping the people. It described the martyrdom of Stanislaus, including the preceding events and the subsequent miracles

<sup>39</sup> KDKK 1, no. 37, 46-48. The last passage: “preposito procuratori diximus quasi parabolice, necessarium habet Sanctus vester unum finaliter operari miraculum, quod discordantes in miraculis mirabiliter faciat concordare.” Another edition and a Polish translation by Zawadzki, “Bulla,” the edition 42-45 and a description of the document 28-29.

<sup>40</sup> The miracle which described it in more detail, “De modo canonizacionis beati Stanislai et sanacione Domini Reynaldi Hostiensis episcopi, videlicet domini pape Alexandri,” in the *Vita maior*, III/55, 434-436.

<sup>41</sup> Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, 160.

<sup>42</sup> For a description of the canonisation, see the *Vita maior*, III/56, 436-438. The canonisation bull is published in the KDKK 1, no. 38, 48-51; another edition and translation by Zawadzki “Bulla,” 23-45, together with a description of its manuscripts. There are five known documents of the canonisation bull addressed to the Polish princes, Polish Church and universal Church (and in the papal chancery register) with minor changes in its closing part. For other uses of the text of the bull in liturgy and preaching and also the possibilities of preaching during the process and ceremony of the canonisation, see chapter 2.1 below. For the canonisation bull, see also *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 500-518.

(the reintegration of the body with the radiating light and the eagles guarding the martyr's remains), owing to Master Vincent's *Chronica*.<sup>43</sup> The bull named in a general manner the miracles that happened at his tomb, thus summarising the results of the official enquiry.

The specific characteristics of the holy bishop appeared only in the lives which originated in the thirteenth century. They supplied more biographical details and offered a more thorough characterisation of Stanislaus. In these, he was portrayed as an ideal bishop, virtuous and ascetic, but at the same time an able administrator of his diocese and zealous defender of the Church, congruent with the thirteenth-century episcopal ideals.<sup>44</sup> After the canonisation between 1257 and 1261, Vincent of Kielcza wrote the life of St. Stanislaus, the so-called *Vita maior*,<sup>45</sup> at the request of Bishop Prandota (*rogatu venerabilis patris domini Prandote Cracoviensis episcopi et capituli sui*).<sup>46</sup> Vincent was the canon of Cracow and later became a Dominican friar. He was closely connected with Bishop Prandota and probably also with his predecessor Bishop Iwo from the same Odrowąż family and laboured on behalf of the cult of Stanislaus intensely. After his successful career in Cracow, he returned to his native Silesia as a friar and most probably a prior of the Ratibor (Racibórz) Dominican convent.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> KDKK 1, 49. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 149-150.

<sup>44</sup> For the contemporary ideals of episcopal sainthood, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285-291. For a characteristic of Saint Stanislaus in keeping with the contemporary episcopal ideal, see my M.A. thesis *The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century* (CEU: Medieval Studies Department, 2003), especially the chapter 1.1.2. "The Image of the Holy Bishop in the *Vita minor* and *Vita maior*," 18-24 and some aspects (e.g. Cracow archbishopric, involvement of bishops of Cracow in the cult, etc.) passim.

<sup>45</sup> *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita maior)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4 (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1884), 319-438 (hereafter *Vita maior*). It is listed in BHL under nos. 7833-35. A Polish translation "Żywot większy św. Stanisława" (The *Vita maior* of St. Stanislaus), in *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski* (Medieval Lives and Miracles of Patrons of Poland), transl. Janina Pleziowa, ed. and introduction by Marian Plezia (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1981), 247-344. An English summary and analysis are found in Rożnawska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 65-71. It has been dated according to its content between 1257, when St. Hyacinth, whose tomb is mentioned in one of the miracle accounts, died, and 1261, i.e. the death of Pope Alexander IV, who was mentioned as former Cardinal Reginald and contemporary pope in one of the accounts (ibid., 65, footnote 117).

<sup>46</sup> *Vita maior*, 363. [He summarised in the prologue (ibid., 363-4): "ea, que ex relatione fidedignorum, qui a suis antecessoribus, qui facie ad faciem beatum Stanislaum noverant, audierunt et ei familiares existentes facta eius intellexerunt, ea quoque, que sub oculis meis vel vidi vel auditu comperi, alia vero bona, que ipsum a Deo per humanum studium et temporis incrementum sicut et nos in nobis accepisse perpendimus... inserui."]

<sup>47</sup> G. Labuda [*Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza* (A Lost Chronicle from the First Half of the Thirteenth Century in the Annals of the Polish Kingdom of Jan Długosz) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu A. Mickiewicza, 1983), 169-170] convincingly demonstrated that *Wincentius Kyelcensis*, the author of the life, did not come from Kielce (in the Lesser Poland, east of Cracow) as believed before, but from Silesian Kielcza near Opole, from the same region as the Odrowąż family, which also explains his close ties with Bishop Prandota Odrowąż. Vincent of Kielcza appeared in the document of Władysław, Duke of Opole, for the Dominicans in Raciborz. A recent summary of the historiographic debate about the identification and biography of Dominican Vincent, the author of the Life of St. Stanislaus, is found in Agata Siwczyńska, "Spór o biografie Wincentego dominikanina" (The Dispute over the Biography of Dominican Vincent), *Studenckie Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 13 (2000) - *Studenckie Zeszyty Historyczne*, no. 4, 35-54.

Another hagiographical work, the *Vita minor*, is the shorter of the two thirteenth-century *vitae*.<sup>48</sup> The dating and the relative chronology of the lives have been extensively debated in Polish historiography.<sup>49</sup> Unlike the *Vita maior*, the *Vita minor* does not contain a description of the saint's canonisation and the miracles, which was one of the reasons why the *Vita minor* was traditionally believed to have been older, with the *Vita maior* as its reworked and developed redaction. Marian Plezia argued that the Dominican Vincent had composed the *Vita minor* shortly after 1242, or at the very latest in connection with the canonisation efforts perhaps for the needs of the petition to the papacy.<sup>50</sup> Labuda argued, however, that it was composed only after the canonisation, in the same period as the *Vita maior*. He deemed it possible and even probable that it was only an extract of the *Vita maior*, thus returning to the thoughts of Pierre David.<sup>51</sup> The sources of the lives, their composition and their borrowings from the canonisation bull and other works, were important arguments. Only recently historians, especially Klimecka, have supplied more arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the *Vita maior* was reworked into the *Vita minor* (also called the Legend), although it is still not universally accepted and perhaps not even generally known.<sup>52</sup>

Labuda and after him Klimecka saw the shorter life, which was traditionally called the *Vita minor* ever since the nineteenth century, as a work of the *legenda nova* genre. They proposed a name *Legend of St. Stanislaus*, which they considered more precise, for the *Vita minor*.<sup>53</sup> The genre of *legenda nova* was being spread by the Mendicant orders, which could use it primarily as an aid for preachers. Many legends originated chiefly and precisely as aids and tools for preachers. That

<sup>48</sup> *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (Vita minor)*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 4, 283-317 (henceforth: *Vita minor*) (BHL 7832). A Polish translation "Żywot mniejszy św. Stanisława" (The Vita minor of St. Stanislaus), in *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski* (Medieval Lives and Miracles of Patrons of Poland), transl. Janina Pleziowa, ed. and introduction by Marian Plezia (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1981), 97-150. An Italian translation of the *Vita minor*: Vincenzo da Kielce, *La "Vita Minor" di S. Stanislao Vescovo*, ed. and transl. Jan Władysław Woś (Second Revised Edition, Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1983). An English translation is being prepared by Dr. Cristian Gaşpar to be published by CEU Press in the series *Central European Medieval Texts*. An English summary is found in Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 55-65.

<sup>49</sup> A recent summary of the debates in, for example, Maciej Zdanek, *Kultura intelektualna dominikanów krakowskich* (The Intellectual Culture of Cracow Dominicans), PhD. Thesis (Jagiellonian University: Institute of History, 2005), 268-279.

<sup>50</sup> Marian Plezia, "Wincenty z Kielc, historyk polski z 1. połowy XIII. wieku" (Vincent of Kielce, a Polish Historian from the First Half of the Thirteenth Century), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 7 (1962), 22; Idem, *Od Arystotelesa do Złotej legendy* (From Aristotle to the Golden Legend) (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1958), 431-453; Idem, *Dookoła sprawy*, 138. An earlier dating of the *Vita minor* suggested also by W. Kętrzyński, Introduction to: *Vita minor*, MPH 4, 238-253; Idem, Introduction to: *Vita maior*, Ibid., 319-354; D. Borawska, *Z dziejów*.

<sup>51</sup> Gerard Labuda, "Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc" (The Hagiographic and Historiographic Work of Vincent of Kielce), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 16 (1971), especially 111-112 and idem, *Święty Stanisław*, 136 and footnote 201. Labuda already in his earlier work maintained that both lives had been composed in the same period, which he specified as a relatively short period around 1260. Labuda was still a bit careful in drawing conclusions, although he said that "one has to count with a possibility that the so-called Vita 'minor' is actually only an extract of the Vita 'maior'." [Ibid., 136, footnote 201]. The first hypothesis in favour of this relative chronology of the two lives was formulated long before by Pierre David, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne à l'époque des Piasts* (Paris 1934), 129-132.

<sup>52</sup> Grażyna G. Klimecka, "Legenda o świętym Stanisławie i dominikanie polscy" (The Legend of Saint Stanislaus and Polish Dominicans), *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 6-7 (1997), 25-44.

<sup>53</sup> Labuda, "Twórczość," 114-115; Klimecka, "Legenda," 26.

was the primary purpose of the *legenda nova* or collections of abridged legends, mostly of Dominican provenance, the *Legenda aurea* of James of Varazze being the most widespread example of the genre.<sup>54</sup> Preachers in the region of Central Europe, and Dominicans and Franciscans especially, were in need of abridged legends of local saints. Lives of Polish, Czech and Hungarian saints were added or interpolated to the local versions of the legend collections like the *Legenda aurea* in manuscripts and later also in early print editions. The hypothesis that the *Vita minor* originated as a “legend” was based also on the manuscript evidence. Historians noticed long ago that the *Vita minor* appeared exclusively within the *legendaria* manuscripts, namely the Polish redaction of the *Legenda aurea*, for the martyrdom feast of St. Stanislaus.<sup>55</sup> Klimecka claimed that the *Vita minor* in the form that we know was composed particularly to meet the needs of this Polish *compendium*, clearly after the canonisation, and perhaps even as late as in the 1280s and the 1290s. Its author could have been Vincent of Kielcza or some other Dominican from the same milieu. However, she also argued that this version could have been based on an earlier *vita* that had been lost.<sup>56</sup>

Actually, parts of both *vitae* were integrated into the Polish redaction of the *Legenda aurea*.<sup>57</sup> The whole *Vita minor* was included in the collection for the feast day on May 8 - the “Legend for martyrdom.” Some parts of the *Vita maior* concerning the miracles, translation and canonisation were usually used for the September feast of the translation – and could be perhaps called accordingly the “Legend for translation.” Klimecka analysed the *Vita minor* and especially its sources, but it would be fruitful to analyse the textual relation of the *Vita maior* and the *Vita minor* in the light of these new findings, as well as to reconsider the function of the part of the *Vita maior* which was used as the “translation legend” on the grounds of a thorough inquiry of the manuscript evidence. Labuda argued after David that the two fragments that appeared in the *Legenda aurea* – the *Vita minor* and the translation with miracles – together formed an organic whole – the Legend of St. Stanislaus, being an alternative to what David had called the “library” manuscripts of the *Vita maior*, in which it was not divided into two fragments.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> For more on relation between hagiography and preaching and the uses of the *Legenda aurea* for preaching, see Carlo Delcorno, “Il racconto agiografico nella predicazione dei secoli XIII-XV,” in *Agiografia nell'occidente Cristiano secoli XIII-XV*. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 48 (1980), 79-114. For the reprint of the article under the title “Agiografia e predicazione” and another study “La *Legenda aurea* dallo scrittorio al pulpito,” see Delcorno’s book *Exemplum e letteratura tra medioevo e rinascimento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), chapters 1 (pp. 25-78) and 2 (pp. 79-101) respectively, 25-101.

<sup>55</sup> David, *Les sources*, 133; Marian Plezia, “Na marginesie Złotej legendy: Chronologia hagiografii polskiej w połowie XIII w.” (On the Margin of the Golden Legend: Chronology of Polish Hagiography in the Mid-Thirteenth Century), in *Od Arystotelesa do Złotej legendy* (From Aristotle to Golden Legend) (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1958), 430-457.

<sup>56</sup> Klimecka, “Legenda,” 25-44.

<sup>57</sup> Jacob Voragine, *Złota legenda: Wybór* (Golden Legend: A Selection), ed. Marian Plezia and Janina Pleziowa (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX), 260, 532.

<sup>58</sup> Labuda, “Twórczość,” 113-114.

The respective legends were meant to be read on the feasts of the martyrdom and the translation of St. Stanislaus. In this respect, the incipit of the *Vita minor - Beatus igitur Stanislaus* – in which the word ‘*igitur*’ implied a transition from a preceding fragment or text, could be a sign of such use. Some historians, supporting the early pre-canonisation origin of the *Vita minor*, thought that the preceding text was a supplication for canonisation.<sup>59</sup> This hypothesis was convincingly refuted though. Klimecka thought that it could have been a trace of a redaction or modification of an earlier version of the *Vita minor*.<sup>60</sup> In my view, it is entirely conceivable that such a preceding text, which would have been bridged with the word *igitur*, could have been a sermon. A legend or its shortened version or redaction often appeared appended to a sermon on St. Stanislaus in a sermon collection *de sanctis*. Additionally, a legend was often read out after a sermon.<sup>61</sup> The lives of St. Stanislaus spread as parts of the codices containing legend and sermon collections. So the image of Saint Stanislaus, in the way it was presented in the thirteenth-century lives, kept spreading in the fifteenth century. The legend for the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus was included in some copies of the redaction of the *Golden Legend* of Bohemian provenance as well, like the version that spread in Polish areas.<sup>62</sup> The prints of the *compendium* of the *Legenda aurea* for the Hungarian Kingdom (Strasbourg 1483, Venice 1498, 1512) included the legend of St. Stanislaus as well (*Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in Lombardica historia non contente*).<sup>63</sup>

Irrespective of which of the two *vitae* was older, they resembled each other in terms of the characteristics of the bishop saint. They included a number of contemporary *topoi*, including his

<sup>59</sup> Summarised in Labuda, “Twórczość,” 106, 113-114.

<sup>60</sup> Klimecka, “Legenda,” 27.

<sup>61</sup> For more details, see especially the chapter 3.8.

<sup>62</sup> Jakub de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. a transl. A. Vidmanová and V. Bahník (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1984), esp. 53. Vidmanová mentioned 14 manuscripts which contained the legend. She noted several versions of the legend. The group of Bohemian and Polish Golden Legend (including Bohemian Passionale) manuscripts represent the Branch-K of the dissemination of the Golden Legend in Barbara Fleith’s study *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Lateinischen Legenda aurea* (Bruxelles: Societé des Bollandistes, 1991), 384-385. For more general information on the Bohemian branch of the Golden Legend, see Anežka Vidmanová, “La branche tchèque de la *Légende dorée*,” in *Legenda aurea, sept siècles de diffusion: actes du colloque international sur la Legenda aurea, texte latin et branches vernaculaires à l’Université du Québec à Montréal, 11-12 mai 1983*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 291-298 (Montréal: Bellarmin - Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1986). The *Old Czech Passional*, a collection of verse legends in vernacular largely based on the *Golden Legend* compiled for King Charles IV between 1356 and 1365, did not include the legend of St. Stanislaus. However, one of its reworked *incunabula* redactions added a legend of St. Stanislaus – the second *incunabula* edition of 1495 by Jan Kamp, who added entries for several other saints including Stanislaus in order to reach a broader audience; *ibid.*, 62. Besides that, Jakubowski mentioned “a Prague life” of St. Stanislaus. It allegedly originated in the Franciscan convent in Žatec in the thirteenth or at the turn of the fourteenth century – its copy from the Augustinian convent in Třeboň in Prague, University Library MS. XII B2, f. 149r-155r, 172?: probably the fourteenth century from OFM convent in Žatec (+ St. Marta, Stanislaus, Ludmila, Wenceslas, Alban), MS. VIII A28, f. 321r-325r (+ St. Stanislaus, Ludmila, Wenceslas, Alban, Procopius, Sigismund, Cyrill and Methodius); Zbigniew Jakubowski, *Polityczne i kulturowe aspekty kultu biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu* (Political and Cultural Aspects of the Cult of St. Stanislaus Bishop of Cracow in Poland and Bohemia in the Middle Ages) (Częstochowa: Wyższa szkoła pedagogiczna w Częstochowie, 1988), 71.

<sup>63</sup> Edit Madas, “La *Légende dorée* - Historia Lombardica - en Hongrie,” in *Spiritualità et lettere nella cultura Italiana e Ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. S. Graciotti and C. Vasoli (Firenze: Olschki, 1995), 53-61.

aristocratic origin, university studies, virtues and administrative qualities. Earlier sources did not contain many details from the life of Stanislaus, except for his election to bishop and his conflict with the king, followed by his death. The *Vita minor* and *Vita maior* are the oldest surviving accounts of the personal characteristics and pastoral activities of Saint Stanislaus. When describing Stanislaus as a good shepherd in his large volume on this saint, Stanisław Belch argued that the *vitae* mediated an older oral tradition.<sup>64</sup> However, it is highly probable that the author had to construct some elements according to the accepted model of the saintly bishop. A part of the account of Stanislaus in the *vitae*, maybe a considerable one, is not a fact-based description of the saint's activities but rather a collection of contemporary *topoi* based on analogies developed around the core of an authentic tradition. Hagiographic legends, as well as both canonical and spiritual texts presented models for a good and saintly bishop. A holy bishop had to meet certain conditions concerning his pastoral activities and personal piety. In the case of Saint Stanislaus, the type conformed to the episcopal model which was in line with the universal reform policies in the years following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). His relationship and behaviour in the conflict with the king was also of great significance. According to André Vauchez, the “suffering leader,” either a king or a bishop, was the dominant type of saint in the non-Mediterranean territory of Europe (the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe) from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.<sup>65</sup> In this territory, as he pointed out, many “Becket duplications” appeared and were popular, many of them containing the-murder-in-the-cathedral motif. A candidate for a bishop-saint had to fit the contemporary model.<sup>66</sup>

The *topos* of aristocratic origin, one of the frequent attributes of bishop-saints, appeared in the *Vita maior* (and also in the *Vita minor*): *de nobili prosapia fuerit ortus*, and the alleged hereditary villages of Stanislaus' noble family were named.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the *Vita maior* also contained the new *topos* of a man in the episcopal see educated not only in the local chapter school, but also having completed his studies abroad, including studies in canon law (which in the thirteenth century implied attendance at a university).<sup>68</sup> It has been demonstrated that the description of the youth of Stanislaus in the *Vita minor* (Legend) resembles the Life of St. Dominic

<sup>64</sup> Stanisław Belch, *Święty Stanisław biskup męczennik: Patron Polaków* (Saint Stanislaus, Martyr-Bishop: The Polish Patron Saint) (London: Veritas, 1976), 319.

<sup>65</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 158.

<sup>66</sup> For this demonstration I used the model of bishop-saint described in Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285-310.

<sup>67</sup> *Vita maior*, 367; cf. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 292.

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



by Peter Ferrandi, which was reworked and came to be used for the lessons in the Dominican liturgy under Humbert of Romans.<sup>69</sup>

Stanislaus was presented in the hagiography as having both basic qualities of a model bishop: *viriliter* defending the Church; and doing everything *in salutem populi*.<sup>70</sup> He was said to have had many natural gifts that had already been visible in his youth, among which are included *sermone discretus, consilio providus, in iudicio iustus*,<sup>71</sup> all of them positive features of a model bishop of the thirteenth century. Not surprisingly, the bishop was presented as a thirteenth-century model of piety and devotion, a *vir castus et pudicus*, often staying in the church, celebrating the holy mass with deep devotion, praying, reading, and meditating.<sup>72</sup> An important element of this exemplar, which was also used in later sources, is the contrast of the bishop's *humilitas* (reflected in his service toward the people, denial of his bodily desires, and chastity)<sup>73</sup> with the king's *superbia* epitomized by his carnal lusts. As far as the virtues of mercy and charity were concerned, he helped the poor and the oppressed and he never forgot about widows and orphans, "whom he had in his bishopric as if written down in the book of his memory."<sup>74</sup> In a similar way, Peter of Blois in his treatise instructed bishops to be *indoctis doctorem, consolationem pauperum, solatium oppressorum, patrem orphanorum, defensorem viduarum*.<sup>75</sup> The description of the austerity of Stanislaus' life corresponds to the thirteenth-century ascetic ideal. He did not take pleasure in festive banquets (which Vincent of Kielcza claimed to have been a bad Polish tradition from pagan times), but was moderate and sober:

He did not use to enjoy numerous and superabundant courses at his table, and he abhorred long sessions and nightly drinking like a cup of poison, since he was a sober man.<sup>76</sup>

He, as a *pontifex and martyr Christi, numquam in desideriis et concupiscenciis tenuit carnis cura*.<sup>77</sup> His chastity was beyond reproach, setting an example for all the people from his court.

Besides the personal characteristics corresponding to the image of an ideal bishop, the biographies also give an account of the bishop's pastoral activities. As the leader of his diocese, Stanislaus visited parishes. All three basic activities – *gubernatio, visitatio, correctio*, as described

<sup>69</sup> Klimecka, "Legenda," 33; Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 48; Plezia, "Wincenty z Kielc," 23, 33. Simon Tugwell, "Petrus Ferrandi and His Legenda of St. Dominic," AFP 97 (2007): 19-100.

<sup>70</sup> I used André Vauchez's terms. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 292, 295.

<sup>71</sup> *Vita maior*, 368.

<sup>72</sup> "in ecclesia sua frequens residebat, officium divinum alacriter et intente cum suis clericis explebat et sacrosanta misteria Christi devote celebrabat, oracioni, leccioni, meditacioni, contemplacioni libenter vacabat;" *Vita maior*, 371.

<sup>73</sup> The virtue of humility is an important feature of a good bishop in St. Bernard's and Peter's of Blois works; Petrus Blesensis, *Canon episcopalis id est De institutione episcopi*, PL 207: coll. 1097-1112 (hereafter *De institutione*).

<sup>74</sup> *Vita maior*, 372: "quos per episcopatum suum quasi in libro memorie conscriptos habebat." In different words in the *Vita minor*, 258; cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," in *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 103-104.

<sup>75</sup> Petrus Blesensis, *De institutione*, col. 1106.

<sup>76</sup> *Vita maior*, 372: "In mensa sua multis et superfluis ferculis uti consuetudinem non habebat, longas consessiones et nocturnas potaciones, cum esset vir sobrius, quasi veneni poculum abhorrebat."

<sup>77</sup> *Vita maior*, 372; cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103: "caro eius cilicio et ieiuniis maceratur."

by André Vauchez – are found in his legend. Moreover, he was said to have helped people in need, used reasonably the benefices and tithes that he collected, and built churches. The *Vita maior* describes him as Christ-like, humble in heart, serving the people in his diocese, but also as “severe in correction and honest in the vigor of justice.”<sup>78</sup> He was not afraid to admonish anyone, including the king. Besides admonishing sinners, he was also said to have encouraged them in penitence and listened to their confessions.<sup>79</sup> The bishop hearing confession was most probably another anachronistic feature of the description of his activities. The holy bishop had a zeal for justice. He read the Holy Scripture<sup>80</sup> and “he abundantly lavished his listeners with the word of exhortation and preaching.”<sup>81</sup> The author’s reference to Stanislaus’ preaching is significant in that the author was probably inspired by the contemporary preaching practice. The accent on the confessing and preaching of the bishops increased in the thirteenth century.

According to the *vitae*, Stanislaus admonished King Boleslaus because of his abuse of the law; among other things the king and his retinue were said to have taken away their subjects’ belongings and burnt their houses.<sup>82</sup> First, the bishop admonished him like a father, but Boleslaus was incorrigible. Consequently, Stanislaus avoided confrontation with him.<sup>83</sup> However, he could not avoid a conflict which was to come later. Vincent of Kielcza reproduced the story that first appeared in Master Vincent’s *Chronicle*.<sup>84</sup> The king wanted to punish severely the rebellious peasants and women unfaithful to his knights after his arrival home from warfare, attacking the Lord’s flock as a rapacious wolf, in the hagiographer’s words.<sup>85</sup> Stanislaus reproached him, protecting the flock given to him as a good shepherd, and “did not hesitate to give his life for the flock of the Lord.”<sup>86</sup> The subsequent description of the martyrdom also followed the Master Vincent’s *Chronica*. A fragment of the martyrdom description in the *Vita minor* also drew on the bull of canonisation of Peter the Martyr *Magnis et crebris* (24/25 March, 1253), or rather on his legend.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>78</sup> “in correctione severus et in vigore iusticie rectus.” *Vita maior*, 370.

<sup>79</sup> *Vita maior*, 372: “peccatores ad penitentiam redeuntes largo sinu misericordie expiciebat et confessiones eorum per semet ipsum sepius audiebat.” *Vita minor*, 258.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Peter’s of Blois instructions for bishops: “Si non legeris, si non studeris, dormitabat anima tua...” Peter of Blois, *De institutione*, 1106.

<sup>81</sup> *Vita maior*, 371: “per verbum exhortacionis et predicacionis suis auditoribus [h]abundanter effundebat.” *Vita minor*, 257.

<sup>82</sup> *Vita maior*, 370-371.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 370.

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

<sup>85</sup> “quasi lupum rapacem et beluam sevientem in oves dominicas.” *Ibid.*, 386.

<sup>86</sup> *Vita maior*, 386: “ponere animam suam pro grege Domini non dubitavit.” Cf. a motif of the good shepherd also on the page 387: “sic bonus pastor moritur pro grege suo.”

<sup>87</sup> A recent overview of the sources of the *Vita minor*, including an analysis of the account of martyrdom in the *Vita minor* (Legend) and its analogies with the canonisation bull and the legend of Peter the Martyr, is found in Klimecka, “Legenda,” 35-38. She was inclined to see rather the legend of Peter the Martyr as the source for the *Vita*. Before her, the topic was discussed many times in the works by authors such as Borawska and Plezia mentioned above, who saw the bull as the source. For the bull of canonisation of Peter the Martyr, see *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 541-

The bishop was presented as having defended the rights of the Church. Both the *Vita minor* and *Vita maior* contain a rather lengthy account of the resurrection of the knight Peter, the so-called “legend of Piotrawin.”<sup>88</sup> This Christological miracle became one of the best-known miracles associated with St. Stanislaus and the only miracle accomplished by him during his life that was recounted in the thirteenth-century lives. The knight, who sold his hereditary village to the bishop, was raised from the dead in order to give testimony before the king’s court. The relatives of the deceased nobleman reclaimed the village that he had sold to the bishop, and the bishop had to turn to God for help and raise Peter from the dead so that he could testify regarding the transaction. Thus, Bishop Stanislaus managed to defend the Church’s possession of the village. The story was also one of the earlier pieces of evidence of the belief in purgatory. The episode was not mentioned in the bull of canonisation. The origin of the story, which was first recorded by Vincent of Kielcza, has been extensively debated. Some historians maintained that the legend had originated only at the turn of the thirteenth century, as they saw the echoes of hagiographical literary models and the reflections of later legal and social *status quo* in it.<sup>89</sup> The story was reminiscent of the series of clashes between the ecclesiastical and secular powers and law-systems – between the bishops and dukes – over jurisdiction, revenues, tithes etc.<sup>90</sup> Analogies of the motif with various hagiographical accounts were explored, including the two stories recalled after the Piotrawin miracle account in both lives: the legend of St. Maternus from the legend of St. Peter the Apostle, and the legend of St. Spyridion.<sup>91</sup> Some historians maintained that the legend had been constructed according to the model of an *exemplum* from the collection of Jacques of Vitry or Stephen of Bourbon.<sup>92</sup> The hagiographical *topos* was so widespread, that the legend of Piotrawin could have been inspired by any other legend.<sup>93</sup> More recently, Grażyna G. Klimecka looked for the sources of the fragments about Maternus and Spyridion of the *Vita minor* in the later versions of the legends transmitted in the *Legenda aurea*. Klimecka maintained that the literary legend of Piotrawin had probably originated in circle of people connected with the bishop’s chancery in Cracow, who knew well the

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550; for the bull as a possible source of the martyrdom description in the *Vita minor*, see 503, fn. 436 and 517, fn. 511. For the legend of Peter the Martyr, see Alain Boureau, “La patine hagiographique. Saint Pierre Martyr dans la Legende Dorée,” in *Scribere sanctorum gesta. Recueil d’études d’hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. Etienne Renard et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 359-366.

<sup>88</sup> *Vita maior*, 374-379 (Part II, chapters 1-6); *Vita minor*, 260-265 (chapters 11-16).

<sup>89</sup> A recent summary of the polemic is found in Jerzy Rajman, “Przedkanonizacyjny kult św. Stanisława biskupa” (The Cult of Saint Stanislaus before Canonisation), *Nasza Przeszłość* 80 (1993), 31-32 and 36-37. Importantly, M. Plezia maintained that the legend was a literary construction. See his *Dookoła*, 145-146 and idem, “Na marginesie,” 446-447.

<sup>90</sup> The conflicts until the first half of the thirteenth century, especially in Silesia, together with a wider context are discussed by Piotr Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, ca. 1100-1250* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1993); and idem, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland* (New York-London: Holmes and Meier, 1992).

<sup>91</sup> *Vita maior*, Part II, chapters 7-8 – only the legend of Maternus; *Vita minor*, chapters 17-18.

<sup>92</sup> Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 43 ff.; following the observations of A. Brückner, *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej*, vol. 1 (Warsaw 1904), 96-99.

<sup>93</sup> An overview of this motif in hagiography is provided in Henryk Fros, “A mortuis suscitati, ut testimonium prohibeant veritati,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981), 355-360.

new legal practices and at the same time were well informed about the Dominican hagiographical models (pointing to the personality of Vincent of Kielcza).<sup>94</sup>

In summary, the description of Saint Stanislaus as a bishop conformed to the ideals expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois that were also supported at the Fourth Lateran Council. Besides certain administrative qualities (handling the tithes, visitations, pastoral work), a good bishop was supposed to be an example of virtuous, or even ascetic life. Similar episcopal ideals can be found in the *vitae* of contemporary bishop saints, following the Thomas Becket model: almost a monk within and a clerk from without.<sup>95</sup> André Vauchez speaks about the existence of a degree of ambivalence between a spiritual and an active episcopal ideal.<sup>96</sup> The hagiographer of Stanislaus successfully incorporated both into the *vitae*. Unlike the hagiographers writing only a few years after the death of a bishop, he did not have to face and reconcile the tension between the ideal that was aspired to and the often more worldly life of the prelate, as the life of Stanislaus was far in the past. Still, Saint Stanislaus was presented as an example for the hagiographer's contemporaries.

Besides the life and the martyrdom, the *Vita maior* recounted the afterlife of the saint, the miracles and his canonisation, unlike the shorter hagiography under the title of the *Vita minor* as it is known today. The text of the *Vita maior* consists of three basic parts, which Vincent named in his Prologue: *vitae processus*, *passionis cursus* and *victorie triumphum*. The third part of the life contained various miracle accounts which happened posthumously (most but not all of which were derived from the *Miracula*), the description of the elevation and the canonisation process and ceremony. Vincent of Kielcza reworked the miracles according to his own objectives, modifying the literary narrative style, ordering them thematically (according to various diseases, apparitions, resurrections, saving from drowning, etc.), and so on. Additionally to the testimonies recorded in the judicial protocol, Vincent included new miracles. A group of the miracle accounts happened only after the process of canonisation and thus had not appeared in the *miracula* protocol. In many cases the Dominican author of the *vita* knew the miracles from his own experience – he was an eye-witness or interviewed the witnesses.<sup>97</sup> Thus, St. Stanislaus was not only a martyr and a virtuous bishop, but also a powerful wonderworker and intercessor.

Both *vitae* presented the life of St. Stanislaus as intertwined with the history of Poland.<sup>98</sup> Both lives contained long historical digressions describing the glorious rule of Boleslaus I, his son

<sup>94</sup> Klimecka, "Legenda," esp. 27-32.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103.

<sup>96</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 285-292.

<sup>97</sup> For the miracles in the *Vita maior*, see Witkowska, "The thirteenth-century *Miracula*," esp. 156-162; and eadem, *Miracula małopolskie*, esp. 49-52, 67-71, 92-98.

<sup>98</sup> For a more detailed analytical summary, see Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 67.

Mieszko II and the *interregnum* that followed his death, and an account about King Casimir, who had allegedly been a monk. Additionally, a paragraph entitled *De archiepiscopatu Cracoviensis ecclesie* in the *Vita maior* referred to an alleged privilege from Pope Benedict to Bishop Aaron, dated to the reign of Casimir I in 1046, which was meant to be the ground for archdiocesan ambitions of the Bishopric of Cracow.<sup>99</sup>

The legend about the reintegration of the martyr's body is amplified and presented as a simile for the future renovation of the Polish Kingdom. The lives outlined an entire political programme. After 1138 the Polish kingdom was divided into several principalities under the rule of various branches of the Piast dynasty and lost its former prestige and political power.<sup>100</sup> The Church circles used the legend of St. Stanislaus to explain what had led to this unhappy situation and to show how to rectify it. Both *vitae* elaborated a whole ideology around the parallel fate of St. Stanislaus and the destiny of the Piast dynasty and the Kingdom of Poland. The *vitae* emphasised that the dynasty, and therefore the kingdom, was punished by the decline of the monarchy after their conflict with spiritual power. Starting in the thirteenth century, the criticism of the *status quo*, as well as efforts to explain and change it, appeared in written sources. Master Vincent Kadłubek, the first hagiographer of Bishop Stanislaus, himself a bishop, interpreted these unfortunate conditions at the end of his didactic narrative about King Boleslaus II and Bishop Stanislaus as a punishment for the bad morals and deeds of the Piast dynasty.<sup>101</sup> Later this motif of retribution was broadened from Boleslaus' descendants to all of Poland.

The lives first paralleled the fate of Saint Stanislaus with the destiny of the Polish Kingdom. The *Vita maior* described the violent events of 1079 and Boleslaus' death in exile and the subsequent retribution of God on the whole country. After this, Vincent of Kielcza inserted the chapter *De amissione corone Poloniae*, where he enriched the idea of retribution:

For because of his parricide, which he [Boleslaus] committed against blessed martyr Stanislaus, not only fell the crown from the head of his posterity, but also Poland lost its glory and the honour of the kingdom until present time. [...] Therefore it was God's rightful judgement that he took away the royal diadem from him and his descendants. [...] And like he [Boleslaus] cut the body of the martyr into many pieces and dispersed them into the wind, the Lord divided his [Boleslaus'] kingdom and permitted many princes to rule there, and he

<sup>99</sup> *Vita maior*, 383. For archdiocesan ambitions of Cracow with regard to the cult of St. Stanislaus, see, for example, Mieczysław Gębarowicz, "Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji" (The Beginnings of the Cult of St. Stanislaus and its Medieval Evidence in Sweden) *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego Imienia Ossolińskich* 1-2 (1927): 142; Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 48-49.

<sup>100</sup> For "the testament of Boleslaus the Wrymouth," which divided the succession among his sons, and for the situation afterwards, see e.g. Stanisław Szczur, *Historia Polski. Średniowiecze* (The History of Poland. The Middle Ages) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo literackie, 2002), 127-134.

<sup>101</sup> "Sic tota Boleslai domus sancto poenas Stanisłao exsolvit: quia sicut nullum bonum irremuneratum, sic nullum malum impunitum." Magister Vincentius, *Chronica*, 59.

gave that kingdom, which was divided in itself, to devastation by treading and plundering for a certain period – as because of our sins we see now.<sup>102</sup>

However, the author anticipated a change for the better in the well-known simile about the reunification of the Polish Kingdom (*De restauracione regni Polonie*), in the same way as the saint's was body reintegrated:

But in the same way as the Divine Power had reintegrated the body of the most blessed prelate and martyr without any visible wound and had declared his sanctity with signs and wonders; so it will come about that he restore the divided kingdom into its former state thanks to his merits, he reinforce it with justice and judgement, and crown it with glory and honour.<sup>103</sup>

The author added an account about the Pope's legendary refusal to grant a crown to the Poles, specifically to Mieszko I, because they had not lived like Christians. The Pope was allegedly urged to do so in a dream by an angel, who proposed to give it to the Hungarians instead but promised that the Poles would regain it after three or four generations when their sins would be vindicated.<sup>104</sup> Several thirteenth-century sources expressed their disapproval with the unfavourable *status quo* in Polish lands, tried to explain its causes and put forward a concept for restoration of the kingdom, including the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, which could have been Vincent of Kielcza's source for the account of the situation, although the chronicle did not speak about Boleslaus II in this connection.<sup>105</sup> Vincent of Kielcza also recorded that the coronation insignia were kept in Cracow Cathedral, waiting for their new owner (another Aaron), which increased the significance of Cracow, and its Church, within Poland.<sup>106</sup> Evidently, the legend and, subsequently, the cult of St. Stanislaus, were firmly connected with Polish political history and the idea of the *renovatio regni Poloniae*. This proved to be the first step toward the connection of the cult of Stanislaus with the

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<sup>102</sup> “Nam propter parricidium ipsius, quod in beato Stanislao martire commisit, non solum corona de capite posteritatis ipsius cecidit, sed ipsa Polonia usque ad presens tempus suam gloriam et regni honorem amisit... Iusto ergo Dei iudicio agitur, ut regium diadema sibi ac suis posteris amputaret...Et sicut ipse corpus martiris in multas partes secuit et in omnem ventum dispersit, sic Dominus regnum eius scidit et plures principes in eo dominari permisit et, ut peccatis nostris exigentibus in presenciarum cernimus, hoc regnum in se ipsum divisum in conculcacionem et direpcionem vastantibus per circuitum dedit.” *Vita maior*, 391.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 391: “Sed sicut divina potentia idem beatissimum presulis et martiris corpus sine cicatricum notamine redintegravit et ipsius sanctitatem signis et prodigiis declaravit, sic futurum est, ut per eius merita regnum divisum in pristinum statum restauret, iustitia et iudicio roboret, gloria et honore coronet.”

<sup>104</sup> *Vita maior*, 392–393.

<sup>105</sup> *Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*, pars I, ed. B. Karácsonyi, Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis 26 (1969), 28–32. See also Ryszard Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Z dziejów polsko-węgierskich kontaktów kulturalnych w średniowieczu* (The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle. Studies of the Polish-Hungarian Culture Relationship in the Middle Ages) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999), 98–125, 136–145 (also for the mission for crown and its source in Hartvick's legend of St. Stephen, and for the lexical analogies between the accounts). For the concept of loss and restoration of the kingdom in various sources, see e.g. Banaszkiwicz, “Sicut corpus sancti Stanislai Deus reintegravit...,” *Novum* 21 (1979), 213–218.

<sup>106</sup> “usque ad ista tempora omnia insignia regalia, coronam videlicet, sceptrum et lanceam in armario Cracoviensis ecclesie, que est urbs et sedis regia, ut superius memoravimus, adhuc servat recondita, usque dum ille veniat, qui vocatus est a Deo tamquam Aaron, cui sunt hec reposita.” *Vita maior*, 392–393.

idea of unification, renovation, and restoration of a powerful Kingdom of Poland, especially under the hegemony of Cracovian Piasts.<sup>107</sup>

Summarising and returning to the discussion from the beginning of this subchapter, the main difference between the *Vita* (*Vita maior*) and the Legend (*Vita minor*) stemmed from their function. The differences in their composition reflect the different functions of the two works. The *Vita maior* was conceived as a monumental “hagiographic work with great historiographic ambitions,” and the *Vita minor* (Legend) naturally sought to emphasise some aspects of the saint’s biography in order to present a message that would be even more fitting for the pastoral and preaching activities of the Dominican friars.<sup>108</sup> The historical excursus and political-ideological aspects (especially those concerning the *renovatio Regni Poloniae*) became less important than the moral lesson implied in the more pessimistic end of King Boleslaus and his descendants, who were punished for their sins. These interventions were in keeping with the function of the *Vita minor* (Legend) as a preaching aid. The work’s manuscript transmission and its Dominican sources – the Life of St. Dominic by Peter Ferrandi or rather lessons prepared by Humbert of Romans, the bull of canonisation of Peter the Martyr, or rather his legend, not to forget about possible Dominican sources of the “legend of Piotrawin” – also point at this particular function. Still, a more detailed investigation of the manuscript transmission and a thorough analysis of the two hagiographic pieces, which have been perceived as two self-contained entities in modern historiography, could shed new light on their relation and function, as they played the most important role in the hagiographical development of the cult of St. Stanislaus.

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<sup>107</sup> See, for example, Wojciech Mrozowicz, “Die politische Rolle des Kultes des hl. Adalbert, Stanislaus und der hl. Hedwig im Polen des 13. Jahrhunderts,” in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l’époque moderne: Approche comparative*, ed. M. Derwich and M. Dmitriev (Wrocław: Lahrcor, 1999), 111-125; Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 68-71.

<sup>108</sup> These compositional differences were explained in an outstanding way, building on the observations of Plezia and Labuda, in the work of Zdanek, *Kultura intelektualna*, 268-279.

### 1.1.3 Vita Tradunt

Although the thirteenth-century lives remained the most important hagiographic sources pertaining to St. Stanislaus, he was also the subject of several new works composed in the Middle Ages which included new hagiographic motifs.

The life of St. Stanislaus called *Vita Tradunt* after the first word in the text (*Tradunt annales Polonorum historiae*) was composed in the milieu of Cracow cathedral in the fourteenth century.<sup>109</sup> It is not an original creation, but only a transformation of the *Vita maior*.<sup>110</sup> Polish historians Plezia and Labuda dated its composition to around 1340 on the basis of a rather general dating of the five surviving manuscript copies. Drelicharz called for its deeper textual analysis and a critical edition, which could help determine the time of its composition more reliably.<sup>111</sup> He identified some sources of the *Vita Tradunt* (e.g. the *Annales Polonorum*), which allowed it be dated roughly to the period after 1325.<sup>112</sup> He argued that the *Tradunt* was one of the hagiographic sources for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, which would move the date of the composition of the *Tradunt* to the period before the making of the *Legendary* (i.e. the second quarter of the fourteenth century).<sup>113</sup> This later life could perhaps be also a source for other representations of St. Stanislaus instead of the *Vita maior* and the *Vita minor*, which were automatically considered as almost universal resources for every piece of information concerning the saint.<sup>114</sup>

The copy of the *vita* in the oldest manuscript (MS. Zamoyskich) was a part of a historical collection called Gallus', which originated in Cracow cathedral milieu after 1340 and contained besides the *Vita Tradunt* also the chronicle of Gallus the Anonymous (*Gesta principum Polonorum*) and *Traski Annals*.<sup>115</sup> The *Vita Tradunt* served as a supplement to the *Gesta*, which had not spoken

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<sup>109</sup> Edition (on the basis of a MS. of Sędziwój of Czechel) in *Martini Galli chronicon [...] denuo recensuit [...] vitamque sancti Stanislai...*, adiecit J.V. Bandtkie (Varsaviae 1824), 321-380 (hereafter *Vita Tradunt*). No critical edition up to date. A comparison with the *Vita maior* by W. Kętrzyński in MPH 4, 350-352. It is listed in BHL no. 7836. A summary in: Jacek Wiesiołowski, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV-XV wieku* (Historical Collections in Medieval Poland in the Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century) (Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1967), 21, 106-107.

<sup>110</sup> Krzysztof Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa w Krakowie w XIV wieku: środowisko duchowieństwa świeckiego* (Wrocław et al.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987), 97-99. The anonymous redactor finished the work in Zamoyskich MS. with an endnote (Warsaw, National Library, BOZ 28, f. 74v): "Expliciunt dicta fratris Vincencij de ordine Predicatorum;" Maleczyński, Introduction to, *Galli Anonymi Chronicon*, MPH SN 2, V.

<sup>111</sup> Plezia, "Na marginesie," 431-432, footnote 6; Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa*, 98; Wojciech Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII-XV wieku: kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* (The Annals in Lesser Poland in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries: Lines of Evolution of Great Compiled Annals) (Cracow: PAU, 2003), 331.

<sup>112</sup> For relation of the *Vita Tradunt* and various annals of Lesser Poland, among them Labuda's "lost *Annales Polonorum*," as its sources, see Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska*, 324-333.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 332-333. For the *Legendary* and its dating, see below and in the subchapter 1.3.3. Drelicharz (*ibid.*, 333, footnote 247) also pointed to the fact that the ideological programme of the *Vita Tradunt* allowed its composition to be dated to the reign of Władislaus Łokietek (1320-33).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-332, esp. footnote 242.

<sup>115</sup> Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa*, 98; Wiesiołowski, *Kolekcje*, 30-31.



about the saintly bishop.<sup>116</sup> The Heilsberg manuscript of the *Gesta* had substituted the passages concerning the anonymous *christus* (book I, chapters 18, 27-28) with a lengthy fragment of the *Vita Tradunt*.<sup>117</sup>

In general, the *Vita Tradunt* was considered to be fairly insignificant in terms of its influence on the tradition of St. Stanislaus and the construction of his hagiographical image. Drelicharz reconsidered this traditional interpretation.<sup>118</sup> Compared to the *Vita* by Vincent of Kielcza, the *Vita Tradunt* added some information (e.g. a fragment about Mieszko I and his reception of Christianity) and changed the composition and order of the chapters. The miracles from the time of the translation were placed at the end of the life, only after the description of the canonisation. The canonisation was described twice. The chapter concerning the arch-episcopal status of Cracow was left out. The fragments concerning the death of Boleslaus II and the loss of Polish crown were placed only after the canonisation description, unlike in the *Vita maior* where they were located after the martyrdom description.<sup>119</sup> The compiler also introduced some textual changes and new information, which, significantly, had not been found in the earlier lives, and may have been based on other sources, annals and chronicles, and historical compilations. For example, his description of the martyrdom contained an innovation and specification, which then appeared in many other sources: the king first hits the head of the bishop. One of the images of the *Angevin Legendary* cycle on St. Stanislaus depicted the scene of his martyrdom: a bishop celebrating the holy mass at the altar is being hit by the king with the sword in his head. The *Vita Tradunt* was most probably the source, because none of the earlier sources [Master Vincent's Chronicle, *Vita maior*, *Vita minor*] were so explicit in the description of the murder scene: *ab ara trahens antistitem, primus in caput pontificis vibrat suum ense*.<sup>120</sup> Another innovation of the *Vita Tradunt* could be a possible mention of the name of the father of St. Stanislaus, Magnus.<sup>121</sup> In some cases the compiler produced

<sup>116</sup> The *Gesta* were probably deliberately removed from the cathedral chapter library because of their inappropriate silence about the saintly bishop. For a list of literature concerning this hypothesis, see Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 43-44 and footnote 12.

<sup>117</sup> Maleczyński, Introduction to (XIII-XXII), *Galli Anonymi Chronicon*, MPH SN 2, 42, 52-54. Interpolated fragments of the *Vita Tradunt* (X, XI, XIV-XVI, XXXII – pp. 333-339, 344-354, 376-380). Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa*, 98.

<sup>118</sup> Drelicharz also thought that an analysis of the *Tradunt* was needed among others for “recently completely neglected studies of historiographic and manuscript tradition of the lives of St. Stanislaus.” Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska*, 331.

<sup>119</sup> The differences have been discussed by Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa*, 99; Jerzy Starnawski, *Drogi rozwojowe hagiografii polskiej i łacińskiej w wiekach średnich* (The Development of Polish and Latin Hagiography in the Middle Ages) (Cracow: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1993), 47-49. Major textual differences and variants (on the basis of Zamoyskich MS.) and a table of contents in relation to the *Vita maior* by Kętrzyński in MPH 4, 350-352. A short summary rather downgrading the influence of the *Tradunt* in Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 147-149.

<sup>120</sup> *Vita Tradunt*, 353. Drelicharz's suggestion [Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska*, 332-33.] is acknowledged and accepted by Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 231-232, 263ff. For more about the *Angevin Legendary* (summary and literature) and iconographic representations of St. Stanislaus, see below in the subchapter 1.3.3 on *Iconography*.

<sup>121</sup> For its explication, see Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 148-149. *Vita Tradunt*, 325: “Licet autem de nobili prosapia fuerit ortus, de ipsius tamen progenitoribus, **quamvis pater eius, ut fertur, magnus** [or **Magnus**, if a proper noun] **fuerit vocatus**, nulla sit [Plezia corr. fit] adpresens mencio, quia antiquitate [Plezia corr. antiquitas] temporis negligencie nutrix hanc delevit oblivio.” Interpolation of the *Vita Tradunt*, as compared to the *Vita maior* in bold. A translation of

a more concise narrative as compared to the *Vita* (not only with regard to historical excursus preceding Stanislaus' life).<sup>122</sup>

#### 1.1.4 Annals and chronicles

Written sources of the historiographic genre – annals and chronicles – contributed to the transmission and diffusion of the hagiographic information about the martyr-bishop. The annals did not bring any new details in terms of narrative. All extant annals originated only after the mid-thirteenth century. Thus, even if they were based on earlier annalistic redactions, they drew mostly on the post-canonisation lives. However, the annals provide valuable information concerning the chronology of events, e.g. the translation, the canonisation efforts, etc.<sup>123</sup> The year of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus belonged to the most widespread dates of events noted in diverse Polish annals. Besides that, various annals noted his canonisation, translation and episcopal ordination.

Later chronicles continued in the historiographic tradition of Master Vincent's *Chronicle* and drew on the chronicle, abbreviating, rewriting and amplifying its narrative. Medieval Polish (including Silesian) historiography had been dependant on Master Vincent's *Chronicle* for a long time.<sup>124</sup> Master Vincent's *Chronicle* itself was used in schools and at the university in Cracow in the fifteenth century. A commentary of the *Chronicle*, including the passage on St. Stanislaus, by university professor Jan of Dąbrówka (ca. 1400-1472) has been preserved. The commentary is in fact his exposition from the university classes, which was dictated and copied and used for expositions by other university and lower-school teachers as well. In the second half of the fifteenth century we have evidence of its use also in the collegiate chapter schools of St. Anne in Cracow, and in Opatów, Łowicz, Sandomierz, and the parish school in Lublin. Dąbrówka also commented on the passage on the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus, where he included an account about the alleged penitence of King Boleslaus II that had spread elsewhere in that period (Part II, 22).<sup>125</sup> This is the

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the particular passage, respectively: "although his father was allegedly called Magnus/was considered to be a great man."

<sup>122</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 233, especially footnote 192: he combined 3 chapters from the *Vita maior* (Part II, chapters 8, 15, 16) on King Boleslaus into one *De malicia Boleslai*. Five chapters describing events after the martyrdom (Part II, chapters 20-24) into one chapter *De sepultura beati Stanislai* [MPH 4, 352?].

<sup>123</sup> Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 131-134. Plezia called them intermediary sources, in between the primary sources for the events and the secondary sources, which drew on the primary ones. *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>124</sup> Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim" (Saint Stanislaus in Silesian Medieval Historiography), in *Kult świętego Stanisława na Śląsku (1253-2003)* (The Cult of Saint Stanislaus in Silesia 1253-2003), ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Opole: Redakcja wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2004), 117-132, esp. 118.

<sup>125</sup> For information about the commentary and basic biographical details see Marian Zwiercan, *Komentarz Jana z Dąbrówki do Kroniki Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem* (The Commentary of the Chronicle of Master Vincent called Kadłubek by Jan of Dąbrówka) (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo PAN, 1969), for penitence of King Boleslaus II, see page 133; more details about the motif below in this chapter. The commentary has been recently published as Jan Dąbrówka, *Commentum in Chronicam Polonorum*

context in which many clerics and preachers became familiar with the account of Master Vincent, the knowledge of the history and the legend of St. Stanislaus becoming a part of the intellectual culture in Cracow (and elsewhere in Poland). Some sermons on St. Stanislaus, probably those meant for a more educated audience at the university or in convents, referred to this chronicle explicitly, e.g. *ut narrat Chronica Polonorum etc.*<sup>126</sup>

The abbreviated redactions of Master Vincent's *Chronicle* from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, *Dzierzwa (Mierzwa) Chronicle*<sup>127</sup> and *Polish-Silesian Chronicle*, did not reveal many new developments concerning the tradition about St. Stanislaus.<sup>128</sup> The succinct passage concerning his martyrdom in the *Polish-Silesian Chronicle*<sup>129</sup> contained a new motif – a mention of the king's perverse relationship with his mare. Another innovation was a piece of chronological information - it dated the death of St. Stanislaus incorrectly to the year 1089.<sup>130</sup>

With respect to the story about the king's immoral and perverse behaviour, the author of the *Polish-Silesian Chronicle* could have possibly drawn on a local tradition persisting in Cracow, although it was not present in the thirteenth-century lives. Otherwise, it could have been based on several fragments of the *Vita*, whose formulation was like a "time-bomb" in Banaszekiewicz's words.<sup>131</sup> Their contamination and the confusion regarding their initial meaning could have resulted

*magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek. Komentarz do Kroniki polskiej mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem* (The Commentary of the Chronicle of the Poles of Master Vincent called Kadłubek), ed. Marian Zwiercan et al., MPH SN 14 (Cracow: PAU, 2008), esp. 90-97. For more about the author and his contribution to the preaching on St. Stanislaus, see Chapter 3.6 below.

<sup>126</sup> The chronicle quoted as an authority in some sermon texts – e.g. several references in the edited MS. 1122 from Kórnik Library (Sermon XXIX). But its author goes perhaps further than Vincent's chronicle, he uses other sources and tradition; see its editor Zathej, "Nowe źródło," 380.

<sup>127</sup> Written most probably in Franciscan milieu in Cracow at the turn of the fourteenth century. Editions: *Mierzwy kronika*, ed. A. Bielowski, MPH 2 (Lviv 1872), 145-190; *Kroniki Mierzwy dopełnienie*, *ibid.*, 283-438. Basic literature: J. Banaszekiewicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy. XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej* (Dzierzwa Chronicle. A Fourteenth-Century Compendium of Homeland History) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979); J. Wiesołowski, *Kolekcje*, esp. 26-30.

<sup>128</sup> Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 150.

<sup>129</sup> The chronicle has been traditionally called *Polish-Silesian Chronicle*, although the name is not the most suitable. Its author has not been convincingly identified yet, but it could have been a Cistercian from Lubiąż, Engelbert, and it could have been commissioned by Henry IV Probus, Duke of Wrocław. Two parts of the chronicle originated in years 1281-1285 (the part concerning general Polish history) and 1285-1288 (the part concerning local Silesian history). The chronicle was edited in *Kronika polska*, ed. L. Ćwikliński, in MPH 3, 578-656, and the particular passage concerning St. Stanislaus on pages 623-624. Basic information about the chronicle and also on the passage concerning St. Stanislaus is available in Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim," 118-124.

<sup>130</sup> *Kronika polska*, 623-624 (emphasis mine): "... [Boleslaus] **flagiciosus cum equa contra naturam effectus**, sanctum Stanislaum, antistitem, Cracovie se ob scelera obiurgantem et tandem excommunicantem, propria manu ad altare intra missarum sollempnia stantem in [ecclesia] sancti Michaelis in [R]upella trans Wislam, gladio in frustra concidens peremit, **anno Domini MLXXXIX**, tempore Gregorii pape VII." For the incorrect dating, see Wojciech Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim," 121-122.

<sup>131</sup> The narrative *Quomodo ad ubera mulierum catulos fecit apponi (Vita maior II/17, 385-386)* was implicitly connected with pagan customs from the times of Master Vincent: "tanta insectatus est inhumanitate, ut ad earum ubera catulos applicare non horruerit, infantulis abiectis, quibus hostis pepercisset, si Scita vel gentilis fuisset" (*ibid.*, 386). It was further contaminated by the formulation "traditus quoque in reprobum sensum, sicut equus et mulus, ... carnis sue sequens luxuriam, gloriam suam in ignominiam et naturalem usum mutavit in eum usum, qui est contra naturam" (*Ibid.*, II/15 *De probitate et perversitate regis Boleslai*, 384). For possible sources of this legendary-historical motif, see J.

in a new amplification of the legend about “wicked” King Boleslaus. Later tradition fabricated on the grounds of these allusions a story about the king’s sodomy. He has become the personification of the evil ruler in one branch of the tradition.<sup>132</sup> The motif of the king’s sodomy, i.e. relationship with his mare, was developed in the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, in a redaction of the *Annals of Holy Cross*, in Dąbrowka’s *Commentary of Master Vincent’s Chronicle* and then even more by Długosz. Some preachers and authors of sermons alluded to this story.<sup>133</sup>

The *Annals of the Holy Cross*, compiled at the end of the fourteenth century, recorded a similar tradition.<sup>134</sup> The *Annals of the Holy Cross* (known also as *Rocznik mansjonarzy krakowskich, świętokrzyski nowy*) contained its own developed legend about St. Stanislaus.<sup>135</sup> Its redaction from the fifteenth century explained the story about the mare in a way more favourable for King Boleslaus.<sup>136</sup> Apart from that, the annalist identified the henchmen who helped the king kill the bishop and cut his body into pieces as the knights of Jastrzęb and Strzemień.<sup>137</sup>

In general, many later chroniclers and writers tended to enrich the narrative about King Boleslaus. In some cases he was presented in even darker colours than in Vincent of Kielcza’s *Life*. In other instances the authors supplied a legend about his penitence. The thirteenth-century lives, following the tradition established in Master Vincent’s *Chronicle*, portrayed King Boleslaus II as an obstinate sinner, who had not been able to change his life and had died unrepentant.<sup>138</sup> Some later sources modified the moral and didactic accent of the story and depicted King Boleslaus as a repentant biblical David. The legend was either based on earlier oral tradition or constructed only

Banaszkiewicz, “Czarna i biała legenda Bolesława Śmiałego” (Black and White Legend of Boleslaus the Bold), *KH* 88 (1981), no. 2, 353–390, esp. 353-369, formulation “time-bomb” on page 363.

<sup>132</sup> For other examples of medieval evil rulers, see Gábor Klaniczay, “Representations of the Evil Ruler in the Middle Ages,” in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. H. Duchhardt, R.A.Jackson and David Sturdy (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 69-79. I return to the topic of evil ruler, and especially the tyrant, during my analysis of the sermon by Peregrinus of Opole in Chapter 4.

<sup>133</sup> For the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, see below. For Długosz, see his *Annales*, Liber 3-4 (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 121 and *Vita* (see below in this chapter). This motif was discussed briefly by Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 151; then especially with respect to the *Polish-Silesian Chronicle* by Mrozowicz, “Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim,” 122-123. For more about the development of this literary amplification in various historical sources but also in some sermons, see most importantly J. Banaszkiewicz, “Czarna i biała legenda”, 353–369. See also J. Zathej, “Nowe źródło do legendy o Bolesławie Śmiałym (z rękopisu Biblioteki Kórnickiej 1122)” (A New Source of the Legend of Boleslaus the Bold from the Manuscript of Kórnik Library 1122), *Roczniki biblioteczne* 5 (1961), esp. 374-375, footnote 7, which provided a short summary of several other sources of the legend. For further development of this tradition in sermons, see Chapter 4 on Peregrinus’ sermon in this thesis.

<sup>134</sup> *Annales Sancte Crucis (Rocznik świętokrzyski)*, ed. A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, MPH SN 12 (Cracow: Nakładem PAU, 1996), 16-19.

<sup>135</sup> Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 151-152.

<sup>136</sup> A different redaction in Sochaczewski MS. (no. X) from the second half of the fifteenth century: “non racione sceleris sed in contemptum earum [feminarum] sub purpura post se ducere semper iubebat;” *Annales Sancte Crucis*, 105. The redaction is polemical about the story, explaining that the king ordered that a mare dressed in scarlet be led after him not because of his perverse nature, but in order to mock the unfaithful ladies, whom he held in less esteem than a horse. See also Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 151-153; Banaszkiewicz, “Czarna i biała legenda,” 360 and Wojciech Mrozowicz, “Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim,” 123.

<sup>137</sup> *Annales Sancte Crucis*, 18: “... milites... videlicet accipitres et unum strepe vulgariter strzamyn defferentes ut dicitur...” These two families were mentioned also later as inappropriate to achieve ecclesiastical offices; *ibid.*, 20-21. The Polish names of the kindreds were mentioned by Długosz.

<sup>138</sup> *Vita maior*, 390; *Vita minor*, 283.

later; there was also a local tradition in Carinthian Ossiach near Feldkirchen (or possibly in Tirolian Wilten).<sup>139</sup> The historian Banasziewicz developed a theory about the literary amplification of the “white” legend of King Boleslaus, in which an initially brief and vague mention had been gradually augmented with particular details concerning the place (various possibilities: Benedictine monasteries in Bratislava/Pressburg, Ossiach, Wilten, Villach), the character and the circumstances of his penitence. The earliest historical record of the king’s repentance is found in the *Annals of the Holy Cross*.<sup>140</sup> Later sources like the *Passionale Stanislai de Skarbimiria*,<sup>141</sup> Dąbrówka’s *Commentary of Master Vincent’s Chronicle*<sup>142</sup> and some sermon texts supplied more details. Długosz provided both versions of the legend about the end of the king’s life.<sup>143</sup>

The *Polish-Silesian Chronicle* and other similar chronicles achieved to produce a negative presentation of King Boleslaus not by rhetorical means like Master Vincent, but – in a seemingly more “rational” way – by introducing more and more pieces of information, seemingly factual, discrediting the king.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the account was simplified in some aspects and amplified in others. Like the authors of other abbreviated redactions based on Master Vincent’s *Chronicle*, the compiler deprived the fragment of all hagiographic features, which is quite understandable in a work with historiographic rather than hagiographic ambitions.

<sup>139</sup> For development of this legend in various sources, see especially Banasziewicz, “Czarna i biała legenda,” 369-387. See also Pierre David, *Casimir le Moine et Boleslas le Pénitent. Etudes historiques et littéraires sur la Pologne Médiévale*, vol. 5 (Paris 1932); Jerzy Zathy, “O kilku przepadłych zabytkach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie” (About Several Lost Manuscripts from the National Library in Warsaw), in *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Studies from the History of Polish Culture), ed. H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1949), 73-86. Zathy mentioned several calendars of Benedictine and Cistercian provenance from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries that had mentioned “commemoratio Boleslai Regis Poloniae conuersi,” which was later scratched out and substituted with the name of Stanislaus. See also Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów nad ikonografią legendy św. Stanisława biskupa” (From the Studies on the Iconography of the Legend of Saint Stanislaus), *Folia Historiae Artium* 8 (1972), 171ff; more details in the section on the *Iconography*. On the local tradition outside Poland and relations with Poland, see S. Zakrzewski, “Ossjak i Wilten,” in *Rozprawy Wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego AU* 46 (1903), 256-339 and G. Smolski, “Grob króla Bolesława Śmiałego w Ossjaku,” *Przegląd Powszechny* 13 (1896), vol. 49, 71-94. See also Zathy, “Nowe źródło,” 365-382 and Bełch, *Święty Stanisław*, 695-710.

<sup>140</sup> *Annales Sancte Crucis*, 19: “Ipse vero periculum mortis times fugam dedit ad Hungariam et ibi circa quoddam claustrum mansit tamquam conversus penitentiam strictam peragens vitam post decem annos finivit et ibidem sepultus est.” A more developed version in Sochaczewski redaction from the second half of the fifteenth century, *ibid.*, 105-106: “Demum [Wladislaus, rex Ungarie] videns ipsum maximam humilitatem ipsum solum amplexatus est quod humilitatis sibi exhibuit effectum alloquens ipsum ut causa sui criminis adiret papam. Et confessus humilians se penitencionem salutarem susciperet. Cuius consiliis Boleslaus allusit, rediens curiam affectasset et devocius in proprium quoddam castrum [altern. claustrum] in finibus Ungarie intravit in quo penitens in Domino obdormivit, in agone autem mortis confessori se regem Lechitorum lucidens. Quo epitaphium, quod peregrini ex nostris plures legebant per eosdem monachos in sepulcro fuit sculptum. Hic iacet Boleslaus rex Polonorum occisor sancti Stanislai.” More on the Sochaczewski codex *ibid.*, 99-101.

<sup>141</sup> Sermon Material LXXVI. The work is described in more detail below in the chapter *Overview of Sermons*. For mentions in some sermons, see also below in this thesis.

<sup>142</sup> Jan Dąbrówka, *Commentum*, 96-7.

<sup>143</sup> While the *Annals* provided both versions, the later *Vita* preferred the pessimistic end of the king’s life. Długossius, *Vita*, 87-89 and Długossius, *Annales* 3-4, 144-145, see below. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 157, 161.

<sup>144</sup> This has been noticed by Mrozowicz, “Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim,” 122.

The *Chronicle of Greater Poland*,<sup>145</sup> following Master Vincent's work, described King Boleslaus II, his behaviour, his cruel punishment of the noble women, his murder of Bishop Stanislaus, his exile, and disgraceful death in the Hungarian Kingdom. The conflict with the bishop and the martyrdom were depicted in a more succinct and historiographic style, without the rhetorical pathos and hagiographic imagery of Master Vincent. For the author of the chronicle King Boleslaus, and not St. Stanislaus, was the focus. He supplied only the most important information about the saintly bishop (much less than Master Vincent) and referred the readers to the *Vita ipsius beati martiris* (i.e. *Vita maior*), in which *gesta vite et miracula* of St. Stanislaus *plenius continentur*.<sup>146</sup> However, the author of the chronicle provided some new "legend-related" information concerning King Boleslaus II. Both *Polish-Silesian Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* mentioned in connection with the king's cruel punishment of women that the king had presented his mare in scarlet dress at his court. The author added that some sources maintained that he had had a perverse relationship with the mare, but that other more reliable sources opposed this allegation and explained that the king had only mocked the adulterous women by presenting the dressed-up mare.<sup>147</sup> The *Chronicle of Greater Poland* recorded in the context of the prophecy about the reintegration of the Polish Kingdom that the remains of St. Stanislaus had been thrown into a water pool in front of the church at Skalka.<sup>148</sup> The chronicle also provided the most important information about the canonisation of St. Stanislaus<sup>149</sup> and its festive celebration in Cracow in 1254.<sup>150</sup>

The *Chronicle of Polish Dukes* of Piotr of Byczyna, a masterpiece of medieval Silesian historiography, also relied on Master Vincent's *Chronicle* (like the *Polish-Silesian Chronicle*) with respect to the fragment about the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus. The only innovation was its erroneous dating of the saint's martyrdom to St. Michael's Day (September 29), most probably as a result of accidental confusion with the place of martyrdom in St. Michael's Church.<sup>151</sup> Silesian

<sup>145</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, chapter 13 *De Boleslao Effero* on pages 20-22, ch. 14 *Nota de sevicia Boleslai* on pp. 22-23. Plezia, *Dookola sprawy*, 150-151.

<sup>146</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 23.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 22: "In tantumque cultum detestabatur femineum, quod loco uxoris iumentum purpura et bysso decoratum ad omne iter quo ibat, secum duci faciebat. Aiunt quidam quoque, quod versus in sensum reprobum abutebatur. Quedam autem scripture quibus standum est verius asserunt, quod non, sed in detestacionem sceleris per mulieres nobiles in suorum maritorum absencia perpetrati hoc se facere demonstrabat."

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 23: "Revelatumque est quibusdam viris religiosis sanctam vitam ducentibus, quod sicut Boleslaus rex sanctum Stanislaum in partes minutas secuisset et **in lacum dispersisset**, sic deus regnum Polonie deinceps scidit plures principes in eo dominari faciens. Nichilominus vero prout corpus viri sancti reintegratum extiti, sic in futuro tempore cum Deo placuerit in statum pristinum et ad unitatem unius principis reducetur." [emphasis mine].

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 98 *De canonisatione sancti Stanislai gloriosi martyris*, p. 99. In the chapter on canonisation the author noted a miracle when a dead nobleman was allegedly raised to life in the church of Assisi during canonisation. It had not appeared in the lives, but it could possibly be based on the account of miraculous healing of Cardinal Reginald, as the editor suggested in footnote 588, p. 179.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 105 *De elevacione ossium sancti Stanislai*, p. 101.

<sup>151</sup> Basic information and an analysis of the passage concerning St. Stanislaus in Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim," 124-126. The chronicle is edited as *Kronika książąt polskich (Cronica*

historiographic tradition was reflected also in various annals, which were limited to laconic chronological notes about the ordination, the martyrdom and the canonisation of St. Stanislaus. Interestingly, several annals dated the canonisation wrongly to the year 1254. They could have confused the canonisation ceremony with its celebrations, which took place in Cracow a year after the canonisation.<sup>152</sup> In turn, this error in the annals could have been the source of the incorrect dating of the canonisation in some sermon materials.

The *Catalogues of Cracow Bishops*, with its various redactions dating back mostly to the fifteenth century, supplied the names of the holy bishop's parents, Prandota and Margaret, and described their coat-of-arms (Turzynit family). The *Catalogues* also specified that the body of St. Stanislaus had been cut into 72 pieces, which was a symbolic number representing also the resurrection of Christ and the glorious future of the martyr in the Heaven (72 hours equate to the three days during which Christ's body lay in the grave).<sup>153</sup>

The historiographic works were most probably less important and less obvious resources for preachers than the lives of St. Stanislaus or the liturgical works. However, they could inform educated preachers in particular. University students and graduates, but also students of chapter schools, had access to Master Vincent's *Chronicle* and its subsequent redactions. Also, some "legendary" information - especially concerning King Boleslaus II, or pertaining to miracles like the water pool with miraculous powers - could have reflected popular tradition about St. Stanislaus and his mighty opponent, the same tradition that is reflected in some medieval sermons on St. Stanislaus.

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*principum Poloniae*), ed. Z. Węclewski, MPH 3 (Lviv: PAU, 1878), 423-578, the fragment concerning Saint Stanislaus on p. 448.

<sup>152</sup> Mrozowicz, "Święty Stanisław w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie śląskim," 126-129. The catalogues of Wrocław bishops also noted the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus as an important date. *Ibid.*, 129-130.

<sup>153</sup> Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 151. Edition: *Katalogi biskupow krakowskich*, ed. Jozef Szymanski, MPH SN 10, part 2, "Redakcja III," p. 44-45: "per Boleslaum regem et suos satellites in ecclesia sancti Michaelis in Rupella missam celebrans, occisus et in LXXII partes scissus et laniatus, aubus et devorandum dispersus et proiectus est tercio idus Aprilis, luna VI et feria VI post octavas Pasce sub Gregorio VII dicto Hildebrando. ... Hic fuit de terra Cracoviensi et villa Szczepanow, ex parte Prandotha et matre Margareta, de domo et clenodio Thurzina, quod dimidiam alteram crucem in clipeo pro armis deferre consuevit." Other redactions with similar wording "Redakcja IV świętokrzyska," *ibid.*, 55, canonisation pp. 62-63; "Redakcja V Dominikańska," pp. 85, 94-95; "Redakcja Lubelska," pp. 110-113; "Redakcja zaginiona," p. 123; "Katalog Długosza," pp. 145-149, 172-177. The symbolic of the number is not explained in the accounts, but some suggestions in Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 481.

### 1.1.5 The Image of the Holy Bishop in the Work of Długosz

In the fifteenth century new sources were composed that enriched the image of Saint Stanislaus. Jan Długosz (1415-1480) glorified the deeds of Saint Stanislaus in several works, most importantly in the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi*,<sup>154</sup> but also in his renowned *Annales*,<sup>155</sup> thus contributing considerably to the development of the tradition concerning the saintly bishop. His work reflected, summarised and united various avenues of earlier traditions about the Polish saint. Długosz perceived the history of Saint Stanislaus as the essential event of Polish history.<sup>156</sup> He was a zealous devotee of Saint Stanislaus and contributed to the revival of the cult at Skalka, the place of the bishop's martyrdom, by supporting the arrival of the Pauline Order in the parish.<sup>157</sup> He also donated some material goods to the Skalka parish, as well as to the church in Piotrawin, the birthplace of the saint.<sup>158</sup> Finally, he was buried in the church dedicated to Saint Stanislaus, which he had supported so faithfully during his lifetime.<sup>159</sup>

The *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi* was first finished sometime between 1461 and 1465.<sup>160</sup> Długosz wrote the *Vita* in a high ancient style and fashion. The *Vita* consists of three basic parts (*tractatus*), each of them having a separate prologue: first, Stanislaus's life and martyrdom; second, the miracles after his death and the canonisation (corresponding to the *Vita*

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<sup>154</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 1-181. The *Vita* has been preserved in a manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century, which was corrected and glossed by Długosz himself, and in an incunabula edition, so-called "editio Cracoviensis Halleriana" from 1511 (here with the division into parts and chapters). Another edition is included in the *Acta sanctorum* series: Joannes Długossius, *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, Acta Sanctorum Maii 2:202-276 (Antwerp: Michael Cnobarus, 1680; Facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1968). The *Vita* is listed in under nos. BHL 7839-7841. For a characteristics of St. Stanislaus as an ideal bishop in Długosz's work, see my M.A. thesis *The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century* (CEU: Medieval Studies Department, 2003), especially the chapter 2.1. "Długosz's Images of the Holy Bishop and Ideal Bishops," 46-60.

<sup>155</sup> Joannis Długossii, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* 3-4, ed. Danuta Turkowska et al. (Warsaw: PWN, 1969), 124-168; *Annales* 7-8, ed. D. Turkowska et al. (Warsaw: PWN, 1975), 86-113.

<sup>156</sup> Michał Bobrzyński and Stanisław Smolka, *Jan Długosz: jego życie i stanowisko w piśmiennictwie* (Jan Długosz: His Life and Position in Literature) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Konstantego Hr. Przewodniczącego, 1893), 159.

<sup>157</sup> Having not completed his studies at the University of Cracow, Długosz worked in the chancery of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, later became a Cracovian canon and the bishop's secretary. He made many diplomatic journeys on behalf of the bishop and the king. He opposed King Kazimierz in the conflict over the nomination of a Cracovian bishop. Długosz himself was designated the Archbishop of Płock (Leopoliensis), but died before taking up the office. For more biographical information see *Vita Joannis Długossii*, in *Opera omnia* 1, I-XVI (hereafter *Vita Długossii*); Bobrzyński and Smolka, *Jan Długosz*; Jerzy Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne v czasach Jana Długosza" (Cracovian Cathedral Centre in the Age of Jan Długosz), in *Długossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza* (Długossiana: Historical Studies on the Five-Hundred Anniversary of Jan Długosz' Death), ed. Stanisław Gawęda (Warsaw: PWN, 1980) (hereafter *Długossiana*), 85-107 (hereafter Wolny, "Krakowskie").

<sup>158</sup> "Ductus praeterea eadem cura, praeter particularem et privatam devotionem suam erga Sanctum Stanislaum, cum natalem locum prius lateritia ornasset ecclesia, procuravit non sine magna difficultate, ut in ecclesia Rupellae Cracoviae, in qua ille martyrium susceperat, collocarentur confratres sub religione Pauli primi eremitae..." *Vita Długossii*, VII-VIII.

<sup>159</sup> Matthias de Miechovia, "Obitus Joannis Długossii," in *Opera Omnia* 1, XVI.

<sup>160</sup> According to Plezia, Długosz finished the *Vita* in 1465; he was writing it at the same time as the *Annales* (started in 1455). Plezia, *Dookoła*, 153. Witkowska puts the composition before 1465-*terminus ante quem* (letter to Sędziwój of Czechel), probably between 1461 and 1463. Aleksandra Witkowska, *Kulty pątnicze piętnastowiecznego Krakowa* (The Pilgrim Cults in the Fifteenth-Century Cracow) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL, 1984), 58.



*maior*); third, forty new miracle accounts collected between 1430 and 1464 and two miracles from 1475 and 1478. Długosz had already described the preceding events and martyrdom of St. Stanislaus in his *Annales*, but with a slightly different objective in mind, which is why he added (e.g. a richer romanticising story about the king's lover) or left out (e.g. positive information about King Boleslaus, such as his possible penitence) some information in the monumental *Vita* of the bishop-martyr.<sup>161</sup>

The first part of the *Vita* dealt with the life and martyrdom of Saint Stanislaus. Generally speaking, Długosz amplified the elements of the earlier legend and added a few new matters. Długosz followed the pattern introduced by Vincent of Kielcza concerning the family background and the education of Saint Stanislaus, including his stay in Paris and his election as bishop of Cracow.<sup>162</sup> Following the tradition of earlier biographies, he included the characteristics of Stanislaus' episcopal activities together with a handful of the bishop's virtues.<sup>163</sup> However, Długosz's description is rather lengthy, amplified to a considerable extent. It uses a wide range of literary devices and also the content was more instructive for contemporaries and certainly more impressive than the previous lives.

Included in this account are conventional phrases referring to Saint Stanislaus as a good shepherd, an image which was later widely used in sermons.<sup>164</sup> He was elected to his office not only by the people, but also by God himself. Saint Stanislaus led a virtuous apostolic life, imitating Christ. He subjected his body to his spirit.<sup>165</sup> Długosz added a *topos* that he had worn a hairshirt (*a cilicina toga*).<sup>166</sup> He prayed day and night and fasted.<sup>167</sup> This is an image corresponding to the contemporary model of an ascetic saint. Another outstanding virtue was his charity towards the poor.<sup>168</sup> He donated material goods to the poor and to the Church and distributed food *propriis manibus*. As a good shepherd, he cared for the faithful entrusted to him by God.<sup>169</sup> On the occasion of episcopal visitations, as a good bishop, Stanislaus exhorted the faithful and acted as an example,

<sup>161</sup> Some differences between the accounts in the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai* and the *Annales* are discussed in Plezia, *Dookola sprawy*, 153-161.

<sup>162</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 6-16.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-21.

<sup>164</sup> "Polonico gregi Pastor praedestinatus;" "Obtulit tunc ad altare panem et vinum, Melchisedech sacerdotis morem aemulatus: haud multo post tempore sui corporis vivam hostiam, pro Polonici populi salute et libertate, in odorem suavissimum oblaturus." Długossius, *Vita*, 17.

<sup>165</sup> "spiritui itaque carnem subiecturus," "carnem suam cum vitiis et concupiscentiis crucifigens;" *ibid.*, 18.

<sup>166</sup> The hairshirt is Długosz' new contribution. This *topos* is found in the legend of Thomas Becket, for instance: "Non solum enim cilicium pro camisia deferebat, sed etiam femoralia cilicina usque ad poplitem baiulabat." Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma," 103.

<sup>167</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 19.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>169</sup> "Ad omnium denique hominum, in sua diocesi consistentium, curam, salutem et custodiam vigilanter se ac pastoraliter exercebat, et circa gregis sibi commissi custodiam sollicitis excubiis superintendens, id agebat, id providebat, id summopere curabat..." *Ibid.*, 21.

both in terms of faith and virtues, not only to his clergy, but also to the *vulgares popularesque*.<sup>170</sup> When he instructed people, he did it “more by his example than his voice.”

Długosz enumerated the virtues of Saint Stanislaus, considering the saint, who had once been an example to the prelates and canons of his diocese, as a model for the bishops in the fifteenth century. Długosz did not forget to actualise the issue, mentioning that many of the bishops of his own age differed from the saint in the conduct of their lives.<sup>171</sup> Długosz put emphasis on the topical issues that worried his contemporaries, and have continued to be a concern, not avoiding a critical attitude towards the bishops of his own time, listing the key comparisons to St. Stanislaus. Bishops were concerned more with their own well being than with that of their flock. The description of the particular virtues, which was in fact a conventional set for a saintly bishop, served as a model for contemporary readers holding office. Another object of Długosz’s criticism was the luxurious clothing of the Church representatives of his own age, compared to the modest behaviour and clothing of Saint Stanislaus.<sup>172</sup>

Moreover, Długosz followed Vincent of Kielcza in associating the history of Saint Stanislaus with the national history of Poland. The author emphasised that the bishop was a Polish saint. However, besides this, he stressed that Saint Stanislaus was an outstanding personality among Polish Church dignitaries and urged the successors of the saintly prelate to follow the example of Saint Stanislaus. Throughout the *Vita*, Długosz keeps in view how much Saint Stanislaus, an outstanding figure among Polish prelates, had done for the well-being of both the Church and the Polish nation.

Długosz’s important contribution, in accordance with the style and ambitions of the work of contemporary historiography or hagiography, were three monologues admonishing King Boleslaus II, which are ascribed to the saint himself. An important point of the characteristics is the contrast between the bishop’s humility and chastity and the pride (*superbia*) and carnality of King Boleslaus. He added a romanticising story of the king’s adulterous affair with Cristina, with St. Stanislaus having defended the sanctity of marriage.<sup>173</sup> Stanislaus was not afraid to admonish the king for his sinful affair, although other bishops stayed silent.<sup>174</sup> The saint acted as an ideal Christian prelate, not intimidated by and subject to secular power, not only in matters spiritual and moral, such as the sacrament of marriage, but also in the defence of the material property of the

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 17-18: “...vitae conversatio, **quantum a moderna aetatis plerisque Episcopis differat**, nemo est qui non sciat, quorum si vitam, si conditiones, si mores, si denique eorum ambitiosos et prava ingressus rimatus fueris: reperies profecto non zelo Dei aut lucris animarum, non propriae, non proximi salutis profectu in officium pontificale adduci, sed locupletatione ampliori et substantia, velut ad negotium, provocari.” [emphasis mine].

<sup>172</sup> “...quorum luxu atque splendore nostrae aetatis Pontifices, atque eorum exemplo inferioris ordinis sacerdotes, adeo praesumptuose uti video, ut quodlibet purpurae, pellium et indumentorum genus, quod vix in laicis tolerabile foret, non fastidiant.” Ibid., 19-20.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 26-32.

<sup>174</sup> “aliis Episcopis tacentibus;” *ibid.*, 26.

Church. Długosz also developed the legend of Piotrawin into a longer artistic account, emphasising the bishop's protection of his Church, pious devotion and belief in God, and his zeal for truth and justice.<sup>175</sup> Długosz also added the story of a local knight, Jan of Brzeznicza, who had driven the bishop away from the village where he had wanted to consecrate a church. The meadow where Stanislaus was believed to have spent the night became a place of folk cult. The episode, which refers to the life of Saint Stanislaus, is not found in the earlier *vitae*.<sup>176</sup> Długosz pointed out the contrast between Bishop Stanislaus and other bishops once more, saying that Stanislaus had done everything possible to fight the injustice inflicted on God, the Church, and the nation, finally sacrificing himself:

*pro Dei et Ecclesie et populi iniuria, ceteris Episcopis provinciae dissimulantibus, omnium aliorum vicem et negligentiam superpleturus.*<sup>177</sup>

Even more than in the thirteenth century, the characteristics of the holy bishop and his episcopal activities were tailored to the contemporary situation. Długosz expressed the ideal of bishop and also the criticism of his contemporaries.

The second and the third parts of the *Vita* were devoted to miracles of St. Stanislaus. Długosz rewrote the older accounts from the thirteenth century and added new miracles from the fifteenth century. According to Witkowska, he could have used a collection of miracles that was being continually recorded, although he did not explicitly refer to any such register.<sup>178</sup> His accounts are detailed and vivid; they do not have the juridical character of the *Miracula* used in the canonisation proceedings. Długosz's miracle collection demonstrates that the cult has become more popular in the fifteenth century. Besides the Wawel cathedral, the importance of Skalka increased as a place of devotion with a more popular orientation, as evidenced by the greater rate of burghers attesting to miracles.<sup>179</sup>

Długosz described a miracle that had happened after a finger from Stanislaus's dismembered body had fallen into a pond in front of the church at Skalka. A fish swallowed the finger and began to glow in the water, allowing the clerics to find the last remaining piece of the martyr's body. The pool of water was credited with healing power afterwards, and became a destination of many pilgrims to Skalka.<sup>180</sup> Długosz was believed to have been the first to record the miracle, but already an earlier source from the turn of the fifteenth century, which probably only recorded an earlier oral

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 32-45.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 21-22.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>178</sup> Witkowska, *Kulty*, 59.

<sup>179</sup> The rate of burghers was 72 per cent, Witkowska, *Kulty*, 156.

<sup>180</sup> Długosz, *Vita*, 73-74.

tradition, mentioned the wonder in a different context.<sup>181</sup> Already the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* and also some sermons on St. Stanislaus (or legends in sermon collections) mentioned that some of the saint's remains had been thrown into a pool of water after his body had been dismembered, not specifying which parts of his body. This tale was probably the evidence of a prior development of this legendary motif. An analogical topos, in the most developed form in Polish hagiography, and probably also the source of this motif in the legend of St. Stanislaus, is found in the life of St. Adalbert *Tempore illo* which dates to the turn of the thirteenth century.<sup>182</sup> However, Długosz probably did not adopt the motif himself, but only repeated what had been incorporated to the tradition about St. Stanislaus earlier, as he actually had done with other motifs as well. A Polish rhymed song about St. Stanislaus, which is preserved in a print from the seventeenth century but is reasonably believed to date back to the mid-fifteenth century, mentioned the same miracle.<sup>183</sup>

The miracle in its more developed form could have had important Eucharistic connotations. Rożnowska-Sadraei connected the miracle with the *utraquist* debates that had taken place in Cracow in the 1420s and 1430s.<sup>184</sup> The story was a miracle of metonymy, where a part stood for the whole: the finger had the *virtus* on its own as well. It carried implications for the relic cult too: even an incomplete saint's body or only a part of it stood for the whole and the saint was "really" present in it, like Christ in the Eucharist.<sup>185</sup> The similarity between the representation of the relics and the Eucharist, especially with respect to miracles, increased from the eleventh and twelfth centuries:

<sup>181</sup> The early account of this miracle was noticed by Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*, 365ff.) in Dominic of Prussia's *Corona gemmaria Beatae Mariae Virginis* of 1433-39, which referred to the period when the author studied at the university in Cracow in ca. 1402-1403. For more about the author, see K. J. Klinkhammer, "Des Kartausers Dominikus von Preussen (died 1461) Lied über die Schönheit der Gottes (um 1435)," *Das Münster am Hellweg. Mitteilungsblatt des Vereins für die Erhaltung des Essener Münsters* 17 (1964), 159-162 [I have not been able to check this and know it only from secondary references]; and about his treatises also Z. H. Nowak, "Kraków i jego uniwersytet w świetle wspomnień kartuzia Dominika z Prus (1384-1460)" (Cracow and Its University in the Light of the Memories of Carthusian Dominic of Prussia (1384-1460)), in *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej* (Studies from Medieval History offered to Jerzy Wyrozumski on the Sixty-fifth Birthday and the Fortieth Anniversary of Work), ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski et al. (Cracow: Secesja, 1995), 61-67. I can add that the lost finger is mentioned in the 1430s, before Długosz, also in the sermon by Nicholas of Kozłów (Sermon VIII), MS. BJ 1614, f. 79v-80r.

<sup>182</sup> Edited in *De sancto Adalberto*, in MPH 4, ed. W. Kętrzyński, 219-220. Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 481. Starnawska (*Świętych życie po życiu*, 93-96) maintained that it had been Długosz who had enriched the theme with the motif taken over from the legend of St. Adalbert. Starnawska accentuated that it was important, because the cathedral and not Skalka possessed the saint's body, to create another powerful tradition, and the sacralisation of the water pool at Skalka through the legend about the parts of the saint's body thrown into it, was effective; *ibid.*, 126-7.

<sup>183</sup> Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 477-482; see also below.

<sup>184</sup> See Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 363-371, for a discussion of the Eucharistic connotations of this miracle and of the cult of St. Stanislaus. In her view the miraculous account resembled also a vision of St. Gregory the Great concerning the bleeding finger in *Vita Sancti Gregori Magni* by Paul the Deacon, quoted, for example, by Benedict Hesse in his *Utrum eucharistie...* in the context of the debates over the complete presence, and so on.

<sup>185</sup> Arnold Angenendt, "*Corpus incorruptum*. Eine Leitidee der mittelalterlichen Reliquienverehrung," *Saeculum* 42 (1991), 335. For the theological meaning and devotional implications of the metonymy miracles, see also Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 200-209, 319-24 (hereafter Bynum, *Resurrection*).

they had similar miraculous power and features.<sup>186</sup> A number of Eucharistic miracles were built on the *pars pro toto* metaphor and asserted the doctrine of concomitance, like the miracle in the legend of St. Gregory, where a woman who doubts the Eucharist can see it as the body of Christ – which she perceives as a finger lying on the altar at the consecration.<sup>187</sup> In the same fashion, there are miracle stories in which dismembered parts survive incorrupt while remaining dismembered like the legend about the finger of St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus swallowed by a fish.<sup>188</sup> It was not an arbitrary limb of the martyr, but the blessing finger, symbolizing episcopal and priestly power, which appeared in the miracle described above.<sup>189</sup>

Like the legend about the saint's finger, numerous amplifications to the legend of St. Stanislaus, which had once been believed to have appeared in the life by Długosz for the first time, were discovered in earlier written sources, e.g. various chronicles, hagiographic fragments and abbreviations, sermons, and so on. In many cases Długosz only gathered and recorded the tradition about St. Stanislaus from various written and oral resources.

The patron of Długosz, the bishop of Cracow, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, is mentioned in several places in the *Vita* as promoting the cult of Saint Stanislaus, more precisely, building and consecrating churches at the localities of the saint's cult: in Brzeznica<sup>190</sup> and in Piotrawin. Among other features, Długosz compared Bishop Stanislaus's defence of the rights of the Church in Piotrawin to the Cardinal Oleśnicki addressing the Council of Basel in order to defend the rights of the Church against the Hussites. Zbigniew Oleśnicki was said to have used the legend of Piotrawin as an argument against the forfeit of the material property of the Church.<sup>191</sup> We cannot rule out that Zbigniew fashioned himself according to the image of Saint Stanislaus. Certainly similarities between the two bishops can be found, whether or not Zbigniew was inspired by Saint Stanislaus or Długosz as his secretary was inspired by the cardinal when writing the life of the saint. A combination of both is possible, I would argue. As can be observed from the characterisation of

<sup>186</sup> The process and the analogies discussed especially by G. C. J. Snoeck, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden-New York-Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1995), 3 and passim.

<sup>187</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, 316.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>189</sup> There are various hagiographical stories which equally accentuated the significance of priest's finger, e.g. St. Mark who allegedly cut off his finger in order to disqualify himself for the office of priesthood; "De sancto Marco," in *Legenda aurea*, 401. I would like to thank Prof. Nicole Bériou for reminding me of this aspect.

<sup>190</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 22.

<sup>191</sup> "Adstipulatur [a cardinale] et Catholica Ecclesia, quae in generali Basiliensi Concilio, contra quartum Hussitarum haeresos articulum, de temporalitate bonorum ab Ecclesia rescindenda, disputans, vivificationem et resuscitationem huiusmodi insigniter commemorat: eo inter alia vel maximo usa argumento, quod beatus Stanislaus Cracoviensis Episcopus, occupationem villagii ecclesiastici prohibitus, triennem mortuum resuscitatum duxit in testem, dogma illud pestiferum cum suis iugulavit assertoribus." *Ibid.*, 42.

both bishops, the authors certainly attempted to present them both as ideal prelates, devoted to their Church and country, *defensores ecclesiae et Regni*.<sup>192</sup>

Długosz wrote about St. Stanislaus also in his *Vitae episcoporum*, which is comprised of short biographies of Polish bishops.<sup>193</sup> The oldest of them were composed only through analogies and fiction, due to the lack of authentic sources, often limited only to the bishop's name and a date of his election or death. Of course, the good prelates are described as virtuous men, similar to Saint Stanislaus. Many of them got into controversy with the kings for the defence of their Church and people. In the dedication letter to Rudolph, Bishop of Wrocław, before the *Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, Długosz reminded the reader that, like Saint Stanislaus, many Polish bishops were persecuted by kings and princes, which harmed the monarchy.<sup>194</sup> He glorified Gedko, a twelfth-century bishop of Cracow, *animosus bonorum ecclesiae Cracoviensis defensor*, who stood against Prince Mieszko when he oppressed his subjects.<sup>195</sup> Finally, Mieszko was deposed from the throne and his brother succeeded him. Długosz wrote also about the merits of Prandota, whose cult was being revived at that time.<sup>196</sup> Here the motif of bishops' engagement for the welfare of the country appeared.

The cult of Saint Stanislaus in the second half of the fifteenth century, by that time firmly rooted in Polish society, got new support in the form of the new hagiographic works of Jan Długosz. The *vita* is a literary enterprise and a rhetorical masterpiece composed by a fervent devotee of the saint and a moralist who sought edifying examples in history. The biographical

<sup>192</sup> For biographical information, see Maria Koczerska, "Oleśnicki Zbigniew," in PSB 23, 776-784; eadem, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu (1423-1455)* (Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the Church of Cracow in the Time of His Pontificate) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004). One of the fifteenth-century biographies was Długosz' account in the *Vitae episcoporum*, 423-429. The *vita* edited in the Opera omnia was also attributed to Długosz by the editors and by Lichońska, but Koczerska did not accept it as Długosz' work: *Vita Sbignei de Oleśnica*, Opera omnia 1, 551-557 (hereafter *Vita Sbignei*); for the discussion of its authorship, see Koczerska, "Piętnastowieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego" (The Fifteenth-Century Biographies of Zbigniew Oleśnicki), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979): 11-22. Another important biography is Callimachus Phillippus, *Vita et mores Sbignei Cardinalis*, ed. Irmona Lichońska (Warsaw: PWN, 1962). All of them are similar in content, with differences in style, as Koczerska stated; either one of them was the model for the others, or they had the same source. Zbigniew Oleśnicki was regarded as an ideal bishop in a similar way. These *vitae* were not hagiographical works, but rather biographies, even humorous in places, with idealisation and glorification of Zbigniew to a certain extent. All authors were connected with the bishop.

<sup>193</sup> Joannes Długossius, *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae*, in *Opera omnia* 1, 337-556. This work comprises *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Cracoviensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Posnaniensium*, *Catalogus episcoporum Wladislaviensium*, and *Catalogus episcoporum Plocensium* (hereafter *Vitae episcoporum*).

<sup>194</sup> "Fatemur et alios Reges, proceresque nostros, cum praeter beatum Stanislaum, aliosque Poloniae Episcopos, sacerdotes et Christos Domini, in quibus etiam nonnullos Pontifices Wratislavienses in praesenri opere numerabimus, necarent, captivarent, aquis suffocarent, exiliarent, variisque afficerent iniuriis et contumelis, divinam offendisse maiestatem, thronumque Regni Poloniae coruisse." *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae (Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium)*, 441-442.

<sup>195</sup> "...predecessorem suum Stanislaum expressurus, se murum pro oppressiis et gravatis intrepidus opposuit." *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae (Catalogus episcoporum Cracoviensium)*, 394.

<sup>196</sup> "Libertatem clero omnimodam secundum Deum, iustitiam et tutelam a persecutione laicali omnimoda, et patriae liberationem studiosissime procuravit." *Ibid.*, 403.

details are taken from the earlier *vitae*, and the legend is amplified (following oral tradition and earlier sources) in several respects.

Just as the *Vita* of Vincent of Kielcza had its followers and redactors (for example, the compiler of the *Vita Tradunt*), so the *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai* by Długosz attracted the attention of other writers.<sup>197</sup> Master Stanislaus, a Franciscan Observant, compiled a life of Saint Stanislaus, which is called a *vita et sermo* in manuscript, on the basis of the *Vita* by Długosz and divided it into twelve chapters around 1483.<sup>198</sup> The work is structured in points (similar to *distinctiones*), similar to a classical *sermo modernus*. Some other abbreviations of lives, short biographies and other works in between the genre of *vita* and *sermo*, which appeared in manuscript sermon collections especially in the fifteenth century, are described in the chapter *Overview of Sermons*. Besides hagiographical works *stricto sensu* some other poetical works devoted to St. Stanislaus originated in the times of Długosz. Humanist Philip Callimach wrote *Carmen sapphicum in vitam gloriosissimi martyris s. Stanislai* between 1473 and 1480 in Cracow.<sup>199</sup>

Lives of St. Stanislaus have not been preserved in medieval vernacular translations or redactions in Old Polish, although they could have existed and they still might be found in some yet undiscovered manuscripts. A series of vernacular songs about the saints, including a song about St. Stanislaus, have been preserved. Several stanzas about the saintly Pole are extant in various manuscripts dating back to the fifteenth century, e.g. a stanza from the renowned Polish religious song *Bogurodzica*, which invokes St. Stanislaus to pray for the intercession of Mary the Mother of God.<sup>200</sup> An epic song about the life, martyrdom and miracles of St. Stanislaus, which was based on the hagiographic tradition of the saint's lives, was composed around the middle of the fifteenth century at latest.<sup>201</sup> A Hungarian translation of the legend of Stanislaus is found in the collection in

<sup>197</sup> The *Vita* by Długosz was first printed early in the sixteenth century in *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai Necnon Legendae sanctorum Poloniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Moraviae, Prussie et Silesie patronum in lombardica historia non contentae* (Cracow: Joannis Haller, 1511), and a Polish translation by Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko from the Pauline Order appeared in late sixteenth century only: *Historia o św. Stanisławie, biskupie krakowskim, patronie polskim* (The History about St. Stanislaus, the Bishop of Cracow and the Patron of Poland) (Cracow: M. Szaffenberg, 1578).

<sup>198</sup> The work is preserved in several manuscripts – BJ 4915, f. 350r-367r and Cracow, Czartoryski Library (BCzart) 3793 II, p. 1449-1478, it has not been edited, see Appendix *Register of Sermons*, Sermon Material no. LXXVII. For more details, see Chapter 3.8 below.

<sup>199</sup> Edited in K. Pawlowski, "Pierwszy manifest poezji humanistycznej w Polsce" (The First Manifesto of Humanist Poetry in Poland), *AC* 18 (1986), 443-463; also H. Kowalewicz, "Rekonstrukcja pierwotnej wersji mało znanego poematu Filipa Kallimacha" (A Reconstruction of the Original Version of a Little-Known Poem by Philip Callimach), in *Eos* 60 (1972), 319-331. The poem was published in print in Cracow (Haller) between 1514 and 1522 (Pawlowski, "Pierwszy manifest," 451).

<sup>200</sup> Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 477.

<sup>201</sup> Basic information and description of the content is found in Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 477-482. A fragment of the text is extant in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences MS. 801; the miscellany originated in the university milieu in Cracow and then belonged to the library of the Benedictines at Lysa Góra. A later print from the seventeenth century contained a much longer text of the same song, which probably reflected the earlier fifteenth-century composition; *ibid.*, 478.

the Érdy codex from 1526.<sup>202</sup> Some further traces of medieval vernacular translations and written tradition pertaining to St. Stanislaus (including an Old-Czech redaction of a sermon by Peregrinus) are discussed in the following chapters on sermons.

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<sup>202</sup> The legend is dated by the colophone at its end to the year of the battle of Mohács (as 1527 in the MS.). The catalogue description of the codex accessible on the website of the *Sermones compilati* <http://sermones.elte.hu/erdy/>, where the life is listed under no. 79, an the old nineteenth-century edition in *Nyelvveléktár: Régi magyar kódexek és nyomtatványok*, vol. 4, ed. György Volf (Budapest: M.T. Akadémia Könyvkiadó, 1874-1908), 427-436; and an article of Miklós István Tóth, “Szent Szaniszló Magyarországi tisztelete és az Érdy-kódex Szent Szaniszló-legendája” (The Cult of Stanislaus in Hungary and His Legend in the Érdy Codex) at [http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=319tan\\_plaus\\_tothmiklos](http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=319tan_plaus_tothmiklos). The source of the legend was the collection *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica Historia non contentae*.



## 1.2 Saint Stanislaus in Liturgical Texts

A rich repertory of liturgical compositions for the feasts of St. Stanislaus of Cracow spread during the Middle Ages. They drew mostly on the hagiography. Feasts of major importance had a large number of proper texts and chants (i.e. those prescribed and composed particularly for those feasts). St. Stanislaus enjoyed quite a high quantity of proper liturgical texts and compositions, including a rhymed office, chants such as sequences and hymns, and prayers. Like hagiographical works, the wide range of common and proper texts formed and reinforced the image of the saint as a martyr, a good shepherd, an intercessor, and a *patronus*.

Liturgical texts, the ones used in the liturgy of the mass on the saint's feast and also the ones used outside the mass during the liturgy of hours, were very closely connected to sermons and influenced preachers and authors of sermons in the selection of *themata* and topics for preaching on the feasts of St. Stanislaus. One cannot forget that most of preaching on the saint happened in the liturgical context of masses and ceremonies.

### 1.2.1 Mass formulary<sup>203</sup>

The mass, like liturgy in general, encompassed a wide range of forms, both textual and musical. The overall structure of the mass remained stable throughout the year. Variable parts, either proper or common, were selected according to the occasion.<sup>204</sup> Mostly proper items were used for masses on feasts. Only the more important feasts consisted entirely of propers. Many items were drawn from the Common, which contained items arranged according to the type of the saint. The Common of saints in liturgical books usually offered several options for particular items of the mass.<sup>205</sup> Mass formulary contains various items: priest's prayers, biblical readings (lessons and gospel), chants (antiphons for introit, offertory and communion – regularly Biblical), chants

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<sup>203</sup> The mass formularies for both feasts of St. Stanislaus are reconstructed and analysed above all in the following two works: Waław Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława biskupa na Śląsku w świetle średniowiecznych rękopisów liturgicznych* (The Liturgical Cult of Saint Stanislaus in Silesia in the Light of Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts) (Lublin: Nakładem Towarzystwa naukowego KUL, 1959), 55-71; and Stanisław Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Krakowie do Soboru Trydenckiego* (The Cult of St. Stanislaus in Cracow until the Council of Trent) (Cracow: Papieski Wydział Teologiczny w Krakowie, 1979), 42-53 on the basis of Cracow manuscripts used in the cathedral. Schenk compiled a catalogue of texts used for both feasts in his "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce" (The Liturgical Cult of St. Stanislaus the Bishop in Poland), *AC 11* (1979), 592-597.

<sup>204</sup> A comprehensive study of mass is found in Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Herder Verlag, 1958). A general summary of mass structure can be found in the study of Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 81ff. For Proper and Common, see *ibid.*, 44ff.

<sup>205</sup> Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 154-155; for classes of saints in the Common, see pages 155-156.

between readings (gradual and Alleluia verse – usually from Psalms, and a typical medieval genre of sequence or prose).<sup>206</sup>

Medieval mass formularies for the feasts of St. Stanislaus were quite diverse, with the relatively constant presence of some liturgical prayers and chants. Liturgical practice became standardized only after the Council of Trent. Proper texts for the mass of St. Stanislaus (for his *natalis* and *translatio* feasts) included prayers like the collect (*oratio collecta*),<sup>207</sup> the secret (*oratio secreta* or *oratio super oblata*) and the post-communion (*postcommunio*) prayers,<sup>208</sup> and also chants like sequences, Alleluia verses, etc. Most of them were of local Cracovian origin.<sup>209</sup> Out of the proper texts, perhaps the oldest prayer the *Populum tuum*, a collect of the mass of St. Stanislaus, was ascribed to Pope Innocent IV and allegedly used at the canonisation mass.<sup>210</sup>

Various parts of the mass formulary for the feasts of St. Stanislaus were taken from the common texts (of a martyr,<sup>211</sup> of a confessor, of apostles). The *Commune Sanctorum* provided liturgical prescriptions for specific categories of saints (like apostles, martyrs, virgins) in cases when there were no proper liturgical texts composed for a saint or when the texts recommended for a particular saint were recurrent on the feasts of other saints of the same category.<sup>212</sup> The type of sanctity that St. Stanislaus represented conformed most with the categories of the *Commune Unius Martyris* and *Commune Confessoris Pontificis*, depending on which aspect of his figure was accentuated.

It has been hypothesized that the mass formulary for St. Thomas Becket was used for St. Stanislaus' feasts after his canonisation but before proper liturgical texts had been composed. These assumptions were based mainly on a statute of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order from 1255, which, reacting to a certain petition of Prandota, Bishop of Cracow, prescribed that the feast of St. Stanislaus in Cistercian houses in Poland be done “in all ways as that of Thomas of

<sup>206</sup> For various items of the liturgy of the mass and their characteristic, see the following: Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 81ff.; for mass books, 124ff. (graduals, missals, etc.), on the sanctorale and the common of saints (as found in mass books), 153-156; Wojciech Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha na ziemiach polskich w świetle przedtrydenckich ksiąg liturgicznych* (The Cult of St. Wojciech in the Polish Territories in the Light of Pre-Trident Liturgical Books) (Lublin: KUL, 1997), 67-163, especially a general summary on pages 67-72.

<sup>207</sup> For collect, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 84-85.

<sup>208</sup> For secret and offertory chant, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 87-88, for communion chant and post-communion prayers, 92-93.

<sup>209</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 42.

<sup>210</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 142: “Orationem insuper de prefato sancto Stanislao tangens in ea ipsius sanctitatis gloriosa merita edidit et per se publica pronunciavit, que incipit: Populum tuum quesumus domine intercedente beato Stanislao.” The text of the prayer in Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 176 and Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 56. A certain unnamed proper collect prayer instituted by Pope is mentioned in a Cistercian General Chapter statute from 1255, which is mentioned below.

<sup>211</sup> For *Commune Sanctorum* and *Commune Unius Martyris* in Poland before the Council of Trent, see Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 69-71 and passim for the particular elements.

<sup>212</sup> Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 153-156.

Canterbury is wont to be said, except for the collects, which are those appointed by the pope.”<sup>213</sup> The statute was, however, granted far greater weight and impact that it actually had had. The cross-reference to St. Thomas made sense in Cistercian circles and acknowledged that both saints were martyr-bishops. However, Schenk demonstrated that from the beginning the mass of St. Stanislaus was modeled rather on the common texts and on the selection of the texts for the feast of St. Adalbert, who was a more natural model in Polish areas, where the feast of St. Thomas Becket had rather low profile.<sup>214</sup>

Scriptural readings were chosen with the aim of connecting the individual saint with models of conduct and sainthood present in Bible. The first reading was normally a fragment of an epistle, occasionally an extract of the Acts of the Apostles; only in Lenten periods was it drawn from the Old Testament.<sup>215</sup> Lessons were usually taken from the common of a martyr or the common of a confessor-bishop. In some cases readings from the common of a martyr were chosen:<sup>216</sup> *Iustus si morte preoccupatus* [Sap 4, 7-15] – for May feast, *Beatus vir qui inventus est sine macula* [Sir 31, 8-11] – for both feasts; and also rarely used for both feasts *Beatus vir qui in sapientia morabitur* [Sir 14, 22-27] from the common of a martyr-bishop. Other possible readings underscored the status of St. Stanislaus as a high priest, a bishop. The passage *Ecce sacerdos magnus* [Sir 44, 14-27, 45, 3-20 – interpolated with Sir 50,1]<sup>217</sup> from the common of a confessor-bishop was used for May feast, most often in Silesian codices.

The following two alternative readings from the common of a confessor-bishop (*commune confessoris pontificis*) came to be used frequently. The lesson *Ecce sacerdos magnus* [Sir 50, 1-12

<sup>213</sup> The Cistercian General Chapter statute from 1255: “Petitio domini episcopi cracoviensis exauditur in hunc modum, ut festum beati Stanislai pontificis et martyris cuius vitae meritis gloriosae Ecclesia sancta miraculis multiplicibus honoratur cum duodecim lectionibus et duabus missis fiat per totam Poloniam in domibus ordinis nostri et de eo **fiat per omnia sicut de beato Thoma Cantuariensi** fieri consuevit **hoc excepto quod collectae dicantur de eo quas dominus Papa dandas instituit et mandavit.**” *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. Josephus M. Canivez, vol. 2 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique, 1934), 420 [emphasis mine]. The translation of the fragment after Hughes, “Chants of St. Thomas and Stanislaus,” in *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis* 6 (1982), 269. The hypothesis of dependance on the liturgy of Thomas Becket was formed in Borawska, *Z dziejów*, 24. For the cult of St. Stanislaus in Cistercian Order, see the chapter *Places of Cult*.

<sup>214</sup> Schenk, “Zagadnienie zależności kultu św. Stanisława biskupa od kultu św. Tomasza Kantuaryjskiego w świetle ślaskich rękopisów liturgicznych” (The Dependence of the Cult of Saint Stanislaus on the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket in the Light of the Silesian Liturgical Manuscripts), *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 4 (1957), 73-85; Idem, *Kult liturgiczny*, 70-71, 116. Silesian manuscripts from 1260-1300 had for May 8: *Stanislai martyris totum de sancto Adalberto*; *ibid.*, 63, fn. 85. Schenk’s explication is accepted by Waław Uruszczak, “Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket en Pologne (XIIIe-XIIIe siècles),” in *Thomas Becket, Actes du Colloque International de Sédicières*, 19-24 août 1973, ed. Raymonde Foreville (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975), 117. Later on Hughes showed that Cistercians had not borrowed from St. Thomas’ office, especially with regard to breviary office, “Chants of St. Thomas and Stanislaus,” 267-277.

<sup>215</sup> Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 85.

<sup>216</sup> Biblical readings (lessons and gospels) prescribed in the *commune unius martyris* in printed *Missale Gnesnense* from 1523 and *Missale Cracoviense* from 1509 in Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 108-109. The *capitulum* in breviary could be the the same as the Biblical lesson. All the following readings are represented also in the liturgy of St. Adalbert.

<sup>217</sup> An explanation of the interpolated biblical verse: a good discussion of the problem is found at the “Ritualist” blog from February 29, 2008 at the website <http://rubricsandritual.blogspot.com/2008/02/interpolations-in-traditional-catholic.html>, accessed on April 17, 2009.

or 1-8] applied the praise of high priest Simon, son of Onias, to St. Stanislaus, who took care of the sanctuary, i.e. his Church, and defended his people. The reading had become the most popular choice for both feasts of St. Stanislaus already before the mid-fifteenth century. Schenk thought that it had been typical of Wrocław liturgical tradition, where it became obligatory for the feast of St. Adalbert.<sup>218</sup> Another reading, which was taken from the Hebrews, *Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus* [Heb 5, 1-6] compared St. Stanislaus to Aaron, a high priest elected by God himself. From the second half of the fifteenth century it became the only text used as a lesson for the feasts of St. Stanislaus.<sup>219</sup> Dziwisz mentioned three readings for the feasts of St. Stanislaus present in Cracow codices: the first two - *Omnis pontifex* and *Ecce sacerdos magnus* [Sir 50, 1-12] – were used for both feasts; and the passage beginning with the words *Iustum deduxit* [Sap 10, 10-14] from the common of a confessor appeared in manuscripts for May feast.<sup>220</sup>

The most frequently used gospel reading (pericope) for the feasts of St. Stanislaus was the passage on the Good Shepherd from the Gospel of John. The pericope beginning with the verse *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Jn 10,11-16] was prescribed for the Second Easter Sunday (identical with the First Sunday after Easter octave) in the liturgical cycle of the year.<sup>221</sup> In the course of the fourteenth century this pericope was introduced as a new gospel reading into the mass formulary proper for the feast of martyrdom of St. Stanislaus on May 8. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards it is documented for St. Stanislaus in most of the liturgical books. It had gradually overshadowed all other gospel texts. The same gospel pericope was also used for the feast of translation (September 27).<sup>222</sup>

Schenk maintained, on the basis of his overview of liturgical manuscripts from Silesia, that, before the pericope about the Good Shepherd came to be used widely, the gospel reading, similarly to other mass items, was often taken from the liturgy for St. Adalbert, also a martyr-bishop.<sup>223</sup> Two frequent passages were *Nisi granum frumenti* [Jn 12,24-26] and *Ego sum vitis vera, vos palmites* [Jn 15,5-11], both reserved for a martyr.<sup>224</sup> In a way, the change marked a shift of emphasis from Stanislaus' quality as a martyr towards his capacity of a bishop. Schenk thought that the introduction of this particular Johannine gospel pericope into the mass formularies of St. Stanislaus

<sup>218</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 57, 68; Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 111-112.

<sup>219</sup> Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce," 583, 586.

<sup>220</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 44, 49. Danielski maintained that the third lesson represented Prague tradition; in case of St. Adalbert it was used in Prague and Olomouc, Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 114.

<sup>221</sup> Mary O'Carroll, "The Lectionary for the proper of the year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the thirteenth century," *AFP* 49 (1979): 79-103.

<sup>222</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 63, and for the feast of translation 69. Schenk found out that the change had happened at places already in the first half of the fourteenth century, which was documented in all Wrocław missals from around 1330 and in the Cistercian liturgy from the fourteenth century. He also assumed the same development in other Polish dioceses, including Cracow.

<sup>223</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 63, 70-71.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

marked the process of gaining autonomy in the liturgy, especially from the liturgical readings for St. Adalbert and from the common of a martyr, or of a martyr-bishop.<sup>225</sup> However, Danielski demonstrated that this Johannine gospel passage had been used also for the feast of St. Adalbert in the dioceses of Gniezno and Wrocław around 1300 at latest; thus, the sources did not allow us to date its use for St. Stanislaus prior to St. Adalbert.<sup>226</sup> Still, at least in the diocese of Cracow, and partially also in Silesia, the passage *Ego sum pastor bonus* dominated among the gospel readings for St. Stanislaus, while it had not become popular for St. Adalbert there, and it had not been introduced for St. Adalbert's *natalis* feast in Cracow until the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>227</sup>

This pericope was clearly especially fitting for the feast of a martyr-bishop, thanks to its depiction of Christ-like good shepherd who gave his life for his flock.<sup>228</sup> For example, it was also frequently used in the liturgy (and as a result in sermons) of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>229</sup> Not only did both Stanislaus and Adalbert represent the same type of sainthood, their *natalis* feasts were divided only by a fortnight. St. Adalbert's feast (April 23) could often fall into the Paschaltide and Stanislaus' feast (May 8) was always celebrated after Easter. Moreover, sometimes one of them could coincide with the Second Easter Sunday in the cycle of the year, for which this gospel passage was originally prescribed.<sup>230</sup> A bishop who gave his life for his sheep like Christ was clearly an appropriate Easter topic.

Other passages were used rather rarely once the pericope *Ego sum pastor bonus* had found its way to the mass formulary: *Nisi granum frumenti* [Jn 12,24-26] – used for both feasts<sup>231</sup> and *Ego sum vitis vera, vos palmites* [Jn 15,5-11] – from the common of more martyrs in Easter period used for May feast,<sup>232</sup> both reserved for a martyr,<sup>233</sup> and *Si quis vult venire post me* – used for September

<sup>225</sup> Schenk, "Zagadnienie," 85.

<sup>226</sup> Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 118-120. The oldest preserved missal of Gniezno from around 1300 prescribed for both feasts of St. Adalbert the gospel passage *Ego sum pastor bonus*; it was obligatory in the diocese of Gniezno (and also present in early liturgical books of Wrocław and Poznań).

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>228</sup> This fact was not taken into consideration by Schenk, "Zagadnienie," 73-85; and *Idem*, *Kult liturgiczny*, 70-71, 116. He rather emphasised only that the gospel was taken from the Second Easter Sunday.

<sup>229</sup> For the use of this pericope in the liturgy of Thomas Becket's feast, see e.g. "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket," ed. and transl. Sherry Reames, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York-London: Garland Publishers, 2000), 561-593. For its use as a *thema* in sermons on St. Thomas Becket, see Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Traditions: An Inventory*, nos. 19-30 and 48-53. More details on use in sermons below in this thesis. The image of the Good Shepherd was also one of the prominent images according to an analysis of the liturgical texts devoted to Becket by Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

<sup>230</sup> The feast of St. Stanislaus fell on the Second Easter Sunday in the years 1261, 1272 and 1356; the feast fell on Saturday before the Second Easter Sunday in 1451; and quite many times it fell on a day within a week (octave) after the Second Easter Sunday.

<sup>231</sup> Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce," 584, 597.

<sup>232</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 45. Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce," 584.

<sup>233</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 63.

feast.<sup>234</sup> All Cracow codices reviewed by Dziwisz had *Ego sum pastor bonus* prescribed for the translation feast.<sup>235</sup>

A more detailed chronological-geographical study of manuscript liturgical books should be undertaken in order to specify which lections, when and in which religious communities (dioceses, orders) were introduced and used for St. Stanislaus. Although the studies of Schenk and Dziwisz are invaluable, an equally thorough analysis of liturgical sources – such as Danielski has accomplished for liturgical cult of St. Adalbert in Polish dioceses – remains to be desired.

The *natalis* feast of St. Stanislaus of Cracow on May 8 fell into the period after Easter. As a result liturgical texts from the common of a martyr especially determined for the Easter period were selected for this feast. They connected martyr qualities with the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. This was one of the reasons why the texts chosen for the feast of the martyrdom differed in some cases from those employed for the feast of the translation in September. Still, the translation feast's liturgy sometimes took over some of the special Paschaltide texts, which were originally determined for the May feast only.

The first reading of the mass was followed by two musical items – usually it was a gradual and an alleluia.<sup>236</sup> A widespread alleluia verse for the feast of St. Stanislaus confirmed the accent on good shepherd, which appeared also in the choice of the Johannine gospel pericope: *Alleluia. Surrexit pastor bonus, qui posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis, et pro grege suo mori dignatus est.* Popular choices of gradual for feasts of St. Stanislaus *Posuisti Domine etc.* from the common of a martyr and *Magna est gloria etc.* were used as *themata* of sermons.

Sequence (or prose) is a special genre of chants between mass readings, which almost completely disappeared after the liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent. They are metrical, stanzaic and rhymed.<sup>237</sup> Out of all elements of the mass formulary for the feast of a saint, several stanzas of the sequence provided the most generous space and the best opportunity to present specific information about the saint. Sequences used to start with the saint's invocation, followed by a brief description of his life and merits and closed with a prayer. Thus, sequences transmitted the hagiographic content usually based on the saint's life further within the context of the holy mass, in a context similar to sermons in some respects. The sequence also expressed the community's relation towards the saint, who was often presented as its patron in Heaven. As many as thirteen

<sup>234</sup> Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce," 597.

<sup>235</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 51.

<sup>236</sup> For use of various musical items (gradual, alleluia, tract) in different periods of liturgical year and their characteristic, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 85-86. [For example, in Easter period (but not Easter week), the gradual is replaced by an alleluia, so there are two alleluias; gradual-alleluia combination in Easter week and the remainder of the year.]

<sup>237</sup> For a definition of the sequence, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 38.

sequences about St. Stanislaus originated in the Middle Ages.<sup>238</sup> Probably the oldest sequence *Jesu Christe, rex superne* has been preserved in more than one hundred copies.<sup>239</sup> Another early composition is the prose *Leta mundus*.<sup>240</sup> Both these sequences were ascribed to Vincent of Kielcza, the author of the life and most probably also of breviary *historia* of St. Stanislaus. Most sequences are anonymous, like *Laudes Dei Cracovia* from the fourteenth century.<sup>241</sup> The authors of several sequences have been identified, for example Adam Świnka from Zielona (died 1433) composed *Psallat poli hierarchia*,<sup>242</sup> or Stanisław Ciolek (died 1437) wrote *Pastor gregis egregius*.<sup>243</sup> Most of the sequences originated in Cracow, but some pieces are of Bohemian origin: *Letabundus psallat mundus* for Sts. Stanislaus and Wenceslas was composed in Olomouc in the fourteenth century.<sup>244</sup> In the fifteenth century another sequence, *Sit iocundus totus mundus*, which was not known in Poland, originated in Olomouc.<sup>245</sup> The Bohemian prose *Letabundus plaudat mundus*, known also from some Silesian manuscripts, is in terms of its content a reworked version of the popular sequence *Laudes Dei Cracovia*.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>238</sup> They were edited in *Cantica medii aevi Polono-Latina*, t. 1, *Sequentiae*, ed. Henryk Kowalewicz (Warsaw: PWN, 1964), nos. 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 39, 41, 42, 43, 78, 85, 86 (hereafter *Cantica*). H. Kowalewicz re-edited and described them also in his “Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki o świętym Stanisławie” (The Monuments of Medieval Lyrics about St. Stanislaus), *AC* 11 (1979), 235-248. They were reprinted (with corrections on the basis of Cracow codices) in *Aneks II* (Appendix II) in Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 139-151.

<sup>239</sup> *Cantica*, no. 5, 17. A short description in Jerzy Józef Kopec, “Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*, w tekstach liturgii średniowiecznej” (St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, *Pater Patriae*, in Medieval Liturgical Texts), in *Św. Stanisław w życiu kościoła w Polsce. 750-lecie kanonizacji* (St. Stanislaus in the Life of the Church in Poland. 750th Anniversary of Canonisation), ed. Napiórkowski (Cracow: Skalka, 2003), 194; Kowalewicz, “Zabytki,” 236-7.

<sup>240</sup> *Cantica*, no. 4, 16-17.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 10, 28-30; Kowalewicz, “Zabytki,” 237-8.

<sup>242</sup> *Cantica*, no. 39, 57-8; Kowalewicz, “Zabytki,” 241-242; Kopec, “Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*,” 194-5.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>244</sup> *Cantica*, no. 12, 30-31.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 78, 91.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 11 and 10, respectively, 28-30; Kowalewicz, “Zabytki,” 237-240; Kopec, “Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*,” 195.

## 1.2.2 Breviary office

Before a proper (meaning not common) breviary office, a *historia rhythmica*, had been composed for the feasts of St. Stanislaus (and even before the first *Vita* had been written), some texts from the common (*de uno martyre et pontifice*) were used for his feasts. Only the prayer *Populum tuum* (a collect of the mass of St. Stanislaus) and the gospel (*Ego sum pastor bonus*) were added to the texts from the common.<sup>247</sup> The earliest preserved manuscript breviaries from Cracow date to the late fourteenth century and thus they do not inform us about the earlier period of the cult, so earlier liturgical books from Silesia and from abroad, i.e. from the papal chapel from shortly after the canonisation, or from Sankt Florian from the fourteenth century, are very precious.

The text of the bull of canonisation of St. Stanislaus may have been used for breviary lessons. A Roman legendary (dated to 1254-55, with pages added 1261-64) contained, among others, lessons for the saints canonised in the thirteenth century, from the pontificate of Innocent III to Urban IV, including St. Stanislaus of Cracow. The lessons for the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus (*In natali sancti Stanislai pontificis et martyris*) were added somewhat later – two folios inserted for April 11, and an indication of the feast was also inserted in the calendar. These lessons were based neither on Master Vincent's Chronicle, nor on the *Vita*, but on the bull of canonisation, copying the canonisation bull (*Olim a gentiliū... without conclusion, finishing at the point: ... et possidere perpetuo gloriatur.*) and adding several lyric phrases as a conclusion (*Gaudeat itaque mater ecclesia...*).<sup>248</sup> David inferred that the text had originated in Cracow and then travelled to Rome based on the identification of St. Stanislaus as the patron in the conclusion of the lessons. David also argued that the canonisation bull (*Olim a gentiliū*) together with the conclusion could have been used for liturgical lessons in Cracow in the period after the canonisation until the *Vita* (i.e. *Vita maior*) and the liturgical texts, including the breviary office and the lessons based on the *Vita*, were composed (probably by Vincent of Kielcza) and came into usage.<sup>249</sup> David emphasised that the bull was carefully copied and punctuated, marking rhythmical pauses rather than logical ones, so as to

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<sup>247</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 63; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 76-77 and also footnotes 25-28 provide examples of prescriptions for the breviary office of St. Stanislaus in breviary and antiphonal manuscripts, before the proper office was composed.

<sup>248</sup> Pierre David, *Un légendier romain du temps d'Innocent IV et d'Urban IV* (Paris: A. Picard, 1936), 11, 17-20, transcribed by David on pages 21-25. The legendary is preserved in the MS. Paris, BN Lat. 755, the lessons for the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus in f. 214-215. For the canonisation bull and its edition, see the chapter 1.1.2, and esp. fn. 42. For the connection of the legendary with the bull of canonisation, see *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 507 and fn. 454, where the last part identified as coming from the canonisation documents of St. Clare (i.e. from before autumn 1256).

<sup>249</sup> David, *Un légendier romain*, 19. The practice of parts of canonisation bull read aloud and used for breviary "lectiones" has been noted also by George Ferzoco, "Preaching, Canonization and New Cults in the Later Middle Ages," in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 303, with an example of the bull of canonisation of St. Peter of Morrone.



be read aloud. The text started with the headline *Lectio I*, but the beginnings of other lessons were not marked in the text.<sup>250</sup>

Rhymed offices, called *historia* in the Middle Ages, transmitted important passages and information about a saint and formed the saint's image. They drew on the hagiographic works, but they were not simply rhymed variants of the saints' lives. Rhymed office is a cycle of lyric compositions designed to be sung outside the holy mass, during the liturgy of hours. The cycle commented on selected narrative passages or images from the saint's life in a lyric way with focus on praise of the saint and prayer invoking his aid.<sup>251</sup> The composition of the office followed the order of the liturgical hours of breviary: first vespers, matins, lauds and second vespers. A special regime was employed when two feasts coincided, i.e. the feast's office with vespers of another feast.<sup>252</sup> Poetic parts of the office were intersected with prosaic texts like psalms and Biblical readings. Chants were of various genres: hymns, antiphons and responsories.

The breviary office proper, called *Dies adest celebris* after its beginning words, was composed probably shortly after the canonisation.<sup>253</sup> Długosz ascribed its authorship to Vincent of Kielcza, the Dominican author of the *Vita*.<sup>254</sup> The office most probably came from the Dominican

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<sup>250</sup> David, *Un légendier romain*, 21.

<sup>251</sup> Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 231. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 73-76. For more on breviary office for saints' feasts in general, its regular composition, but also for the common of a martyr, and office texts depending on mass texts, see Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 166-182. For breviary offices in general (structure, content, practice, etc.), see Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts*, 50ff., also 14-19 for development and description of a liturgical day; for office books (antiphonals, breviaries, psalter and hymnal), 160ff.

<sup>252</sup> For second vespers on September feast of St. Stanislaus first vespers from the following day's feast of St. Wenceslas (September 29) were sometimes read. Alternatively, double vespers could be read in such case, or the saint could be simply commemorated in other saint's vespers. Similarly, on May feast of St. Stanislaus a commemoration of Resurrection or Ascension could be added in Lauds, or a commemoration of St. Stanislaus was included in second vespers of St. Michael's feast (May 9 at some places). Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 97 and 102.

<sup>253</sup> The office was first edited by Kętrzyński (MPH 4, 355-362), who did not differentiate its particular parts. Some parts were edited in Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1889): 223-226 [with some hymns in vol. 4 (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1888): 236-238.] A modern edition is found in Kowalewicz, "Zabytki," 227-232. Schenk analysed not only the rhymed office, but the breviary office as a whole – on the basis of Silesian manuscripts (and compared them with some manuscripts from Cracow, Gniezno and Poznań dioceses) in his *Kult liturgiczny*, pages 81-101 for September feast, and 101-102 for May feast. Dziwisz published proper texts together with most frequent breviary lessons from Cracow diocese in his *Kult św. Stanisława*, pages 70-88 for September feast, and 89-95 for May feast. Other breviary lessons from manuscripts from the diocese of Cracow in his *Appendix IV*, *ibid.*, 157-174. Szymonik edited and analysed the office from musicologist viewpoint and also described some antiphonals, i.e. the manuscripts containing the text as well as melody of the office, which contained the rhymed office *Dies adest celebris* and the hymn *Gaude Mater Polonia*; Kazimierz Szymonik, *Oficjum rymowane o św. Stanisławie. Dies adest celebris i hymn Gaude mater Polonia w polskich antyfonarzach przedtrydenckich. Studium muzykologiczne* (The Rhymed Office about St. Stanislaus. *Dies adest celebris* and Hymn *Gaude mater Polonia* in Polish Pre-Trident Antiphonals) (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1996). The office has been reprinted by Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Texts* (Subsidia Mediaevalia 23; Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994), also available at the website of the joint project of the database of liturgical offices CANTUS and LMLO (Late Medieval Liturgical Offices) [http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS\\_index.htm](http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm) (accessed on January 8, 2009).

<sup>254</sup> Długossius, *Liber Beneficiorum*, vol. 3, Opera omnia 9, 447-8: "Sed et **frater Wincentius de Kelcze**, de ordine predicatorum nullatenus negligendus..., qui martyre beato Stanislao canonisato, et vitae illius historiam et **ad singulas horas nocturnas et diurnas in honorem eius ab ecclesia explendas, legendas, et canticas suavi et spectabili modulatione ... primus composuit et descripsit, et altissimus cantibus et praeconiis suis suapte steupendam atque admirandam insigniter nobilitavit proprium decus quilibet officio, cuilibet responsorio et antiphonae... adiecit."**

milieu.<sup>255</sup> The oldest manuscript copy of the office *Dies adest celebris* is found in the breviary of the collegiate chapter of Głogów in Silesia from 1362. Earlier Silesian breviaries before the mid-fourteenth century used an office from the *commune sanctorum*.<sup>256</sup> The office was first used by the Dominicans and only Bishop Nanker directed that the secular clergy in the Cracow and Wrocław dioceses observe the office. The office *Dies adest celebris* spread quite widely and is found in manuscripts from various Polish dioceses, but also in breviaries and antiphonals from various places, e.g. Prague, Spiš region in today's Slovakia, Sankt Florian, etc.).<sup>257</sup>

The office was composed originally for the feast of the translation of St. Stanislaus (September 27), because the matins had 9 antiphons and 9 responsories (each hour three antiphons, etc.). The office for the martyrdom feast, which fell into the Easter period, would have only 3 antiphons, psalms, lessons and responsories, corresponding to one nocturn prescribed in Eastertide. The May office is thus only an abridged version of the office for the translation feast (with only 1 nocturn and possibly with lessons and hymns used specially for the Easter period).<sup>258</sup>

The rhymed office was based on the *Vita (Vita maior)* of St. Stanislaus.<sup>259</sup> The first antiphon *Dies adest celebris* was an invitation to celebrate the feast of St. Stanislaus. The following vesper antiphons described the saint's life from childhood to episcopal election, depicting his virtues. Matin antiphons and responsories describe Stanislaus as the defender of the people and of the moral law, which the king oppressed. The bishop suffers death at the hand of the king. His martyrdom is followed by miracles that happened at the grave of the saint.<sup>260</sup> The last responsory of the second nocturn (of first vespers) *Pastor cadit in gregis medio* was probably modeled on a fragment of the office of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the *Magnificat* antiphon *Pastor caesus in gregis medio*.<sup>261</sup>

*Gaude mater Polonia*, the most widespread hymn about St. Stanislaus, belonged to the office and was sung after the first vespers.<sup>262</sup> Ten stanzas first invite to celebrate the local saint, then the hymn describes his courage in opposing the king and his martyrdom. The hymn mentioned the legend about the miraculous reintegration of his body and promoted the martyr's intercessory

<sup>255</sup> Schenk named several offices of Dominican origin beginning with *Adest dies celebris*: the office of St. Peter the Martyr, the office of St. Dominic and later office of St. Hyacinth. The office of St. Peter the Martyr could have served as a model for the author of the *historia* of St. Stanislaus. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 83.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, *Kult liturgiczny*, 104-105. Kopeć, "Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*," 196.

<sup>258</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 81, 102.

<sup>259</sup> Schenk noted the allusions to the *Vita maior* and scriptural texts, *ibid.*, 79-80 and in the edition of the text, 81-101.

<sup>260</sup> A short summary of the office in Michalowska, *Średniowiecze*, 231-233; Kopeć, "Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*," 196-7; and in English in Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 82-84.

<sup>261</sup> "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket," ed. and transl. Sherry Reames, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York-London: Garland Publishers, 2000), 561-593; this fragment on page 566. Michalowska noticed the parallel in her *Średniowiecze*, 234. For more about the offices of St. Thomas Becket, see the studies of Hughes, "Chants of St. Thomas and Stanislaus," 267-277. The offices of St. Thomas have been analysed from various aspects, see especially the recent study by Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118-170.

<sup>262</sup> The hymn is published in the following works: Kowalewicz, "Zabytki," 226; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 81-2; Szymonik, *Oficjum rymowane*, 155ff. An English summary in Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 83.

powers. The hymn was originally meant only for the translation feast, but came to be used also for the May feast in the fifteenth century. It is only very rarely found in Silesian manuscripts.<sup>263</sup> A fifteenth-century commentary of the hymn *Gaude mater Polonia* is extant in a couple of manuscripts.<sup>264</sup>

The choice of Biblical readings during the breviary office hours often resembles the mass formulary for the saint. The reading in the first vespers, which was a well-known passage from the texts of the mass of St. Stanislaus taken from the Book of Sirach *Ecce pontifex sanctus qui in vita sua roboravit templum...in fine passionis sue* [Sir 50, 1-8], was a *capitulum* proper to the office of the feasts of St. Stanislaus (meaning: not from the common). It was used also in the office of St. Adalbert.<sup>265</sup> Other *capitula* for the first vespers in Cracow breviaries were taken from the common: *Omnis pontifex* [Heb 5, 1] and *Ecce sacerdos magnus* [Sir 44, 16-17].<sup>266</sup> Responsory verses took inspiration from biblical readings (for example, a responsory verse from the common of a martyr used in the second nocturn: *V. Posuisti Domine super caput eius. R. Coronam de lapide precioso* [Ps 20, 4]).<sup>267</sup> More biblical readings occurred during the “small hours,” i.e. breviary hours during the day (for example, for the *tercia*: *Justus si morte preoccupatus* [Sap 4, 7-8], or for the *nona*: *Quasi stella matutina* [Sir 50, 6-7]).<sup>268</sup> For the matins on the feast of martyrdom, breviaries prescribed a reading from the gospel *Ego sum pastor bonus* from the Second Easter Sunday (or alternatively a reading from the *vita*).<sup>269</sup>

The rhymed text of the *historia* was supplemented with unrhymed lessons on the saint in nocturns. Lessons for the first two nocturns were proper from the *vita*; lessons of the third nocturn, a homily on *Ego sum pastor bonus* (by Pope Gregory the Great), were borrowed from Second Sunday after Easter.<sup>270</sup> There were altogether six (or rarely nine) readings from the saint’s legend during hours on the feast of the translation of St. Stanislaus (corresponding to three prescribed nocturns); while only three lessons were read on his feast of martyrdom (corresponding to the only nocturn prescribed in Paschaltide). The choice of the fragments from the life was open, and the

<sup>263</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 86-87. Schenk maintained that it did not appear in Silesian codices because of different liturgical tradition of the region, not because of political reasons, *ibid.*, 87-89.

<sup>264</sup> Dziwisz published the commentary on the basis of a manuscript of Cracow Augustinians preserved in Cracow, BJ 150/154, f. 132r-v in his *Kult św. Stanisława* in *Aneks (Appendix) III*, 153-4 in Latin, and its Polish translation 154-5. A later copy of the commentary was known to Schenk from an *expositio hymnorum* from 1444, Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 87, footnote 76; Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 67.

<sup>265</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 85.

<sup>266</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 66.

<sup>267</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 95.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>269</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 92; Cf. the reading also for St. Adalbert, see Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 181.

<sup>270</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 68. The Matins readings on saints in Polish breviaries used to be in this order: first and second Nocturn – legends about the saint (3 readings each), third Nocturn – either readings from the *vita* (only rarely) or a homily on gospel from the Church Fathers (3 readings); Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 169 and footnote 13. Cf. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 92 and footnote 94.

lessons in various breviaries differed in length and content.<sup>271</sup> Schenk presented the tradition that gradually developed in Silesian breviaries,<sup>272</sup> and Dziwisz described the lessons used in Cracow diocese.<sup>273</sup> Some manuscripts (for example, the pattern presented for the translation feast by Schenk) chose the fragments of the *vita* describing the events and miracles preceding the translation of the relics of St. Stanislaus from Skalka to Wawel, the translation and the canonisation. In other cases the lections described the life of Stanislaus until the martyrdom and the miracles that happened immediately afterwards (like some variants edited by Dziwisz in the *Appendix* to his study). The rhymed *historia* craftily used images from the *vita*, paraphrased its fragments and alluded to relevant biblical *loca*. It corroborated the image of a just and courageous bishop who opposed the tyrant king, the image of a martyr, and a powerful intercessor. Still, more liturgical manuscripts for secular and monastic use are to be checked and compared with the evidence that has already been studied in order to establish possible different liturgical traditions concerning the feasts of St. Stanislaus (with regard to the office as a whole, the mass formulary, breviary lessons, and so on).

Verses from biblical readings in breviary hours, as well as fragments from the rhymed office were sometimes used as *themata* for sermons on St. Stanislaus. Fragments from the *historia rhythmica* were quoted in some sermons, and some texts were even structured according to the model of these verses.

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<sup>271</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 92.

<sup>272</sup> On the basis of 9 manuscripts and prints; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 92, footnote 96.

<sup>273</sup> Breviary lessons transcribed in the text of the office proper in Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, pages 70-88 for September feast, and 89-95 for May feast, other variants of breviary lessons from Cracow manuscripts in *Aneks* (Appendix) IV, lessons for translation feast on pages 157-169, lessons for May feast on pages 171-172. Dziwisz also published lessons (six) for Thursday votive office to St. Stanislaus; *ibid.*, 172-173.

### 1.3 Saint Stanislaus in Iconography

This chapter presents the basic trends in the visual representation of St. Stanislaus and the development of his iconography. It maps the main themes, motifs and patterns which occur in the saint's iconography, and relates them with the written sources.<sup>274</sup> The images recur in the sermons, which will be analysed below.

A couple of visual representations, allegedly depicting Bishop Stanislaus, not yet a saint, were dated to the period before his canonisation and they were sometimes used as the pieces of evidence for the existence of his cult before the canonisation. They include a baptistery of Tryde in Sweden<sup>275</sup> and reliefs on a destroyed church in Olbin in Wrocław from the twelfth century.<sup>276</sup> However, their connection with St. Stanislaus is not sufficiently clear.

#### 1.3.1 Early Iconography: The Iconic Image of the Bishop and the Symbolic Representation of Martyrdom

After the canonisation, the visual arts transformed the hagiographic text into the iconographic representation of the saint and served as vehicles of promotion of the cult. The oldest type of the iconography from the second half of the thirteenth century was simplistic. Two formulas, in particular, recurred: the bishop *in pontificalibus*, and the miraculous restoration of his body. The earliest visual representations presented St. Stanislaus as a bishop in pontifical attire, standing frontally, as depicted on seals of Cracow cathedral chapter, Leszek the Black, of the city of Cracow, and the statue on the facade of the cathedral.<sup>277</sup> One of the stained-glass window panels of the new Gothic presbytery of the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity in Cracow, which are dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, depicted St. Stanislaus frontally, in pontifical vestments

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<sup>274</sup> In many respects I could rely on the most comprehensive and the most recent study of visual representations of St. Stanislaus in historical context by Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*), which dealt with the cult in Cracow in the period up to the mid-fifteenth century. Other numerous studies of various aspects of the visual representation of the saint are quoted in footnotes throughout the chapter.

<sup>275</sup> A hypothesis that the cult of St. Stanislaus existed in Sweden before the canonisation of St. Stanislaus, which was based on an iconographic representation on a baptistery from Tryde, is very unlikely and has been convincingly refuted. For a summary of discussion about the baptistery font of Tryde, see: Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*, 148-156; Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 31-35. See also Plezia, *Dookola*, 35-40.

<sup>276</sup> Olbin reliefs, a twelfth century sculpture in the Benedictine Church of St. Vincent in Olbin in Wrocław founded by Peter Włostowic, the count palatine of Boleslaus the Wrymouth, which have not survived. It is known only from the eighteenth century reproductions. The connection with St. Stanislaus and the dating are not sufficiently clear; Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 35-40.

<sup>277</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne z legendy św. Stanisława biskupa" (The Oldest Narrative Cycles of the Legend of St. Stanislaus), *Ikonotheka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 3 (1991), 28. e.g. on the seals (of Cracow Chapter from around 1262, of Prince Leszek the Black from around 1281, of the city of Cracow from around 1283, and on the facade of the cathedral in Cracow from the thirteenth/fourteenth century).

including a *pallium*, holding a crozier in his left hand and blessing with the right hand.<sup>278</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei saw an analogy between the visual representation of the bishop *in pontificalibus* and the description of episcopal (or rather priestly) vestments in the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole, which is analysed below. She did not see any direct connection between the two works, but maintained that the parallel helped to understand how the Dominicans could have used images to explain hagiography and how textual discourse could explain images in churches.<sup>279</sup> In general, these images followed a rather general formulaic representation of bishops. There is probably no other connection between the visual representation in the Dominican Church and the Dominican sermon, apart from the fact that they both presented the saint as a bishop with all the appropriate attributes, in the same way as other bishops were typically depicted. Peregrinus did not even enumerate some items that were exclusive to the episcopal attire.<sup>280</sup>

Another popular motif, besides the bishop *in pontificalibus*, was the symbolic representation of the miraculous restoration of the body of St. Stanislaus. The pilgrim badges contain both these basic elements of the saint's earliest iconography.<sup>281</sup> Several pilgrim badges, which were probably issued to commemorate the festive occasion of the canonisation celebration in Cracow in 1254, have been discovered.<sup>282</sup> The badges were souvenirs that the pilgrims could take with them from the celebration in Cracow: on the obverse St. Stanislaus is depicted frontally in episcopal vestments with a mitre, a pallium, a crozier in one hand and making a gesture of blessing with the other. The bishop is flanked by four eagles, and a sun with radiating rays (sun-moon motif) is positioned above his head. The schematic decoration below the bishop, which is difficult to decipher, has been identified as the awkwardly-depicted lower limbs of the saint's body, cut into pieces, and two crosses representing the towers. The iconography is explained by the inscription on the obverse: *frustratim concisus, per aquilas custoditus, de celo radiatus, cras fuit redintegratus*. The iconography was clearly based on the description of the miracles which followed the saint's martyrdom in the *vitae* and which were reiterated in the liturgical compositions. The badges which emphasised the martyrdom of Stanislaus and his entry into the communion of the saints acted as "ideograms of a narrative" which reminded the pilgrims of the saint's story and of their visit of his

<sup>278</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 111-127. Leszek the Black was also connected with the building of the new presbytery, where he was later buried.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-127, esp. 126.

<sup>280</sup> For the details, see Chapter 4.3.2.2 on the sermon by Peregrinus.

<sup>281</sup> Similarly also on other representations. The counterseals of Cracow chapter and bishop from the second half of the thirteenth century have a similar iconography of frontally positioned Bishop Stanislaus in episcopal vestments (Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 91). The iconography of the tympanum of the Church of St. Stanislaus at Stary Zamek dated to 1260s resembles the decoration of the pilgrim badges as well (*ibid.*, 92-3, 95-103). See also Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 28.

<sup>282</sup> Seven badges have been discovered to date in various locations in Poland and in Bohemia and Moravia: Cracow, Kujavia in Central Poland, Sobótka in Silesia, Praha, Hradec Králové, Černá Hora near Brno; the objects are described in Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 87-95, with a bibliography of previous studies of individual archeological finds and so on. Jakubowski (*Polityczne*, 66) proposed a later dating: to 1291-1306.

shrine.<sup>283</sup> Rożnowska emphasised that the badges had been conceived of as devotional objects with no political implications, in opposition to the opinion of some Polish historians. Still, they could have acquired the political significance later. She argued that the *Vita maior*, dated to around 1260, where the prophecy of the restoration of the kingdom had been first articulated, had originated only several years after the production of the badges.<sup>284</sup> The *pallium* in the early representations of Stanislaus was an expression of the Cracow diocese's claim of archepiscopal prerogatives, which was equally accentuated in the *vitae*.

The representations of the dismembered body of St. Stanislaus (on the canonisation medal, etc.) and also the seal of Leszek the Black (with an eagle or eagles and a crown) have often been interpreted as images with political significance, representing their patrons' interest in unifying the Polish lands and restoring the Polish Kingdom.<sup>285</sup> However, this hypothesis should be treated cautiously, especially in the early period of the cult, an admonishment seconded by Rożnowska-Sadraei. The depiction of the dismembered body of the saint surrounded by eagles and the sun-moon motif was also a reminder of his martyrdom and the proofs of his sanctity, which had a theological meaning and did not necessarily convey a political programme. However, the seals of the Cracow branch of the Piast dynasty reflected the patronage of St. Stanislaus as early as the thirteenth century,<sup>286</sup> even if they were not necessarily loaded with the overtones of the unification struggle, which was a later development.

Rożnowska-Sadraei summarised that the thirteenth-century early iconography of St. Stanislaus had “ignored the extraordinary narrative potential of his hagiographic legend and instead evolved around the iconic image of the bishop depicted frontally, clad in liturgical vestments and accompanied by four eagles.”<sup>287</sup> The posthumous miracles, or rather a synthetic representation of the miracles that happened immediately after the bishop's martyrdom, proved to be one of the most important and earliest visual motifs connected with St. Stanislaus, before other miracle scenes were introduced. The frozen image of the bishop in his full dignity and the condensed miracle scene after the martyrdom, which was understood as the evidence of his sanctity, recurred also in the sermon

<sup>283</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 93, or “aide-mémoire of the saint's hagiography,” 94.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>285</sup> Zenon Piech, “Święty Stanisław szafarzem korony Królestwa Polskiego. Ze studiów nad średniowieczną sfragistyką miasta Krakowa” (St Stanislaus as the Guardian of the Crown of the Polish Kingdom. From the Studies on Medieval Sigillography of the City of Cracow), *Rocznik Krakowski* 57 (1991): 5-16. The seals were the evidence of the engagement of the city of Cracow unification programme in Piech's eyes (*ibid.*, 16). See also *idem*, “Symbole władzy i państwa w monarchii Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego,” in *Imagines Potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X-XV w.*, ed. J. Banaszkiwicz (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 1994), 136-139 (for Łokietek); and *idem*, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów* (Cracow: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 1993).

<sup>286</sup> For the seal of Leszek the Black, Kujavian Piast ruler of Lesser Poland, where St. Stanislaus is depicted in the pontifical dress elevating a chalice, with the prince kneeling in front of the altar, see Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 103-111.

<sup>287</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 164.

by Peregrinus of Opole (although here enriched with other miracle accounts), the earliest extant sermon on St. Stanislaus, which is described in detail below.

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries St. Stanislaus had not yet gained the uncontested primacy among other saints yet, and in the municipal sigillography he appeared together with St. Wenceslas (also given the political allegiances of the patrons, and so on). The seal of the chief official of the city council (the *advocatus* seal), which was created between 1281 and 1284, positions Sts. Stanislaus and Wenceslas on the two towers, guarding the city walls.<sup>288</sup> On this seal the old saint and the patron of the Přemyslid dynasty, whose cult was enjoying a revival in that period, is portrayed together with St. Stanislaus and in a privileged position on the right side. Likewise, the privileged position of St. Wenceslas as compared to St. Stanislaus during the episcopate of Jan Muskata (1295-1320) under the Bohemian rule of Wenceslas II found an expression in an illuminated missal from a Bohemian workshop (so-called KP3), where the initial with Stanislaus is much less decorative than the miniature of St. Wenceslas, and the bishop is shown with no *pallium*. Otherwise, it is a typical early representation of St. Stanislaus in episcopal vestments, in a static position – sitting on a chest throne, blessing and holding a crozier.<sup>289</sup>

The crown and the eagle beside St. Stanislaus on the seals have been interpreted as symbols of the political restoration.<sup>290</sup> Once Wladislaus Łokietek took authority over the city, the design of the seals altered and St. Stanislaus was presented as the guardian of the crown. The *scabini* seal from around 1314-20 depicts St. Stanislaus in episcopal vestments, blessing with one hand and holding a crozier in another, with a crown above his blessing hand and an eagle on the other side.<sup>291</sup> St. Stanislaus appeared unequivocally as the *pater patriae* on the gold ducat of King Wladislaus Łokietek issued in 1330 (with an inscription *Sanctus Stanislavs Polonie/poloniensis*), on the occasion of the jubilee approved by the pope in order to raise financing for the war against the Mongols and the Lithuanians,<sup>292</sup> associating the saint with Poland (or the Polish).

The bishops of Cracow were not only the patrons of several visual works of art representing St. Stanislaus. They also saw their saintly predecessor as their patron and model, which is visible on some representations. The outstanding and innovative seal of Bishop Nanker, of 1320, clearly showed his devotion to St. Stanislaus. He placed the saint's shrine in the most prominent and central position in the crossing of the naves in the cathedral. Likewise, Bishop Stanislaus is in the central position on his seal. The seal in form of a lozenge contains two pictorial fields. The lower

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 127-130.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 130-151.

<sup>290</sup> The great seal of the Cracow council from around 1312 has a similar design (to the earlier *advocatus seal*), here with the crown and eagle as well, possibly symbols of the political restoration. Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 160-1. The minor seal of the council had St. Wenceslas with the same symbols. St. Wenceslas probably represented the loyalties of the burghers in contrast to Łokietek and the bishops (ibid., 163).

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 220-2.



register depicts Nanker in the traditional episcopal iconography, and in the upper field Nanker kneels in front of St. Stanislaus, invoking his assistance. The stature of Bishop Nanker in the lower part mirrors the position of St. Stanislaus in the upper field.<sup>293</sup> The seals of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki presented the cardinal as an *alter ego* of the bishop saint.<sup>294</sup>

### 1.3.2 Evolving Iconography: Martyrdom, Patronage and the Legend of Piotrawin

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the iconography of St. Stanislaus became richer (comprising a bigger variety of themes), at the same time settling on a more standardized format (with respect to the particular topics). Węclawowicz considered it interesting that the most developed works in terms of content are late, from the early-sixteenth century.<sup>295</sup> The number of visual representations of St. Stanislaus rapidly increased in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, especially the number of altarpieces.<sup>296</sup>

The iconography of the legend of St. Stanislaus focused on his martyrdom. In the earlier period, the works of visual art did not, however, depict the martyrdom in a narrative mode. They did not represent the dramatic act of martyrdom, thus ignoring the narrative potential of the legend. Instead, they focused on its results – the dismemberment of the martyr’s body and the miraculous phenomena which accompanied it – and rendered them in a static way. The accent shifted towards the dramatic and narrative mode later.

The fourteenth-century wall paintings in the chapel dedicated to St. Stanislaus in the Lower Basilica in Assisi depicted two themes which were to become rather typical from the legend of St. Stanislaus: the martyrdom-dismemberment of the body and the resurrection of the dead knight Peter (the legend of Piotrawin).<sup>297</sup> Długosz observed that the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus was represented in the chapel.<sup>298</sup> The *retabulum* of the altar of St. Stanislaus is not extant. The frescoes with the scenes from the saint’s legend were painted by a disciple of Giotto in the 1330s or 1340s, roughly in the same period as the cycle in the *Angevin Legendary*.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>293</sup> The first analysis of its iconography is found in Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 203-4.

<sup>294</sup> Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 321-4. Besides that St. Stanislaus was depicted together with Oleśnicki on the foundation tablet of the church in Piotrawin (depicting Oleśnicki offering the church to the Virgin Mary with Child under the protection of St. Stanislaus, with St. Thomas, co-patron of the church on the other side; *ibid.*, 379-81) and of the Jerusalem Bursa of the Jagiellonian University (*ibid.*, 383-5).

<sup>295</sup> Tomasz Węclawowicz, “Transitus sancti Stanislai,” in *Magistro et Amico: amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Dedicated to Lech Kalinowski on the Eightieth Birthday) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2002), 78.

<sup>296</sup> Piech speaks about a massive character of the phenomenon; Piech, “Darstellungen,” 131.

<sup>297</sup> For the cult of St. Stanislaus in Assisi, inspired by his canonisation there and partially revived in the fourteenth century, see subchapter on Assisi in 2.2.1.2.

<sup>298</sup> Długossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, 142: “in qua suum gloriosum martyrium extat desculptum.”

<sup>299</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche convincingly demonstrated that the frescoes depicted the scenes from the legend of St. Stanislaus; “Ikonografia kanonizacyjna sw. Stanisława biskupa” (The Canonisation Iconography of St. Stanislaus the Bishop), *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 49 (1987), no. 1-2, 78-83. The unpreserved *retabulum*, which most probably

The legend of Piotrawin has been one of the most enduringly popular iconographic motifs pertaining to St. Stanislaus.<sup>300</sup> In an earlier stage, in the fourteenth century, the legend was depicted in one image (also within the cycles) – with the scene of the resurrection of the knight, Peter. Only later did the motif develop into a cycle consisting of several images. In the late Gothic period the legend was comprised of three scenes: the knight being raised from the tomb; Stanislaus buying the village; and the resurrected knight giving his testimony in front of the king.<sup>301</sup>

By the second half of the fifteenth century, the image of the resurrected knight coming out of the tomb had developed into an iconographic attribute of St. Stanislaus, and was systematically used to denote the saint.<sup>302</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche maintained that the establishment of the attribute was perhaps related to the increased ideological significance of the Piotrawin legend under the influence of the interpretation presented by Długosz. Piech had a different explanation. In the earlier period the four or two eagles, which represented the birds guarding the martyr's remains and symbolized the miraculous restoration of his corpse, seem to have served as a reliable attribute of St. Stanislaus. Piech maintained that while the symbolic representation of the dismembered body had been effective in the period of the partition of the Polish lands, it had become anachronistic in the Jagiellonian era. As a result the attribute in the form of the knight raised from the dead came into usage.<sup>303</sup> This explanation implied that the symbol of eagles and the saint's dismembered body had represented the body politic of the Polish Kingdom. Nevertheless, as I mentioned above, in the period after the canonisation such representation did not need to have political connotations. It is clear that the representation of the Christological miracle of the resurrection of Piotrawin accentuated the wonderworking and intercessory powers of St. Stanislaus, and acted as a reminder of his defense of the Church and justice.

Some visual representations of St. Stanislaus demonstrate his patronage over the diocese and the bishops (bishop's seal, missals, etc.), over the city (seals), but also over the princes and later kings and their dynasties. Most of the representations of St. Stanislaus as a protector (*Schutzheilige*) of the Jagiellonian dynasty and the country are relatively late and come from the second half of the

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originated earlier in the period of canonisation, could have depicted the scene of the martyrdom (like the canonisation banner?) or, according to Kochanowska-Reiche, the scene of reintegration of the body of Stanislaus. See also Plezia, *Dookoła*, 45-48. Unlike the visual representations of the dismemberment from Poland from the later period (but also the miniature from the *Angevin Legendary*), the scene is located inside the architectural frame of a Gothic church, and not outside in front of the church at Skalka. T. Węclawowicz [*Krakowski kościół katedralny w wiekach średnich. Funkcje i możliwości interpretacji* (The Cracow Cathedral Church in the Middle Ages. Functions and Possibilities of Interpretation) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2005), 169-170] pointed to the symbolic meaning of a wild landscape outside, often with a forest in the background in these cases. Perhaps in this case the scene condensed the martyrdom with the body being torn to pieces, and thus it is set inside the church with an altar in the background.

<sup>300</sup> For the legend, see the chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>301</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, 46. Modifications as to the touching with the crozier, like in the *vitae* and only rarely in iconography, or with the blessing gesture like in the *Angevin Legendary* and many others.

<sup>302</sup> Piech, "Darstellungen," 130-1; Kochanowska-Reiche, 46.

<sup>303</sup> Piech, "Darstellungen," 131.

fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. However, the connection had been formulated earlier in the fourteenth century, when St. Stanislaus allegedly helped the Polish in battles and was recalled in the coronation ceremony (and so on).<sup>304</sup> Piech found around thirty objects from the Jagiellonian era which represented the saint as the protector of the Jagiellonian dynasty and their kingdom. They depict St. Stanislaus together with a member of the dynasty or a sovereign, or on heraldic symbols, or on the objects commissioned by the members of the dynasty.<sup>305</sup> The representations at the monuments connected with sepulchres of some members of the dynasty, in burial chapels, and so on, had eschatological connotations. In these contexts the saintly bishop appears as the one who recommends and leads his devotees to the other life: the saint stands behind the dead person and touches him with his hand.<sup>306</sup> Besides that St. Stanislaus is often depicted together with St. Adalbert or with other patron-saints of the country, usually on the side wings of altars or on the *predella*, etc., for example on Veit Stoss altar (1477-89) in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Cracow.<sup>307</sup> One of the oldest altarpieces is a side wing depicting martyrs (including other patrons of the Kingdom – St. Adalbert, Wenceslas and Florian) from the altarpiece (triptych) from the burial chapel of Queen Sophia from 1467: it portrayed St. Stanislaus with no attributes, only in pontifical vestments in a typical gesture of a bishop – blessing with his right hand and holding a crozier in his left hand, similar to St. Adalbert.<sup>308</sup> Importantly, St. Stanislaus is found in a group of martyrs. The seals of Bishop Oleśnicki corresponded with his idea of creating a pantheon of patron-saints, among whom St. Stanislaus was the central one (St. Wenceslas, St. Florian and/or St. Prisca accompany the Polish martyr on the seals).<sup>309</sup>

### 1.3.3 Hagiographic narrative cycles

The oldest extant narrative cycle of the legend of St. Stanislaus dates back to the second quarter of the fourteenth century – it is found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The cycles of the illuminated manuscript depict the scenes from the lives of Jesus, Mary, the apostles and the saints associated with the Angevin dynasty, the patron saints of the members of the royal family – most frequently drawing on the written models including the New Testament and the *Golden Legend*.<sup>310</sup> The saints are ordered, unlike the *Golden Legend*, in a hierarchical order, like the litany to all saints. The images are accompanied with short inscriptions only, in the form of captions to the

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 127-130.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 131-2.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 132-3. For example, on the monument of King Johann Albrecht from after 1501 (together with St. Peter, under the cross). On the monument of Cardinal Frederic the Jagiellonian from 1510, in this case with his attribute, Knight Peter – who acts here also as a “guarantee” of the dead person’s (the client’s) resurrection, as Piech reminded.

<sup>307</sup> Piech, “Darstellungen,” 138-9.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>309</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 321-4.

<sup>310</sup> Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów nad ikonografią,” 166.

pictorial story. The illuminated parchment codex has been reconstructed from the fragments in various libraries.<sup>311</sup> The collection of painted miniatures contains 58 cycles depicting the lives of saints and some pages are still missing.<sup>312</sup> The legendary contained a combination of Arpadian, Angevin and Piast saints – including Sts. Ladislaus (who is given a prominent position), Emeric, Gerard, Louis of Toulouse, and Stanislaus. The presence of the narrative cycle about St. Stanislaus in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* reflected the position of the Polish patron-saint in the pantheon of Angevin dynastic patrons.

It is generally accepted that the legendary originated around 1330 in Bologna, or possibly in Northern Italy or Hungary, and is connected with the court of the Hungarian Angevins. It was possibly commissioned by Charles Robert of Anjou and his wife Elizabeth Piast, the daughter of Wladislaus Łokietek. The legendary could have been destined for Andrew (1327-1345), their younger son, who was to marry Joan of Naples (1326-1382) and take over the throne of Naples, on the basis of an agreement.<sup>313</sup> If this – contested – interpretation were to be accepted, the *Legendary* would have been a kind of a wedding gift, which would have represented the rich and holy tradition of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Angevin dynasty. The narrative cycle about St. Stanislaus represented the Polish origin of Queen Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth Piast was the patron of many religious artefacts and works of art connected with Hungarian patron-saints, which fostered dynastic propaganda deployed in support of the succession of her son Andrew to the throne of Naples after

<sup>311</sup> F. Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou legendárium* (Budapest: Helikon, 1973), was the first attempt at reconstruction of the dispersed fragments in a facsimile. More pages were discovered afterwards [Gyöngyi Török, “Neue Folii aus dem Ungarischen Anjou-Legendarium,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1992): 565-77; and eadem, “A Magyar Anjou Legendárium eddig ismeretlen lapja a Louvre-ban” (An unknown page of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary in the Louvre), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 116 (2000): 357-72.]. The 142 known pages of the codex are dispersed in different collections of the world. The biggest part of the legendary is nowadays kept in the collections of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome [a facsimile edition of the Vatican part: Heiligenleben. ‘Ungarisches Legendarium’, Codex Vat.lat. 8541 (Belser Facsimile Editionen aus der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, LXXVII), Kommentar von G. Morello, H. Stamm, G. Betz (Zurich: Belser, 1990)]. Other portions of the illuminated manuscript are located in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Bancroft Library in Berkeley, Metropolitan Museum Library in Washington and Louvre in Paris. Most recently Béla Zsolt Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* (The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary) (Budapest: Balassi, 2006). A project of an electronic edition *The Hungarian-Angevin Legendary* on CD-ROM (Budapest: Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University - Visual Lab, 1998) has been presented by B. Zs. Szakács together with Gábor Klaniczay, T. Sajó in “«Vinum vetus in utres novos». Conclusioni sull’edizione CD del Legendario ungherese angioino,” in *L’État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle, Actes du colloque international.... Rome—Naples, 7-11 novembre 1995* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1998), 301-316. See also G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 356-362.

<sup>312</sup> The known pages represent perhaps no more than seventy per cent of the codex; among the missing saints are St. Adalbert and St. Elizabeth of Hungary; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 362.

<sup>313</sup> F. Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou legendárium*, 43. He suggested that the illustrated book was meant to serve for a child Andrew who could not read in Naples, which is questionable; Béla Zsolt Szakács, “The Holy Father and the Devils, or Could the Hungarian Angevin Legendary Have Been Ordered for a Pope?” in: ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 53-4; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 362. Levárdy’s hypothesis was accepted by Polish art historian Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów nad ikonografią,” 162. Kochanowska-Reiche (“Najstarsze cykle narracyjne,” 41-2) took over that it had been connected with Charles Robert and Queen Elizabeth. Unlike them, Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*, 263) believed that the legendary had been destined for Jacob de Nouveau called Fournier, later Pope Benedict XII, which was questioned among others by Szakács, “The Holy Father and the Devils,” 52-60.

the death of Robert the Wise. A number of her gifts and pious foundations in Italy are connected with these efforts. The negotiations started for the betrothal of her son to Joanna, the granddaughter of Robert the Wise in Naples in 1333 and continued after the deaths of Robert the Wise and Charles Robert of Anjou – during her diplomatic journey in Italy in 1343-4.<sup>314</sup>

However, there is no historical evidence of the *Legendary's* presence in Naples. It was rather “an article of royal private devotion,” much like the Holy Rood Chapel of Charles IV at Karlstein in Bohemia.<sup>315</sup> The *Legendary* was only one example of the genre of illustrated legends, which became important expressions of the “privatised” cult of saints of dynastic members in that period. Other examples include the *Hedwig Codex* and *Krumauer Bildercodex* from the court of Charles IV in Prague, and a prayer book from the Neapolitan Angevin court now kept in Vienna.<sup>316</sup> The *Legendary* was connected to the milieu of the Hungarian Angevin court, although its precise commissioner and owner remains unclear.<sup>317</sup>

The narrative cycle about St. Stanislaus consists of eight scenes, four scenes on each of the two folios.<sup>318</sup> The first scene depicts the episcopal election (*Historia Stanislai. Primus quomodo fuit electus in episcopum.*), similar to other cycles about the lives of saintly bishops in the *Legendary* (e.g. St. Gerard, St. Thomas Becket). Unlike them, Stanislaus is depicted with an archepiscopal *pallium*, which, according to Kochanowska-Reiche, could not have been accidental.<sup>319</sup> This depiction of Stanislaus corresponded to the Polish iconography and to Cracow's claims for the status of archbishopric. It could have been the influence of Queen Elizabeth or the people around her. The episcopal election appeared in the lives of St. Stanislaus as well, supporting the prestige and autonomy of the cathedral chapter in Cracow.

The second scene (*quomodo resuscitavit petrum militem*) represents the Piotrawin legend. Another scene (*quomodo celebrat missam et fuit mactatus in capite cum gladio*, no. 3) depicts the scene of the martyrdom: the bishop celebrating the Holy Mass at the altar is being hit in his head by the king's sword. It is the oldest known representation of the moment of the bishop's death of this type, which has become one of the most widespread iconographic motifs concerning St. Stanislaus. A corresponding written description of the martyrdom appeared in the *Vita Tradunt*: “he [the king –

<sup>314</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, esp. 333-341.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 362, 356.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, 353-6; the term “privatisation” used on p. 347.

<sup>317</sup> The discussion is summarised in the recent study of Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei*, 22-6. He observed that the *Legendary* could have belonged to a cleric or a bishop who had been connected to the Hungarian Angevin court. There are several possibilities: Jacob of Piacenza, the king's doctor and the bishop of Csanád and Zagreb; Csanád Telegdi; Duke Coloman (1317-75/6), the illegitimate son of King Charles Robert, who became the bishop of Győr in 1337/8 (*ibid.*, 214-17).

<sup>318</sup> The St-Stanislaus cycle is located in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat.lat. 8541, f. 64r-65v. The description of the cycle in Kochanowska-Reiche, “Najstarsze cykle narracyjne,” 39-47; Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów nad ikonografią,” 162-6; Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei*, 98-9.

<sup>319</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, “Najstarsze cykle narracyjne,” 43.

S. K.] dragged the high priest from the altar and first propelled his sword towards the head of the pontiff.”<sup>320</sup> None of the earlier sources [Master Vincent’s Chronicle, *Vita maior*, *Vita minor*] were so explicit when describing the murder scene, which implies that the *Tradunt* could possibly be one of the hagiographic sources for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.<sup>321</sup> It has been generally believed that the *Vita maior*, through the initiative of Queen Elizabeth, was the source for the authors of the legend cycle. Some historians saw the lost cathedral reliquary from Cracow as the artistic pattern for the legend of St. Stanislaus in the *Angevin Legendary*. However, the explanation for this rendering of the martyrdom scene could also be very simple. It is possible that the authors could have used an analogy with the murder scenes of other bishops, especially of St. Thomas Becket. Still, similar descriptions of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus appeared in later written sources as well.

Other scenes were based on the canonical lives: *quomodo corpus suum diuisum et incisum fuit per frustra* (no. 4), *quomodo aquile diuisum corpus custodiebant* (no. 5). These two scenes were often depicted in one image, situated in front of a church, and also in the triptychs from the early sixteenth century.<sup>322</sup> The sixth image (*quomodo fuit sepultus*) shows the bishop’s burial in a church with the presence of the Church dignitaries, bishops, and was probably inspired by an analogy with the cycles about other bishop saints, like the first scene (e.g. St. Gerard, St. Thomas Becket, Gregory the Great). In the seventh image (*quomodo postmodum manifestavit se populo*) we can see an apparition of St. Stanislaus to a group of various kneeling figures. The image could have condensed several miracle accounts from the saint’s legend into one scene which contained various beneficiaries.<sup>323</sup>

The eighth and last scene *Ultima (historia) quomodo resuscitauit filium unius hungari* must have been inspired by a miracle account from the *Vita*, in which the parents of the cured boy offered gifts in the form of a rooster and three loafs of bread at the saint’s sepulchre.<sup>324</sup> The precision with which the painter depicted some details of the miracle account from the *Vita maior* convinced Kochanowska-Reiche that the author of the iconographic programme had drawn directly from the *Vita maior*.<sup>325</sup> The *Vita Tradunt* could not have thus been the only resource of the author of the

<sup>320</sup> *Vita Tradunt*, 353: “ab ara trahens antistitem, primus in caput pontificis vibrat suum ensen.”

<sup>321</sup> Drelicharz (*Annalistyka malopolska*, 332-333) noticed the relation between the two sources and argued that the *Tradunt* had served as the source for the *Legendary*. Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*, 231-232, 263ff.) acknowledged and accepted his hypothesis. See also here in the subchapter 1.1.3 on the *Vita Tradunt*.

<sup>322</sup> Węclawowicz, *Transitus sancti Stanislai*, 79-80 and idem, *Krakowski kościół katedralny*, 169-170. He emphasised also the background of the scene, which in his eyes represented the *rite de passage* of St. Stanislaus.

<sup>323</sup> This is the interpretation of Śnieżyńska-Stolot (“Ze studiów nad ikonografią,” 163), not accepted by Kochanowska-Reiche, “Najstarsze cykle narracyjne,” 44, who maintained that the image represented only one miracle (*Vita maior*, II 21, p. 389).

<sup>324</sup> *Vita maior*, 402-3. The same miracle is found in the *Miracula*, art. XXXIV.

<sup>325</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, “Najstarsze cykle narracyjne,” 45.

Stanislaus-cycle, because it did not contain this miracle. The selection of this particular miracle account was clearly determined by the Hungarian patron and audience of the work.

Kochanowska-Reiche concluded that the cycle presented the legend on the basis of the *Vita maior*, with some modifications, which occurred also in other visual representations from Poland in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century – from which she deduced that the cycle had followed the contemporary Polish iconography.<sup>326</sup> Śnieżyńska-Stolot saw the Angevin Stanislaus-cycle as an example of the early phase of the development of the saint's iconography.<sup>327</sup> In her opinion, although the cycle which originated outside the Polish territory partially draws on the crystallizing Polish iconography (which was visible especially on the themes of the martyrdom and miraculous restoration of the body, and Piotrawin's resurrection), it differs from the standard Polish scheme in some parts. The theme of the election was probably selected on the basis of an analogy with other cycles of bishop-saints. The choice of the miracles was also modified (nos. 7 and 8). Because the iconography of Stanislaus' legend was evolving and earlier works of Polish provenance have not been preserved, it is difficult to establish if the Angevin iconographic formulas followed any standardized Polish model or departed from it.

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* cycle contains the oldest extant narrative cycle from the legend of St. Stanislaus. It could have been modelled upon the iconographic programme of a feretory (reliquary, portable shrine) of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral at Wawel in Cracow. The medieval reliquary has not survived; it was melted down in 1670 and used for the fabrication of a new baroque reliquary, which is now in the cathedral. Thus, it is known only from some written sources.<sup>328</sup> It was described by Długosz and later in the visitation acts.<sup>329</sup> There are various opinions as to the donor and the time of the creation of the feretory. Most probably there have been several reliquaries, frequently confused in historiography, which preserved the remains of St. Stanislaus in the period between 1254 and the 1370s. The feretory with the hagiographic cycle was only one of them (the most recent one).<sup>330</sup>

<sup>326</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 45. She refuted Levárdy's hypothesis (p. 51) that Hedwig of Anjou could have brought the codex with her from Poland. She found analogies in the scene of martyrdom with the illumination in the Missal of Cracow Cathedral from the mid-fifteenth century. Analogical representation of the martyrdom scene (with the elevation and the sword) appeared in the cycles from Poland in the early sixteenth century and individual images as well (ibid., 45-6).

<sup>327</sup> Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Ze studiów nad ikonografią," 161.

<sup>328</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 28.

<sup>329</sup> The respective passages of Długosz's *Life* are found in Długossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, 96; idem, *Annales*, vol. 2 (Varsavia 1970), 163; and idem, *Katalog biskupów krakowskich*, in MPH SN 10, part 2 (Warsaw 1974), 149. The Acts of Visitation are quoted from the manuscript from Cracow Chapter in Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 267-9 and in the *Appendix F* of her book, p. 435.

<sup>330</sup> Here "the remains" mean the body, the main part of Stanislaus' remains, in other words the saint's shrine itself, and not the smaller relics, which came to be enshrined in smaller separate reliquaries: his head and arm in the cathedral of Cracow (not to speak about other relics distributed at various places). One of the most recent discussions on the reliquaries which contained the relics of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral in Cracow, besides the book by Agnieszka Roźnowska-Sadraei, is found in Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, esp. 206-14.

We know that Princess Kinga had a reliquary prepared for the occasion of the canonisation.<sup>331</sup> However, the reliquary used in the early period after the canonisation could have been a different, less sumptuous receptacle. It is difficult to reconstruct the first reliquary. The fourteenth-century *Vita Kyngae* mentioned that Kinga had washed the relics and placed them *in conclavi decenti* and Długosz added *in thecis honestissimis*, which could have been a small casket used as an ad-hoc reliquary for the remains of St. Stanislaus.<sup>332</sup> The saint's body was kept in a stone reliquary (or a tomb) for a certain period. According to Starnawska the statement in the lives of St. Kinga is not a sufficient argument for making her the commissioner of the large feretory. She argues that after the remains had been washed and displayed, they were placed in the same stone sarcophagus in which they had been since the elevation by Prandota.<sup>333</sup>

Starnawska distinguished two non-identical repositories of the saint's relics: the reliquary decorated with metal plates described by Długosz and the stone sarcophagus from the times of Bishop Prandota and the elevation/canonisation.<sup>334</sup> The decorated feretory must have originated some time after the translation of the relics from the side chapel to the crossing of the naves after the canonisation and its celebration in Cracow in 1254. The attribution of the feretory to Kinga relied upon the tradition that St. Stanislaus' body had been translated to the centre of the church during the canonisation celebrations on 8 May, 1254. However, Starnawska argued that this act could have occurred later only.

Długosz described the stone sarcophagus of St. Stanislaus decorated with golden sheets representing various scenes of his life. This probably referred to a later Gothic feretory that he knew from his own experience.<sup>335</sup> The stone sarcophagus was already empty in the side chapel in the times of Długosz. The translation of the remains to the centre of the church in the crossing of the naves and their placement in the feretory occurred in between 1349 and 1364, probably in the time shortly after 1349.<sup>336</sup> The translation *de loco ad locum* within the cathedral provided a good occasion for the creation of a new reliquary.<sup>337</sup>

After having rejected the attribution of the commissioning of the feretory to Princess Kinga, it has been ascribed to other personalities. Kochanowska-Reiche maintained that it was most

<sup>331</sup> Śnieżyńska-Stolot, 176-7. Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 74-7.

<sup>332</sup> The cited expressions, respectively, in *Vita Kyngae*, 711 and Długossius, *Vita beatae Kunegundis*, 24. Kochanowska-Reiche analysed the term *theca* ("Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 32), which she understood as a small casket. It might have been the Sicilian casket from the Archdiocesan Museum in Cracow; Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 77.

<sup>333</sup> Starnawska, *Świątych życie po życiu*, 208-10, particularly 210.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 206-14.

<sup>335</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 96. This was the one commissioned by Queen Elizabeth according to Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 74.

<sup>336</sup> Starnawska, *Świątych życie po życiu*, 208-10.

<sup>337</sup> Starnawska's argumentation is not entirely convincing. It is well grounded, however, that the body of St. Stanislaus was kept in the side chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul until the Gothic renovation of the cathedral, when the transept crossing was designed as the focal place of the cathedral before the new church was consecrated in 1364. *Ibid.*, 213.



probably commissioned by Wladislaus Łokietek in the period some time after his coronation in 1320 or in connection with it (in between 1320-33).<sup>338</sup> Other hypotheses mentioned Hedwig of Anjou, King Wladislaus Jagiello, or Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki.<sup>339</sup>

Recent art-historical enquires favoured Elizabeth, Wladislaus Łokietek's daughter and later Hungarian queen, as the commissioner of the feretory. Allegedly, the feretory bore an inscription naming Queen Elizabeth as its commissioner.<sup>340</sup> Roźnowska-Sadraei moved the creation of the feretory to the later period and ascribed it to the initiative of Queen Elizabeth during her regency in Poland before 1375. She connected it with Elizabeth's campaign to secure the succession of the Angevins to the Polish throne and described it as her attempt to gain the support of the Cracow bishop.<sup>341</sup> Maria Starnawska asserted that Queen Elizabeth could not have done so before 1370 and thus may have overseen only a portion of the work on the feretory, which after all could well have been created over the period of a decade or longer.<sup>342</sup>

Historians attempted to reconstruct its appearance on the basis of the testimonies of Długosz, who described the saint's tomb (a *sarcophagus* and a *tumba*) in the cathedral in the account of the translation given in his *Vita* of St. Stanislaus, and on the basis of the seventeenth-century acts of visitation (1602, 1670).<sup>343</sup> It was quite an outdated type of reliquary – a rectangular richly-decorated gilded box with silver panels and a slanting roof – reintroduced perhaps by the famous relic collector Emperor Charles IV.<sup>344</sup> The feretory was decorated with the images of eighteen bishops, most probably holy bishops. The visitation acts mention thirteen figurative scenes from the history of St. Stanislaus on the sides, some of which were difficult to decipher due to

<sup>338</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 38–39. Starnawska excluded Wladislaus Łokietek who died in 1333 as the donor of the reliquary, as she dated it to the period after 1349, as I have explained above.

<sup>339</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 36-8. Queen Hedwig of Anjou, the wife of Jagiello, ordered the renovation of the chasse reliquary (commissioned by her grandmother Elizabeth Łokietek). Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 297 and fn. 25.

<sup>340</sup> Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, p. 269, fn. 26. This information comes from: Marek Walczak and Krzysztof Czyżewski on the basis of the Diary of Cracow Jesuits of Jan Wielewicz from the seventeenth century, who allegedly saw the inscription on the feretory in 1631: M. Walczak, "Kanonizacja św. Stanisława jako temat historyczny w sztuce Krakowa" (The Canonisation of St. Stanislaus as a Historical Topic in the Art in Cracow), *Studia Wawelskie* 11-12 (2002-2003): 5-41, esp. 10; and K.J. Czyżewski, *Srebrne wyposażenie*, 17-8; J. Wielewicz, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie 1630-1639*, vol. 5, ed. J. Poplatek, L. Grzebień (Cracow 1999), 104. Cf. Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 213-4 and fn. 828. Ryszard Knapiński [*Titulus ecclesiae. Ikonografia wezwań współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce* (Warsaw 1999), 518.] also accepted Elizabeth as the commissioner of the reliquary.

<sup>341</sup> Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 263-289.

<sup>342</sup> Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 214.

<sup>343</sup> Attempts at the reconstruction of the iconography of the original reliquary in Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Ze studiów nad ikonografią legendy św. Stanisława biskupa" (From the Studies on the Iconography of the Legend of Saint Stanislaus), *Folia Historiae Artium* 8 (1972), 175-9; Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 28-39; Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 263-289. For the references to the acts of visitation Długosz, see previous footnotes 340 and 335, respectively.

<sup>344</sup> Roźnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 275. She also analysed and compared the reliquary with analogical feretories that might have inspired Queen Elizabeth: esp. St. Elizabeth's feretory in Marburg. Besides that she investigated a later analogy - with the reliquary of St. Simeon the Elder commissioned by her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Kontromanić (ca. 1340-87) for the Benedictine Church of St. Mary Major in Zadar in 1377-80.

damage: the eagles bringing together the remains of the saint, the resurrection of Piotrawin, the martyrdom scene (interestingly, *personae duae una absque capite*, i.e. the king killing the bishop by hitting him with his sword in the head), the burial, the clerics gathering the remains of the bishop. Other scenes could have depicted some other scenes from the saint's life and perhaps some of the posthumous miracles, but possibly also some historical scenes which displayed the saint's connection with the dynasty and him as a *pater patriae* – referring to the battle of Plowce, for example, due to its patron's aspirations.<sup>345</sup> There were eagles in the coats-of-arms in the gables.

What was the relation of the feretory from the cathedral with the Stanislaus-cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*? Kochanowska-Reiche asserted that the cathedral reliquary, which had been donated in her opinion by Elizabeth's father Wladislaus Łokietek, must have been the iconographical model for the *Angevin Legendary* Stanislaus-cycle.<sup>346</sup> Unfortunately, Rożnowska-Sadraei failed to analyse and explain possible connections of the feretory with the *Angevin Legendary*, although she mentions it in her work. If Queen Elizabeth had commissioned the feretory as late as around 1370, it could not have served as a source for the authors of the *Legendary* cycle. On the contrary, the *Legendary* could have inspired the iconographic plan of the feretory. It would have only been natural to use some analogical representations from the *Angevin Legendary* commissioned by the same patron (or milieu at least) some decades earlier. Another question is whether other narrative cycles of the legend of St. Stanislaus had existed in Poland before the creation of the feretory. If they did, they could have served as a model both for the cycle in the *Angevin Legendary* and the feretory. The problem regarding whether the *Angevin Legendary* contained the very first cycle of St. Stanislaus or whether it was based on some domestic Polish iconographic models remains unsolved.

Rożnowska-Sadraei also examined the question of why the feretory's iconography had not inspired other productions until around 1500, when a number of narrative altarpieces were produced.<sup>347</sup> Until then mostly single scenes, especially the martyrdom and the resurrection of Piotrawin occurred (in manuscript illuminations and elsewhere). Rożnowska-Sadraei offered several possible explanations of the delay: the reliquary's design may have been considered too extravagant for the conservative milieu which preferred iconic images; or the reliquary's iconography, which seems to have ignored the chronological order, "forced the perception of the

<sup>345</sup> The reconstruction by Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, Fig. 5.5. and pages 269-271.

<sup>346</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 47. She believed that the iconography of the reliquary influenced not only the *Angevin Legendary*, but also numerous visual representations of St. Stanislaus of Polish provenance in Cracow diocese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

<sup>347</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 284-5: for example, the altarpieces from the Church of the Virgin Mary in Cracow, from Plawno (National Museum Warsaw) and from St. Michael's Church at Skalka in Cracow (Museum Pieskowa Skala).

images not as a narrative cycle but as a series of frames representing separate anecdotes from the saint's life."<sup>348</sup>

The cycles in the *Legendary* and on the feretory depicted some scenes which recurred in the iconography of St. Stanislaus later – the Resurrection of Piotrawin, the Martyrdom, the Cutting of the Body to Pieces, and the Burial. The scenes of St. Stanislaus' martyrdom and the resurrection of Piotrawin appeared in the initials of a missal from the cathedral in Cracow from around 1450 (so-called KP2).<sup>349</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei maintained that this was the first pictorial representation of the martyrdom after the feretory from around 1370 and the turn "from iconic images to a narrative mode," became visible especially in the increased number of visual representations with St. Stanislaus around the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>350</sup> The martyrdom scene shows St. Stanislaus elevating the host at the altar, observing directives as to the manner of elevation (which were then transmitted through synodal statutes and pastoral treatises) – which is reflected in such details as the acolyte kneeling and lifting the saint's chasuble, a candle, and so on – as Rożnowska-Sadraei noted. King Boleslaus, accompanied by two soldiers, hits the bishop's head with his sword and blood pours from the wound.<sup>351</sup>

Other scenes from the legend of St. Stanislaus did not appear regularly. Stanislaus's admonishment of the king and the king's punishment of the women is known only from the triptych from the Pauline Church at Skalka. The consecration and the posthumous miracles are known from the altar of St. Magdalen Church in Wrocław, but they were already present in the *Angevin Legendary*.<sup>352</sup> Another theme pertaining to St. Stanislaus which did not occur frequently in visual representations was the legend of the penitence of King Boleslaus. Three images from the legend of St. Stanislaus from the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century are found in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.<sup>353</sup> The tables, which had originally been part of a triptych or a polyptych, were originally identified as the scenes from the legend of St. Thomas Becket, but Lajta connected

<sup>348</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 285.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, 369-375 (Fig. 6.30 and 6.32, respectively). The illuminations appear on the f. 602 and f. 681, respectively. B. Miodońska, *Iluminacje krakowskich rękopisów z poł. XV wieku w Archiwum kapitulnym na Wawelu* (The Illuminations of Cracow Manuscripts from the Mid-Fifteenth Century in the Chapter Archives at Wawel) (Cracow: 1967), 144-5 [to be checked]. The scene is depicted also in another, earlier Gradual from 1415 from the cathedral *scriptorium* – *ibid.*, 142.

<sup>350</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 369.

<sup>351</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*, 370-2) compared the approaches of the two artists of the Missal KP2 and the *Angevin Legendary*. She saw the latter one as focusing on the drama and terror of the act of murder, while the missal miniature in her eyes was rather static and accentuated the proper elevation of the host with all appropriate details, which was very fitting during the Eucharistic debates and so on (which may have been taken too far, although it could have observed the contemporary practical pastoral prescriptions). In her opinion, while the *Legendary* portrays the King touching the bishop, the missal depicted the king uncomfortably far, showing the separation of the priest (clerics, together with the acolyte) from the laymen. The separation is strengthened by the vertical candle in between the two.

<sup>352</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche, "Najstarsze cykle narracyjne," 35-6.

<sup>353</sup> For an analysis of the images, see Edith Lajta, "Trois scènes de la légende de St. Stanislas," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois-des-Beaux-Arts* 5 (1954): 29-35; Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Ze studiów nad ikonografią legendy św. Stanisława biskupa" (From the Studies on the Iconography of the Legend of Saint Stanislaus), *Folia Historiae Artium* 8 (1972), for these images pp. 166-172 and 182. For the legend about the repentance of King Boleslaus, see Chapter 1.1.

them with the cult of the Polish saint. The first table portrays the martyrdom of Stanislaus in a traditional way: the bishop is standing at the altar during the mass and the King is striking him on his head with a sword; with an innovative detail – a knight lying on the ground – perhaps referring to the life of St. Stanislaus, in which the king’s knights fell three times when they wanted to assault the bishop. The second scene represents one of the miracles that happened at the shrine of St. Stanislaus: the healing of a possessed man, identified by Śnieżyńska-Stolot as the miracle account from the *Vita*.<sup>354</sup> The third, and most problematic, table probably depicts the death of the saint’s murderer King Boleslaus II in exile and refers to the legend of Boleslaus the Penitent.<sup>355</sup>

Śnieżyńska-Stolot argued that these images could have been part of an earlier altarpiece from Ossiach, as it was probably the point of origin for the legend of Boleslaus the Penitent.<sup>356</sup> She maintained that the scenes depicting the legend of King Boleslaus were known only outside Poland, except for an image in the old church of the Benedictines in Mogilno from the early nineteenth century, which was inspired by the paintings from Austrian Ossiach.<sup>357</sup> Lajta believed that the paintings had come from the North of the Hungarian Kingdom, from the region around Levoča and Košice.<sup>358</sup>

In a number of cases St. Stanislaus was represented in a very general way as a bishop in pontifical attire, blessing with his right hand and holding a crozier in his left hand. This schematic type of representation occurred not only in the early period after the canonisation, but also later in contexts which did not require more complex or detailed themes connected with the saint, like on the side wings of late Gothic fifteenth-century altarpieces from various locations in Poland and also in the neighbouring countries. This type clearly identified Stanislaus as one of the saintly bishops, without communicating any particularities connected to his figure, but emphasising his episcopal dignity. From the second half of the fifteenth century Knight Peter rising from the tomb becomes the reliable attribute of the saint, which distinguished the Pole from other bishop saints.

The martyrdom at the altar, and even more specifically during the elevation of the Eucharist, presented St. Stanislaus as an *alter Christus*, the image that was present in the lives as well. The visual representations of St. Thomas Becket provided the same image of the martyr-bishop.<sup>359</sup> The

<sup>354</sup> Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów,” 170. *Vita maior* (no. 33), 416 and Dlugossius, *Vita*, 118. The painting depicts a reliquary of a similar type like the one commissioned by Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>355</sup> The identification of the last scene remains problematic though – especially due to the apparition of the Virgin Mary with the Child in the window (if it is her), which does not refer to any written source. Thus, the tablet could possibly depict some other unidentified miracle or could belong to a different cycle belonging to the same whole. The table is discussed by Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Ze studiów,” 171-2, 182.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 182. She analysed the eighteenth-century frescoes from Ossiach in Austria on pp. 172-4.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>358</sup> Lajta, “Trois scènes de la légende de St. Stanislas,” 34-5.

<sup>359</sup> Marek Walczak, *Alter Christus. Studia nad obrazowaniem świętości w sztuce średniowiecznej na przykładzie św. Tomasza Becketa* (Alter Christus. A Study of the Representation of Sainthood in Medieval Art on the Example of St. Thomas Becket) (Cracow: TAIWPN Universitas, 2001), *passim*.

martyrdom of the bishop directly referred to the Passion of Christ. The same motif appeared in the sermons on St. Stanislaus, which is demonstrated in the following chapters. Both martyrdom and the resurrection of Piotrawin are Christological scenes. They accentuated the parallel between the saint and Christ and his imitation of Christ's Passion in the sacrifice for the sake of his subjects. Preachers presented even more analogies between Christ and the Polish martyr-bishop in their sermons. The visual representations appeared most often on devotional objects and in devotional contexts, where they were meant to provoke the prayers to the saint. In some other contexts the representations of the saint were used to demonstrate the saint's patronage and establish a connection between St. Stanislaus and members of the dynasty, the bishops of Cracow or anybody else. The bishop full of dignity, the martyr, and the miracle-worker were the main images of St. Stanislaus transmitted by visual arts.

## Chapter 2: The Contexts of Preaching on St. Stanislaus – Preaching Occasions

### 2.1 Preaching and the Canonisation Campaign and Process

The cult of St. Stanislaus existed before the composition of the sermon texts, which I collected. These texts, therefore, were not required to create, but only to reinforce the functioning cult. No texts have been preserved from the period before the canonisation, in contrast to the cults of some late medieval saints. Such sermons would attempt to convince the public about the person's sanctity and lobby for the creation of the official cult or canonisation.<sup>1</sup>

One mention in the sources possibly points to preaching about the prospective saint before canonisation. Vincent of Kielcza mentioned in the *Vita maior* that he had been to Szczepanów, the village traditionally believed to have been the saint's birthplace, and had preached there, even before Stanislaus had been canonised.<sup>2</sup> We can only speculate that Vincent could have gone there in connection with the local investigation before the canonisation. The author did not give any information concerning the topic of his preaching, but one can very well imagine that he had extolled the virtues of his audience's illustrious native.

Another reference to the preaching on Stanislaus before 1253 could be a mention of St. Hyacinth going to preach on the "translation" of St. Stanislaus (meaning the act of the translation itself, and not the regular feast of translation here), but the dating is dubious. One of the oldest records of the preaching on St. Stanislaus comes from the fourteenth-century *Life of Saint Hyacinth*, but refers to an earlier period. One of the miracle accounts recounted that the Dominican had allegedly preached "on the day of the translation" of St. Stanislaus:

It happened on the day of the translation of Blessed Stanislaus that Saint Hyacinth set out for the castle in order to preach the word of God. When he reached the foot of the hill, a woman approached him...<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George Ferzoco, "Preaching, Canonization and New Cults in the Later Middle Ages," in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 298-299; and idem, "Sermon Literatures Concerning Late Medieval Saints," 106-107.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita maior*, 367: "In Scepanow etenim villa prefata adhuc quidam congesti monticuli et apparencia designant fundamenta, ubi domus beati Stanislai olim stetit edificata. Ibidem etiam fuit ecclesia lignea, quam ipse in honore beate Marie Magdalene fabricavit et manu propria consecravat, que nuper tempore domini Ivonis bone memorie Cracoviensis episcopi pre vetustate corruit. Ipsam vetustissimam ecclesiam nos quoque vidimus et populo verbum Dei in ea predicavimus, ipsis heredibus et incolis terre adiacentibus hec ipsa protestantibus." See also *Vita minor*, 254.

<sup>3</sup> *De vita et miraculis beati Iacchonis*, MPH 4, 861 (miracle account no. 12): "In die translacionis beati Stanislai contigit sanctum Iazechonem transire ad castrum ad predicandum uerbum Dei, et cum uenisset ad pedem montis, occurrit sibi quedam domna..." Polish translation in "Życie i cuda świętego Jacka" (Life and Miracles of St. Hyacinth), transl. Tomasz Gałuszka, in *Święty Jacek Odrowąż, Studia i źródła* (St. Hyacinth Odrowąż. Studies and Sources), ed. Maciej Zdanek (Cracow: Esprit, 2007), 117.

St. Hyacinth was on his way to preach at the cathedral at Wawel castle hill, when he restored sight to the sons of a woman whom he met. The life dated the miracle account to the year 1244. The expression the “day of the translation” could have referred to the actual translation of the martyr’s relics to a more honourable place in the cathedral initiated by Bishop Prandota – more precisely, the elevation. The Dominicans could have influenced Bishop Prandota so as to undertake the elevation, in order to revitalize the cult and to initiate the canonisation process.<sup>4</sup> Another mention of the day of the “translation,” meaning the “elevation,” of St. Stanislaus occurred in another place in the *Life of St. Hyacinth*.<sup>5</sup> Thus, St. Hyacinth would have performed two miracles on the day of the elevation, one in the morning when he saved the drowned man on his way probably to Skalka and the other one when he went to preach at the cathedral. It would be only understandable that the Dominican Hyacinth preached at the festive occasion, on which the bishop and the Dominicans cooperated. The homiletic campaign of clerics like Vincent of Kielcza, a future friar, and of the Dominican St. Hyacinth of Odrowąż, in cooperation with Bishop Prandota of Odrowąż, could have contributed to the propagation of the cult and to the start of the enquiry which culminated in the canonisation. In their sermons they would probably recount the saint’s life and martyrdom but also the miracles which had led to the elevation and were listed in the miracle collections.

During the process of canonisation, the formal consistories and the actual mass of canonisation, several sermons about the candidate had to be delivered by cardinals and the pope himself, although they are scarcely preserved.<sup>6</sup> None of them are extant from the process of canonisation of Bishop Stanislaus. It is possible that several cardinals and clerics could have delivered sermons or speeches about the aspirant in the formal consistories: Jacob of Velletri, the

<sup>4</sup> For the translation and elevation, see Chapter 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, respectively. For the discussion of this miracle account in connection with the elevation, see Starnawska, “Dominikanie,” esp. 416-7; and also in her book *Świętych życie po życiu*, esp. 291-3. The date at the end of the account is difficult to verify, but Starnawska’s argumentation that the dating was correct and that the occasion was really the elevation is convincing.

<sup>5</sup> “In die translacionis sancti Stanislay, qui est patronus Polonie, contigit sanctum Iazechonem iter facere ad locum ... [unreadable] dicti patroni. Qui dum transiret Wandalum nauigio, eo quod aqua per nimium excreuerat ...” *De vita et miraculis beati Iacchonis*, 850 (miracle no. 6, and in Polish “Życie i cuda świętego Jacka,” 110-111). St. Hyacinth crossed the Vistula when he was going to “a certain place of St. Stanislaus” on the day of his translation/elevation. The account is dated to 1221. According to “Życie i cuda świętego Jacka” (110-111, fn. 34) the date is incorrect. Historians proposed to date the miracle between 1238-1242. The unreadable destination of St. Hyacinth is also disputed, the possibilities range from Skalka to Szczepanów; the latter option proposed by Zdanek and Gałuszka in “Życie i cuda świętego Jacka.” Starnawska (“Dominikanie,” esp. 414-7, 420-21) argued that it was Skalka and that the miracle could have happened on the same day as the other miracle – on the day of the elevation, and not on the regular feast of translation, and she dated the event most probably to 1244.

<sup>6</sup> George Ferzoco, “Preaching, Canonization and New Cults,” 300-302 quotes the evidence of a fourteenth-century ceremonial book from the papal court in Avignon and lists examples of sermons extant from formal consistories by cardinals and from actual masses of canonisation by pope. Stanislaus of Cracow was canonised in an earlier period, but certain formal procedures, including curial consistories with cardinals delivering speeches and arguing about the candidate’s qualities, had been observed by then. For fourteenth-century ceremonials of canonisation processes, see also Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, “Die Berücksichtigung von Kanonisationen in den kurialen Zeremonienbüchern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Procès de canonisation*, 245-257. For canonisation procedure in the mid-thirteenth century, see above Ch. 1.1.2 and also Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 33-57, for the part after the local enquiry at the Roman Curia, see especially 55-56.

papal legate responsible for the investigation *in partibus*, and the Polish envoys and members of the committee could have summarised their findings and the supplication; Cardinal John, who wrote a letter about obstacles in the process at the Curia to Bishop Prandota – could have been present and preached in the assembly of cardinals; and above all, Cardinal Reginald of Ostia (the future Pope Alexander IV), who opposed the canonisation and was eventually miraculously cured by Stanislaus, would have most probably spoken at the consistories and especially at the final consistory.<sup>7</sup> Vincent of Kielcza recorded in his description of the canonisation ceremony that the pope had delivered a sermon praising the candidate, in which he talked about his life and martyrdom and enumerated the signs and miracles accomplished by him. After the formal canonisation, the pope allegedly read out the “speech that he had dictated about the saint,” possibly the bull of his canonisation.<sup>8</sup> Długosz noted, following the description of the canonisation ceremony in the *Vita maior* of Vincent of Kielcza, that the pope delivered a “long sermon about the life, martyrdom and miracles of St. Stanislaus.”<sup>9</sup>

Although the texts of the sermons are not extant, other sources could have preserved parts and traces of the consistory speeches and the sermons from the mass of canonisation. The bull of canonisation can be considered as one of the first sermons in honour of a new saint. Parts of the bull (a brief description of the saint’s life and miracles, proclamation of indulgences, etc.) could be read aloud at the festive mass of canonisation. The bull was not only a formal legal document; it could be copied and circulated, in a way similar to a model sermon, in order to provide clerics with useful and authoritative *materia* for preaching about a newly-canonised saint.<sup>10</sup> The rhetorical nature (even the musicality of the text, the use of metaphors and images) and the brevity of the document facilitated such a purpose. The bull of canonisation of St. Stanislaus, *Olim a gentiliū*, which succinctly described St. Stanislaus as a good shepherd who had offered his life for his sheep, martyr, patron and intercessor, may have been used for similar purposes:<sup>11</sup> preachers could quote it, or make use of it without acknowledging their source, or use it as a hagiographical dossier instead of the saint’s life proper.

<sup>7</sup> For the process of canonisation of St. Stanislaus, see chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>8</sup> A description of the canonisation in St. Francis’ Basilica in Assisi on the feast of Virgin Mary’s Nativity in the *Vita maior*, 436-438, fragments concerning the pope’s preaching: “post hec vero cum Romanus pontifex ascendisset pulpitem ad pronuntiandum tante sanctitatis eulogium ... Deinde facto sermone de vita ipsius et martirio recitatisque signis et prodigiis divine virtutis (...) ipsum catalogo sanctorum adscripsit... Post hec vero dominus papa oracionem pronuntiavit, quam ipse de glorioso martire et pontifice dictavit.”

<sup>9</sup> “Quibus expletis [missarum solennia – S.K.], sermone in longum de vita, martirio et miraculis beatissimi Stanislai pronuntiato...” Długossius, *Vita*, 141.

<sup>10</sup> For the uses of canonisation bulls for preaching, see especially George Ferzoco, “Preaching, Canonization and New Cults,” 302-303; and idem, “Sermon Literatures Concerning Late Medieval Saints,” 114-116.

<sup>11</sup> For more details concerning the bull and for a bibliography, see above in the chapter 1.1.2; and for the uses of the bull as a liturgical text, see above in the section 1.2.



## 2.2 Preaching Occasions after Canonisation

St. Stanislaus enjoyed official liturgical veneration since his canonisation in 1253. The oldest sermons about the martyr-bishop must have been delivered in this period at the latest, although only texts from the later period have been preserved. I have already mentioned the special occasions which the canonisation procedure and the mass of canonisation offered for delivering sermons in honour of the saint-to-be. The first annual festivity took place on May 8 in 1254, when ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries and folk from all over Poland gathered for the first time at the tomb of their patron-saint in Cracow.<sup>12</sup> It was certainly a great occasion for sermons which praised the saint and spread the news about his sanctity to be delivered not only in Cracow, but also farther abroad.

### 2.2.1 Preaching on Regular Feasts

Most sermons on saints, however, were meant for, and delivered on, their liturgical feasts. The status of the particular feast determined the presence and the impact of the preaching about a particular saint. In general, a sermon was prescribed for Sundays and obligatory feasts (roughly a “Holy Day of Obligation,” a public holiday) in the later Middle Ages. That is why it is important to establish the rank of the particular feast or feasts of the saint in a given geographical area in order to see whether clerics were expected to preach about the saint on that day. Only a smaller number of saints’ feasts belonged to this “top league” of festivals. Sometimes a saint could be mentioned in the preaching on the Sunday closest to his or her feast.<sup>13</sup> When a sermon was preached on the saint’s day that was a *festum fori*, a broader audience of clerics and laymen gathered for the occasion and listened to the sermon. The preachers’ message concerning the saint thus reached a larger public.

Basic classification of liturgical feasts was based on the scope of their obligation: some feasts were holidays of obligation, mandatory for all faithful – *festum fori* (implying attending the mass, refraining from work, keeping fast) – while others were obligatory only for the clerics (churchmen) – *festum chori*. The division between *festum fori* and *festum chori* was marked by the use of

<sup>12</sup> The event is mentioned in various sources, e.g. Długossius, *Vita*, 148-149; *Katalog V biskupów krakowskich*, MPH SN 10/2, 94-95; *Katalog IV biskupów krakowskich*, *ibid.*, 63. Długosz and some other sources, e.g. the *Chronicle of Greater Poland (Kronika wielkopolska)*, 101) describe the event as an “elevation.” Cf. above in the section 1.1.2.

<sup>13</sup> David d’Avray (“Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons,” 16-17) explained and emphasised the implications of the level of saint’s feasts for preaching, especially preaching as mass communication. See also *idem*, “Katharine of Alexandria and Mass Communication in Germany,” 402-3. For the prescriptions concerning preaching in Polish synodal statutes, see Zenon A. Kliszko, “Przepisy synodalne w Polsce średniowiecznej o kaznodziejstwie” (Synodal Prescriptions concerning Preaching in Medieval Poland), in *Studia Theologica Varsoviensia* 13 (1975): 111-142. Synodal statutes also prescribed who could preach, and provided pastoral guidelines concerning the mode and content, like for example a quite long portion of the statutes of Bishop Jastrzębiec from 1420 in Heyzmann, *Statuta synodalia*, 77-79 (paragraphs XII-XVI).

red or black colour in calendars and liturgical books.<sup>14</sup> The rank of the feasts was also expressed verbally in different ways in various places and dioceses and in various times.<sup>15</sup> The names of particular categories referred to the rite or mode of liturgical celebration, such as the number of masses or lessons or other degrees of solemnity. The liturgical level of days can be found in calendars and in liturgical books for practical use (like breviaries, ceremonials, and so on), but also in prescriptive sources like synodal statutes.

Even if observance of the saint's day as a festival and a sermon was prescribed in theory, practice showed that the preacher did not necessarily deliver one. For example, in Paris as well as in Pisa, the celebration of the feast in the parish or the cathedral churches did not necessarily imply the presence of a preacher. Often, as a matter of fact, the preaching is attested only on the feastday of the saint to whom the church is dedicated or of an important local patron.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, an overview of the liturgical observance of the feasts of St. Stanislaus at various places is supplemented with an outline of the places where churches were dedicated to the saint.

### 2.2.1.1 Observance of Liturgical Feasts

Saint Stanislaus was venerated especially on two days in liturgical year: one was the feast of the *dies natalis*, when the saint died and at the same time was born to eternal life; the other commemorated the festive translation of his relics into an honourable place. His martyrdom was celebrated on May 8, the translation on September 27.<sup>17</sup> Both feasts were officially celebrated from the thirteenth century. The feasts, especially the feast of martyrdom, came to be observed in whole country, not only locally, as an annual patronal feast.

#### The feast of May 8

The bull of canonisation *Olim a gentiliis* of Pope Innocent IV instituted the feast of martyrdom on May 8 (*die uidelicet quo mortis absolutus uinculo uicturus perenniter ad fontem*

<sup>14</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 34-35.

<sup>15</sup> For more on the rank of liturgical feasts in general and on the development of hierarchy of liturgical feasts in calendars of liturgical books in Cracow diocese, see Henryk Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz ksiąg liturgicznych Krakowa do połowy 16. wieku. Studium chronologiczno-typologiczne* (The Calendar of Liturgical Books of Cracow until the Middle of the Sixteenth Century. A Chronological-Typological Study) (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1995), 137-141. For development of the holy mass obligation and feasts, see also Izabela Skierska, *Obowiązek mszalny w średniowiecznej Polsce* (Mass Obligation in Medieval Poland) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN, 2003), esp. 20-40; and eadem, "Feiertag im mittelalterlichen Polen: Gebote und Verbote," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints*, 209-226. A discussion of literature and sources for feast observance (and also classification and levels of feasts) in the Middle Ages: Geccser, *Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, 54-56.

<sup>16</sup> This was demonstrated on the example of Paris and Pisa, e.g. on the well-documented series of sermons delivered in Paris in 1272-3. The sample showed that besides the apostles and some other "big saints" preachers delivered sermons on saints to whom the churches were dedicated, except for the church des Champeaux where the Franciscans preached probably; Bériou, "Saints et sainteté dans la prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière," 311 and footnote 8. Cf. also eadem, "La Madeleine dans les sermons parisiens," in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, 327-28.

<sup>17</sup> Basic literature: Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, for martyrdom feast 31-42, for translation feast 42-50; Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, for martyrdom feast 25-27, for translation feast 27-28.

*superne prodijt uoluptatis*).<sup>18</sup> The bull also granted indulgences to those who would come to his tomb every year on the feast and in its octave.<sup>19</sup> However, April 11 is generally accepted as the date of St. Stanislaus' death: the annals and calendars, and also the *Vita*, dated the death of Stanislaus to April 11, unlike the canonisation bull.<sup>20</sup> Historians most often explained that a different date had been selected for the celebration of the saint's *dies natalis* because the April date fell usually in the Lent season. The solemnity could not be so spectacular in that case; and Lent was almost free of any feasts. Some explanations connected the introduction of the new date with the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael, the patron saint of the old sanctuary where Stanislaus was killed, or, speculatively, with the period of the folk spring festival. The date also fell into the octave of the feast of St. Florian, an important saint in Cracow (May 4).<sup>21</sup> Liturgical calendars gave preference to the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael on May 8 at some places. In Cracow and in Poland, the feast of St. Stanislaus pushed St. Michael's feast to May 9 or completely pushed it out of calendar.

In general, Cracow liturgical calendars noted two different dates for the *natale* of St. Stanislaus: May 8 was a *festum fori* and some calendars noted April 11 (as *occisio*, the actual date of his death) as a *festum chori*.<sup>22</sup> From its introduction May 8 remained a *festum fori* in Cracow calendars, as in the calendars of other Polish dioceses.<sup>23</sup> The Roman Breviary from 1595 moved the feast of St. Stanislaus to May 7 for the universal Church (nowadays moved to April 11), and the following day belongs to the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, while in Poland the feast of Stanislaus continued to be observed on May 8.

The feasts of St. Stanislaus were always of a very high liturgical rank in Cracow. Local liturgical calendars, represented by several examples from the fifteenth century, listed both feasts of St. Stanislaus as *duplicia*,<sup>24</sup> which was the highest rank. Diocesan and provincial synodal statutes also give evidence about the norms for feasts to be observed in the Middle Ages. The diocesan statutes of Bishop Nanker from 1320, which divided the feasts ( *festa fori*) into *duplicia* and

<sup>18</sup> KDKK 1, no. 38, 50. *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, ed. O. Krafft, 513.

<sup>19</sup> Another bull, *Licet is de*, granted indulgences to the pilgrims coming to Cracow again; it was dated to January 3, 1256 in KDKK 1, no. 45, 63; *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1, ed. I. Sulkowska-Kuraś and S. Kuraś (Rome-Lublin, 1982), no. 588.

<sup>20</sup> Especially, the calendar of the Cathedral Chapter of Cracow, which is a thirteenth-century copy of an older redaction: "III Idus Aprilis" (April 11); *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej* (The Calendar of the Cathedral of Cracow), ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in MPH SN 5, 139; Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy*, 134.

<sup>21</sup> For a summary of the hypotheses on the date selection, see Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 31-32. Zaty connected the date (May 8) with the dedication of the place of martyrdom of Stanislaus to St. Michael and also with Slavic folk spring festivals (*O kilku przepadłych zabytkach*, 79-80). Wąsowicz noted the custom of transferring feasts (except universal Christological and Mariological feasts and the feast of apostles) from Lent season. In Cracow diocese the old custom was observed until a new feast-order (calendar) was introduced by Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki in the fifteenth century; Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 369-370.

<sup>22</sup> April 11 appeared as feast of martyrdom rarely in Cracow calendars: in a calendar of a breviary of Prague provenience from the end of the fourteenth century as a *duplex*, and then only once in the fifteenth century as a *simplex*. It appeared quite often in the sixteenth century (mostly as a *simplex*). Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 370.

<sup>23</sup> Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 370.

<sup>24</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 28-29.

*semiduplicia*, ranked both feasts of St. Stanislaus as *duplicia* among the most important feasts of the diocese.<sup>25</sup> The statutes of Bishop Piotr Wysz (1394-6) distinguished between *festas duplicia* and *simplicia*. Both feasts of St. Stanislaus belonged to the first group with the highest liturgical rank.<sup>26</sup>

From the second half of the thirteenth century the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus on May 8 was known in all Polish dioceses, including all canonical, monastic and mendicant communities, as a *festum fori*.<sup>27</sup>

### The feast of September 27

The feast of the translation was first mentioned in a papal bull from September 29, 1253, without specifying the date of the feast,<sup>28</sup> and it may also be the act of its institution. Another bull from February 9, 1256 granted indulgences to the pilgrims who came to Cracow cathedral on the occasion of the translation of St. Stanislaus and within its octave. This bull was often considered as the first record of the feast of translation, because historians wrongly dated and neglected the previous bull of 1253. Thus, the feast of translation could have been celebrated for the first time as early as 1253.<sup>29</sup> The feast did most probably not commemorate the first translation from Skalka to Wawel in 1088, but the elevation, which happened around 1244.<sup>30</sup> Just as the date and character of the translation (or possibly translations), the origin of the feast is also debated. Some historians

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<sup>25</sup> *Najstarsze statuty synodalne krakowskie bpa Nankera z 2. października 1320 r.* (The Oldest Synodal Statutes of Cracow of Bishop Nanker from October 2, 1320), ed. Jan Fijałek (*Studia i materiały do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, vol. 3) (Cracow: PAU, 1915), 23-24 (para. 12): “Ideoque statuimus et precipimus, quod ...dies dominique gregis pastoris et martyris preciosi, beati Stanislai, qui vita, signis, passione, miraculis (et) prodigiis nostram civitatem et dyocesim Cracoviensem mirifice decoravit, **festum utrumque sub officio duplici per universas civitatis et dyocesis ecclesias** annis singulis perpetuis futuris temporibus solempniter celebrentur.” Cf. Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 29; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 104. The feasts of Sts. Adalbert and Florian as *semiduplicia*, no mention of St. Wenceslas.

<sup>26</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 29-30. The statutes of the first synod under Bishop Wysz in 1394 [“De veneracione sanctorum et sanctorum”]: “... proinde predecessorum nostrorum vestigia cupientes imitari innovamus precipientes dies quosdam ob reuerenciam Dei omnipotentis videlicet: ... **utriusque [festum] sancti Stanislai...** sancti Floriani tantum in ciuitate Cracouiensi... tam a clero, quam a populo oracione et deuocione ab opere seruili abstinendo celebrari...” (St. Florian only in Cracow); B. Ulanowski, *O pracach przygotowawczych do historii prawa kanonicznego w Polsce* (Concerning the Preparation Works for a History of Canon Law in Poland) (Cracow: Gebethner, 1887), 40. Later statutes of the second synod under Wysz from 1396 [“De festiuitatibus sanctorum celebrandis”]: “... sed **utrumque festum Sti Stanislai**, tamquam patroni gloriosi, **tam a clero, quam a populo debet celebrari.**” “Statuta Petri II. Vissi de Radolin Episcopi Cracouiensis Ann. MCCCLXXXVI,” in *Statuta synodalia episcoporum Cracouiensium XIV et XV saeculi*, ed. Udalricus Heyzmann, *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pommiki* (SPPP), vol. 4 (Cracow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1875), 58 (hereafter Heyzmann, *Statuta synodalia*).

<sup>27</sup> Kopec, “Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*,” 188.

<sup>28</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae*, no. 553a; *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae* 1, ed. Theiner, no. 113, 55. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 515, fn. 496.

<sup>29</sup> KDKK 1, no. 51, 67; *Bullarium Poloniae*, no. 597, 114. Plezia (“Święto translacji,” 229-33) and Schenk (*Kult liturgiczny*, 42-7) maintained that this was the first mention of the translation feast; likewise Wąsowicz (*Kalendarz*, 370-371) – that it was the first non-calendar record of the translation feast. The most recent discussion of the bull, its dating and the institution of the feast of translation in Starnawska, “Dominikanie,” 417-9. Moreover, complicating the issue even further, the second bull could have referred to a different translation *de loco ad locum* after 1254, which could have been a certain rearrangement of the sepulchre; see the hypothesis of Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 297-8, and also chapter 1.3.3. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 516, fn. 502.

<sup>30</sup> Starnawska, “Dominikanie,” 419-20; eadem, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 285-293. For the translation and elevation, see above in the chapters 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

maintained that a certain feast of translation had been celebrated already before the canonisation. However, an official liturgical commemoration could have been instituted only after the canonisation; and the feast of translation was usually only secondary to the *natalis* feast.<sup>31</sup> The first calendar record of the translation feast is found in the *Calendar of the Cracow Cathedral*, written shortly after 1253, mentioning the day, which is present also in other Cracow calendars.<sup>32</sup> The date of September 27 (possibly the day of the actual elevation) could have been selected because of the proximity of the feasts of St. Wenceslas, the patron of the cathedral, and St. Michael, the patron of the church at Skalka.<sup>33</sup>

Originally, it was perhaps observed as a *festum chori* only in the Cracow cathedral. Bishop Nanker is probably responsible for extending its observance throughout diocese<sup>34</sup> and in 1396 Bishop Peter Wysz upgraded it to a *festum fori*.<sup>35</sup> Some Cracow calendars marked September 26 as the day of translation instead. The oldest tradition of Cracow calendars (several calendars from before 1410) gave preference to the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian for September 27, and moved the celebration of the translation of St. Stanislaus to its vigil on September 26.<sup>36</sup> From 1410 calendars of the Cracow diocese listed the translation on September 27 as a *festum fori*, pushing the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian of a lower rank of *festum chori* to September 26.<sup>37</sup> The calendars followed the prescriptions of the statutes and transformed them into liturgical practice.

In Cracow a number of mandatory feasts crowded the first ten days of May: Sts. Philip and James Apostles (May 1), Invention of Holy Cross (May 3), St. Florian, a patron-saint of Cracow (May 4), and the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus (May 8). Additionally, at least one Sunday, and even Ascension or Easter could fall within these dates. Similarly, the last ten days of September was rich in *festas fori* in Cracow: St. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist (September 21), the translation of St. Stanislaus (September 27), St. Wenceslas, the co-patron of the cathedral (September 28), and St. Michael the Archangel (September 29).<sup>38</sup> As a result, the feasts of St. Stanislaus could possibly overshadow some important feasts, such as the feasts of St. Wenceslas and St. Florian - other patrons of Cracow, or their celebrations merged. While the prominent position of the cult of St. Stanislaus did not go unchallenged (especially by St. Wenceslas) at the turn of the fourteenth

<sup>31</sup> S. Dziwisz (*Kult św. Stanisława*, 27), in keeping with a hypothesis presented in one of the works of Plezia ("Święto translacji św. Stanisława biskupa," 229) maintained that the feast of translation had already existed before canonisation and was older than the May feast (functioning since the actual translation). Starnawska ("Dominikanie," esp. 417-9) refuted this hypothesis.

<sup>32</sup> *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej*, 174. Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 370-371. Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 27-28.

<sup>33</sup> Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 293.

<sup>34</sup> "...statuimus.. quod.. beati Stanislai... festum utrumque ... per universas civitatis et dyocesis.. celebrentur." Fijalek, *Najstarsze statuty*, 24. Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 371.

<sup>35</sup> The citation as in fn. 26 above. Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 371.

<sup>36</sup> Cathedral calendar no. 26 in Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 371.

<sup>37</sup> Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 371.

<sup>38</sup> Skierska, *Obowiązek mszalny*, 39-40.

century under the episcopate of Bishop Jan Muskata and the supremacy of Bohemian King Wenceslas II,<sup>39</sup> in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries its status strengthened. The synodal statutes of Bishops Nanker and Zbigniew Oleśnicki promoted and reflected the special status of St. Stanislaus.<sup>40</sup> The observance of the octave of the May feast in Cracow diocese marked its high liturgical rank.<sup>41</sup> The statutes of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki from 1436 introduced a votive mass to St. Stanislaus that was to be celebrated every Thursday in the cathedral and in the whole diocese.<sup>42</sup>

### Liturgical Cult Outside Cracow: Other Polish Dioceses

The cult spread from Cracow to other Polish dioceses and into other countries to a certain limited extent. Schenk, a great connoisseur of manuscript liturgical books, made a brief overview of liturgical observance of the days of St. Stanislaus on the basis of Silesian calendars (including calendars of religious orders), which he compared with some examples from other regions, and other Polish and non-Polish dioceses. Nor were Grotefend's and Pilgram's reference groups of liturgical sources very rich and representative either. Grotefend's concerned the late fifteenth and sixteenth century mostly, although it provides at least a hint at some patterns of observance. Włodarski's inquiry was similar to Grotefend's work, on which he had drawn. In many cases the overview of liturgical observance in Polish and also non-Polish dioceses and religious orders is too synchronical and static, and based on a sample of sources only. Consequently, sometimes it becomes too unclear where and when exactly a particular feast was observed, and on what rank. The following paragraphs present a summary of these findings, and combine them with the information available from other scattered sources (mostly published liturgical books and calendars and the mentions in other sources).

Liturgical books and calendars of the dioceses of Cracow, Gniezno, Lubusz, Płock, Włocławek and Wrocław, and also calendars of the orders of Cistercians, Franciscans and Teutonic Order, included the feasts of St. Stanislaus.<sup>43</sup> The feast of the translation was prescribed on

<sup>39</sup> As demonstrated by Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, esp. 130-164.

<sup>40</sup> For Zbigniew Oleśnicki and his promotion of four main patrons of the diocese, Sts. Stanislaus, Florian, Wenceslas and Adalbert, with a special emphasis on the first two as particular Cracow patrons, see Kazimierz Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu św. Floriana w Polsce do połowy XVI w. Polsce* (History of Cult of St. Florian in Poland until the Middle of the Sixteenth Century) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo im. Mianowskiego, 1923), *Rozprawy historyczne Towarzystwa naukowego Warszawskiego*, vol. 2, no. 2, 92-116; and Koczerska, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki*, 268-273.

<sup>41</sup> Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 30, on the basis of Cracow liturgical books. Only the missals from 1515 and 1532, as exceptions, prescribed an octave also for September feast.

<sup>42</sup> *Statuty synodalne krakowskie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego (1436, 1446)* (Cracow Synodal Statutes of Zbigniew Oleśnicki), ed. S. Zachorowski, *Studia i materiały do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce* (Studies and Materials from the History of Synodal Legislation in Poland), vol. 1 (Cracow: PAU, 1915), 47: "(Missa votiva) de beato Stanislaō quinta feriis de cetero per totam nostram diocesim fiat et observetur temporibus perpetue duracionis."

<sup>43</sup> Bronisław Włodarski (ed.), *Chronologia polska* (Polish Chronology) (Warsaw: PWN, 1957), 257 and passim.

September 27 as a *festum fori* in the dioceses of Cracow and Wrocław, and as a *festum chori* in Gnesen, Lebus and the province of the Teutonic Order.

The *natalis* feast of St. Stanislaus appeared in Silesian liturgical books as a *festum fori* as early as around 1300 and remained so into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with some exceptions.<sup>44</sup> The published diocesan statutes of Wrocław did not mention the feast of St. Stanislaus at any place.<sup>45</sup> In Wrocław cathedral, on the basis of a mid-fifteenth-century *Modus agendi*, the feast of St. Stanislaus belonged to the liturgical celebrations of the highest rank: May 8 as a *triplex*, and September 27 as a *duplex*.<sup>46</sup> From the mid-fourteenth century, the calendars listed the May feast among *festas duplicia*. Schenk maintained that the feast's rank increased (from a *simplex*, but *festum fori*) thanks to the initiative of Bishop Nanker, who was transferred from Cracow see to Wrocław (1326-1341).<sup>47</sup> The feast of May 8 belonged to the liturgical celebrations of the highest rank in the diocese of Wrocław in the fifteenth century, marked in Silesian calendars as a *festum triplex*.<sup>48</sup> The feast of translation on September 27 appeared in Silesian calendars only in the fourteenth century.<sup>49</sup> It was celebrated as a *festum duplex*.<sup>50</sup> The May feast of St. Stanislaus was celebrated with octave.<sup>51</sup>

The provincial statutes of Archbishop Trąba from around 1420, which aimed at the unification of the practice of feast observance within the ecclesiastical province of Poland, named the martyrdom feast of St. Stanislaus among the obligatory feasts without work for both clerics and laymen,<sup>52</sup> while omitting the days of translation of both St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert (which thus remained *festas chori*).<sup>53</sup> Sixteenth-century liturgical books of the archdiocese of Gniezno contained

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<sup>44</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 34-35.

<sup>45</sup> On the basis of my overview of the volume of Jakub Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne*, vol. 10: *Synody diecezji wrocławskiej i ich statuty* (na podstawie materiałów przysposobionych przy udziale Alfreda Sabischa) (Concilia Poloniae. Sources and Critical Studies. Synods of Wrocław Diocese and Their Statutes, on the basis of materials processed in cooperation with Alfred Sabisch) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1963).

<sup>46</sup> Helmut Jan Sobeczko, *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej według przedtrydenckiego "Liber Ordinarius" z 1563 roku [Opole, Archiwum Diecezjalne, rkps nr M 1]* (The Liturgy of Wrocław Cathedral according to Pre-Trent "Liber Ordinarius" from 1563 [Opole, Diocesan Archives, MS. M 1]) (Opole: Wydawnictwo św. Krzyża, 1993), 180, 186, 213-215.

<sup>47</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 37.

<sup>48</sup> Schenk presented some hypotheses concerning the introduction and functioning of the *triplex* rite and this special liturgical hierarchy in the diocese of Wrocław; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 37-41.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-48. Dominicans, Franciscans and Premonstratensians only in the fifteenth century.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 28; Kazimierz Dola, "Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa i męczennika a tradycje polskie na Śląsku" (The Cult of Saint Stanislaus, the Martyr Bishop, and Polish Traditions in Silesia), *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 7 (1979), 252.

<sup>51</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 25 (referred to the documents of Bishop Przeclaw from 1372 and also a document from 1337) and 42.

<sup>52</sup> *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie Mikołaja Trąby z r. 1420*. Z materiałów przysposobionych przez B. Ulanowskiego (Synodal Statutes of Wielun-Kalisz of Mikołaj Trąba from 1420. From the Materials Gathered by B. Ulanowski), ed. Jan Fijalek and Adam Vetulani, *Studia i materiały do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, vol. 4 (Cracow: PAU, 1915-51), 38-9 *De feriis*: "Ut circa festivitatum sit ecclesiarum nostre provincie concordia, statuimus, ut infrascriptis diebus tantum clerici et laici debeant a servilibus operibus abstinere. .... Item in die Angelorum, quod dicitur festum sancti Michaelis. ... Item in diebus martirum beatorum Stephani, Innocentium, Laurentii, Adalberti, **Stanisłai passionis tantum**. ... Item episcopus festivitates patronorum sue ecclesie in sua diocesi potest facere celebrari."

<sup>53</sup> W. Danielski noted and emphasised this fact in his *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 61.

both feasts of St. Stanislaus, the day of martyrdom on May 8 as a *festum fori* of the highest rank (i.e. *rubro*, and *duplex maius*) and the day of translation on September 27 as a *festum chori* (i.e. not *rubro*, and *duplex*).<sup>54</sup> Its suffragan diocese Lubusz (Lebus) celebrated both feasts, which were not obligatory for all people (both as *duplex*).<sup>55</sup> The synodal statutes of Gniezno from the early fifteenth century named the day of St. Stanislaus among the feasts (no categories differentiated).<sup>56</sup> The synodal statutes of the diocese of Poznań of Bishop Andrew from the fifteenth century prescribed observance of the day of St. Stanislaus on May 8 as a *festum fori*.<sup>57</sup> In the Przemyśl bishopric a fifteenth-century liturgical book prescribed: *Festum utrumque s. Stanislai mart.gloriosi, patroni totius Regni Poloniae*.<sup>58</sup> The synodal statutes of Jan Biskupiec, the Bishop of Chełm, from the mid-fifteenth century listed in the calendar for May – *Stanislai episcopi et martyris duplex et populo celebre*, and for September – *Translacio Stanislai duplex*.<sup>59</sup> The *Calendarium Plocense* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries noted May 8 as the feast of St. Stanislaus (*Passio Stanislai episcopi*) and September 27 as the translation feast already in the fourteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

### Church Dedications

Besides liturgical observance, the evidence of which can be found in normative prescriptions of synodal statutes and in practical usage in liturgical books, other manifestations indicate the geographical centres of the cult of St. Stanislaus of Cracow. The distribution of church dedications and relics, for example, documents the gradual diffusion of the cult from Cracow to places in the diocese of Cracow and to the other dioceses of Poland. The following paragraphs give only a brief sketch of the distribution of dedications to St. Stanislaus, summarising several studies dealing with this topic (especially the works of Schenk, Spórna, Rozynekowski and Bełch).

Spórna, who studied church dedications in the diocese of Cracow, summarised that 74 objects dedicated to St. Stanislaus existed there by 1529. As many as 41 parishes in the Cracow diocese were dedicated to St. Stanislaus, which means that it was a frequent and popular dedication.

<sup>54</sup> Hermann Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1891-1898), 2/1 (vol. 2, part 1), 53.

<sup>55</sup> Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, 2/1, 98.

<sup>56</sup> *Najdawniejsze statuty synodalne archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej oraz statuty z rękopisu Oss. Nr. 1627 z uwzględnieniem materiałów zebranych przez s. p. B. Ulanowskiego* (The Oldest Synodal Statutes of Gniezno Archdiocese or the Statutes from MS. Oss. 1627, taking into consideration the materials gathered by B. Ulanowski), ed. Władysław Abraham, *Studia i materiały do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, vol. 6 (Cracow: PAU, 1920), 32-33. The statutes originated in 1407/8, they used earlier Włocławek statutes and modified them for the uses of Gniezno. The statutes were promulgated in 1411 at the synod of Łęczyca and then again in 1456.

<sup>57</sup> "Statuta synodalia Andree episcopi Posnaniensis," in Heyzmann, *Statuta synodalia*, p. XX (Appendix): (cap. XXIII *De festis celebrandis*) "Proinde statuimus, ut haec et non alia festa populo celebranda nuntientur, scilicet: ... Stanislai Martyris passio [variants: Stanislai Martyris, Passio sancti Stanislai] tantum, ..."

<sup>58</sup> Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 61, fn. 147. The book is dated to 1415 or 1455/92.

<sup>59</sup> J. Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 4: *Najdawniejsze statuty synodalne diecezji chełmskiej z XV w.* (The Oldest Statutes of Chełm Diocese from the Fifteenth Century) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1948), pages 219 and 221, respectively.

<sup>60</sup> *Calendarium Plocense*, ed. Kętrzyński, in MPH 5 (Lviv: PAU, 1888), 451 and 457.



In 24 cases St. Stanislaus was the only patron, while in 17 cases he was a co-patron.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, Spórna listed 21 altars and chapels dedicated to St. Stanislaus<sup>62</sup> and 11 other objects, including 3 hospital churches and chapels.<sup>63</sup> Many dedications are first mentioned in the *Liber beneficiorum* of Długosz. St. Stanislaus was the ninth-most frequent dedicatee in that period, and the most frequently-named Polish saint to whom religious objects were dedicated.<sup>64</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the cult of St. Stanislaus diffused not only to whole diocese of Cracow, but also beyond its borders. In the archdiocese of Gniezno the *patrocinium* of St. Stanislaus was the fifth-most frequently used dedication, counting 36 churches.<sup>65</sup> In a different survey Schenk counted 10 churches dedicated to St. Stanislaus from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Greater Poland.<sup>66</sup>

Spórna noted that the development of dedications to St. Stanislaus reflected the particular phases of the saint's cult. In the period shortly after the canonisation, when the cult flourished, several dedications to St. Stanislaus originated – an altar in the Benedictine Church of the Holy Cross at Lysa Góra and the conventual churches in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Stary Sącz and Lublin, which were most probably the foundations of Duke Boleslaus the Shy and his wife St. Cunegond (Kinga), both fervent devotees and propagators of St. Stanislaus' cult.<sup>67</sup> The canonisation of St. Stanislaus in 1253, followed by its festive celebration in Cracow in 1254, was the impetus for the first dedications of churches and ecclesiastical institutions to the newly-canonised Pole. Many church dignitaries were present at the festive celebration in Cracow in 1254, receiving and distributing relics to various places in Poland and abroad.<sup>68</sup> The particular cases of Bohemia and Hungary are discussed below. For example, Bishop of Wrocław Thomas I (1232-1268) brought an

<sup>61</sup> Marcin Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława w diecezji krakowskiej w świetle patrociniiów do 1529 r." (Cult of St. Stanislaus in Cracow Diocese in the Light of Dedications), *Folia Historica Cracoviensia* 7 (2000): 61-63 and tables 1 and 2 on page 62.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-64. He added further 15 altars and chapels dedicated to St. Stanislaus mentioned in later sources (the seventeenth century), about which he thought they could most probably have existed around 1529 at the latest.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 63 and cf. 65 for further statistical observations.

<sup>65</sup> Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Kult św. Michała Archanioła w Polsce średniowiecznej" (The Cult of St. Michael Archangel in Medieval Poland), *Zeszyty naukowe KUL* 14 (1971), no. 4: 23, fn. 18. His observations are based on the data of Institute of Historical Geography of Church in Poland at the Catholic University of Lublin on dedications around year 1500 and *Liber beneficiorum* of Gniezno diocese from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>66</sup> Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult," 598.

<sup>67</sup> Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława," 58.

<sup>68</sup> The *Chronicle of Greater Poland* described that the relics were distributed: "ossa ipsius benedicta... fuerant honorifice elevata seu sublimata et pars eorum per ecclesias iocunde distributa. Alia veri in predicta ecclesia cum capite glorioso recondita conservantur." *Kronika wielkopolska*, 101. Afterwards, the chronicle listed the Church and secular dignitaries who had been present. Similarly, Długosz also maintained that the celebrations were an important point for the distribution of the relics and establishment of new dedications to the saint. Długosz, *Vita*, 149: "[ossa] ac deinde in ecclesias cathedrales, conventuales et collegiatae, aliasque principiores, portio illorum, capite, brachiis, pectore et aliis insignioribus apud Cracoviensem Ecclesiam cum cineribus sacri corporis remanentibus, distributa. ... Ex eo autem et deinceps tempore in omni Polonica Ecclesia et in singulis eius diocesibus, in plerisque urbibus, oppidis, castris, villis atque vicis, plures numero parochiales, conventuales et collegiatae ecclesiae, altaria, prebendae in honorem, titulum atque decus beatissimi Stanislai fundatae, dotatae et erectae sunt, et usque in praesens fundantur et eriguntur."

arm relic of St. Stanislaus from there and had an altar dedicated to Sts. Stanislaus and Vincent in Wrocław cathedral in 1268.<sup>69</sup> The Cistercian abbot, Henry of Łubiąż, brought relics from Cracow in 1254 as well.<sup>70</sup> Both dignitaries actively participated in the canonisation investigation.

In Silesia dedications to St. Stanislaus spread rather quickly. An altar dedicated to St. Stanislaus was constructed in the church of the Cistercian nuns in Trzebnica in 1257. The *Life of St. Hedwig of Silesia* (died 1243) related that the saintly princess had foretold even before the canonisation of Stanislaus that an altar would be dedicated to a great saint at that place.<sup>71</sup> Several churches of St. Stanislaus were founded in Silesia as early as the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>72</sup>

Another wave of dedications originated during the reign of Casimir the Great (1333-1370), when the network of parishes grew and St. Stanislaus became the patron saint of the monarchy. The fifteenth century witnessed new dedications, motivated, for example, by the statute of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki of 1436, which named St. Stanislaus among the main patron-saints of the diocese and the country and propagated heavily by Jan Długosz. As for the dedications, Długosz had a new church constructed in Szczepanów and introduced the Pauline friars to Skalka.<sup>73</sup>

Despite the growing Czech influence in Silesia in the fourteenth century, new churches of St. Stanislaus continued to be founded.<sup>74</sup> Charles IV founded an Augustinian convent and church dedicated to Sts. Wenceslas, Stanislaus and Dorothy in Wrocław, connecting a Bohemian and a Piast saint together with his personal devotion to St. Dorothy.<sup>75</sup> In the fifteenth century other churches and chapels of St. Stanislaus were founded.<sup>76</sup> In addition to the cases in which St. Stanislaus was the patron or one of the patrons of the churches and chapels, side altars were dedicated to him in some other churches as well: in the Premonstratensian church in Wrocław, the

<sup>69</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 16; Kazimierz Dola, *Dzieje kościoła na Śląsku* (History of Church in Silesia), vol. 1: *Średniowiecze* (Middle Ages) (Opole: Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1996), 63.

<sup>70</sup> Franciszek Wolnik, "Kult św. Stanisława u śląskich cystersów" (The Cult of St. Stanislaus among Polish Cistercians), in *Kult świętego Stanisława na Śląsku (1253-2003)* (The Cult of Saint Stanislaus in Silesia 1253-2003), ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Wydawnictwo Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2004), 66.

<sup>71</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 15; *Vita sanctae Hedwigis*, ed. Aleksander Semkowicz, in MPH 4, 573.

<sup>72</sup> Chraszczyce, Raciborz, Raszow in the region of Opole and Bukow, Kwiecziszów, Ujów, Świdnica in Lower Silesia. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 16-17 [on the basis of H. Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, ed. 2 (Breslau 1902) and J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, 4 vols. (Breslau 1902-1908)]. For an overview of Silesian dedications to St. Stanislaus, see also Waldemar Rozynkowski, "Św. Stanisław patron kościołów parafialnych na Śląsku" (St. Stanislaus, the Patron-Saint of Parish Churches in Silesia), in *Kult św. Stanisława na Śląsku*, 79-84.

<sup>73</sup> Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława," 65-66.

<sup>74</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 24. [Schenk mentioned churches in following places: Wrocław, Strzyganowice near Wrocław, Czerńczyce near Trzebnica, Gorzyca near Lubin, Przylesie near Brzeg, Kujakowice above Kluczbork, Falkowice above Opole, Płużnica above Strzelce-Op., Stare Bielsko in the southern part of the diocese.]

<sup>75</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 23; Sobeczko, *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej*, 186: already at the end of the fifteenth century citizens knew the church exclusively under the dedication to St. Dorothy (head relic), "which would point to a gradual disappearance of the cults of St. Wenceslas and Stanislaus in the city of Wrocław with inhabitants of mostly German origin."

<sup>76</sup> Schenk (*Kult liturgiczny*, 28) mentioned Legnica, Świdnica, Ligota Bialska above Prudnik, Naczysławice above Koźle, Pyskowice above Gliwice, Bruzowice in the region of Cieszyn Silesia.

cathedral in Wrocław; the Augustinian church in Wrocław and Żagań (1494), the parish church of St. Elisabeth in Wrocław (the right wing of the tryptych with St. Stanislaus and Francis from 1498), Orlow Abbey in Cieszyn in Silesia (1466), the Cistercian nuns in Trzebnica.<sup>77</sup> A collegiate chapter dedicated to Sts. Nicholas, Hedwig and Stanislaus was founded in Silesian Otmuchów in 1386. Its Spring general chapter assembly took place on the feast of St. Stanislaus on May 8. After the destruction and discontinuance of the collegiate chapter in the Hussite turmoil (1428-55), the chapter moved to nearby Nysa (the Church of Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist) in the second half of the fifteenth century (1455-66).<sup>78</sup>

### Observance of the Feasts by Religious Orders

The communities of religious orders in Poland observed the *natalis* feast of St. Stanislaus as well. The bull of Pope Alexander IV in 1256 (January 13), *Cum felicis recordationis*, ordered to all religious orders in Poland (*uniuersis religiosis per Poloniam constitutis*) to celebrate the feast in the same way as all Polish cathedral churches (*quemadmodum in Cathedralibus ecclesijs Polonie agitur*).<sup>79</sup> Calendars of the Cistercians, Dominicans, Augustinians, Premonstratensians, and the Poor Clares marked May 8 as a *festum fori*; the Teutonic Knights as a *festum chori*.<sup>80</sup> Neither Dominican nor Franciscan liturgical books from the late fifteenth and the turn of the sixteenth centuries examined by Grotefend included any feast of St. Stanislaus (for May 8 they usually observed the Apparition of St. Michael).<sup>81</sup> Franciscan liturgical books (printed breviaries and missals) included the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael for May 8, but, for example, a thirteenth-century Polish manuscript breviary of Franciscan provenance had the feast of St. Stanislaus written by a later hand on the same day.<sup>82</sup> A more thorough and systematic overview of manuscript liturgical books would be necessary. The Dominican convents in Lublin (around 1260), Sieradz (1260) and Warka (1255, 1262 or 1285), each of which had been established shortly after Stanislaus's canonisation, received the dedication to the recently canonised Pole.<sup>83</sup> Additionally, St. Stanislaus appeared as a co-patron

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<sup>77</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 112.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 24; Sobeczko, *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej*, 55-56.

<sup>79</sup> KDKK 1, no. 46, 63-64; *Bullarium Poloniae* 1, no. 589, 113. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligensprechung*, 516, fn. 506.

<sup>80</sup> Schenk, "Liturgiczny kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Polsce," 588-589.

<sup>81</sup> Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, 2/2, 34-37. Outside Poland, for example, the Acts of the Dominican General Chapter did not mention any particular veneration of St. Stanislaus, and the saint did not have high importance, as Krafft (*Papsturkunde und Heiligensprechung*, 517) reminded.

<sup>82</sup> Włodarski, *Chronologia polska*, 185.

<sup>83</sup> For the dedications of Dominican convents, see the following: Waldemar Rozynkowski, "Święci patronowie kościoła dominikanów w Gdańsku – wokół średniowiecznych wezwań dominikańskich w Polsce" (Patron-Saints of the Dominican Church in Gdańsk – Concerning Medieval Dominican Dedications in Poland) in *Dominikanie Gdańsk – Polska – Europa. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej. z okazji 775-lecia powstania klasztoru św. Mikołaja w Gdańsku (9-10 maja 2002)* (Dominicans: Gdańsk – Poland – Europe. Collected volume from the international conference on the occasion of the 775th anniversary of the foundation of the convent of St. Nicholas in Gdańsk, May 9-10, 2002), ed. Dariusz A. Dekański, Andrzej Gołębniak and Marek Grubka (Gdańsk-Pelplin: Wydawnictwo Diecezji Pelplińskiej "Bernardinum," 2003), 233-237; Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XIII-XIV wieku*

of the convents in Raciborz (before 1258).<sup>84</sup> The Franciscan convent in Kalisz founded by Duke Boleslaus the Pious and his wife Jolanta was dedicated to St. Stanislaus soon after the canonisation.<sup>85</sup> The martyr-bishop was the patron of the Franciscan convent in Głogów. Schenk maintained that this dedication merits particular interest, as this was the only Franciscan convent in Lower Silesia that did not break away from the Polish-Bohemian Province (the custody of Gniezno) and did not join the Saxon Province after 1284.<sup>86</sup>

The Statutes of the General Chapter of Cistercian Order in 1255 instituted, after a petition of the Bishop of Cracow soon after the canonisation, to observe the feast of *dies natalis* of St. Stanislaus as a feast with 12 lessons (and *duplex*) in Cistercian houses in Poland.<sup>87</sup> Silesian Cistercian calendars from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century had the feast of May 8 in the highest rite, with few exceptions. On the day of translation of St. Stanislaus the commemoration of Sts. Cosmas and Damian was preferred, but the rhyming office *Dies adest celebris* was included for the day of translation.<sup>88</sup>

With respect to the observance of the feast of Stanislaus, the Regular Canons in Silesia followed the custom of Wrocław cathedral, observing May 8 as a *duplex*, while September 27 was celebrated in the rite of 9 lessons, compared to a higher rank of *duplex* in the cathedral.<sup>89</sup> A fourteenth-century Żagań (Sagan) calendar mentioned the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian for that

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(Lublin: Towarzystwo naukowe KUL, 1956), for Warka pp. 303-4 (most probably founded before 1262 by Boleslaus Ziemowit), for Lublin pp. 299-300. Kłoczowski in his more recent study connected the patronage of Lublin convent with the atmosphere explicitly around the canonisation, to whose success the Friars Preachers themselves contributed, dating the patronage and the establishment to the years after 1253/4 and also connects it with the eastern mission efforts in Lithuania and Rus', Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Klasztor dominikański w Lublinie w pierwszych wiekach swego istnienia w ramach prowincji polskiej (stulecia XIII-XVI)" (The Dominican Convent in Lublin in the First Years of Its Existence in the Polish Province: Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries), in *Dominikanie w Lublinie: Studium z dziejów i kultury* (Dominicans in Lublin: A Study of History and Culture), ed. Henryk Gapski (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2006), esp. 30-31. For Sieradz, see Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, 293 (the problem of dating because of Stanislaus dedication, but was probably founded earlier than the dedication). St. Stanislaus appeared as its co-patron together with St. Dorothy at the beginning of the fifteenth century; Rozyńkowski, "Święci patronowie," 234.

<sup>84</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Stanisław Belch, *Święty Stanisław biskup-męczennik: Patron Polaków* (Saint Stanislaus, Martyr-Bishop: The Polish Patron Saint) (London: Veritas, 1976), 27; Kantak, *Franciszkanie polscy*, 32-33.

<sup>86</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 18.

<sup>87</sup> "cum duodecim lectionibus et duabus missis fiat per totam Poloniam in domibus ordinis nostri." For full quotation and further details, see the chapter 1.2, fn. 213.

<sup>88</sup> Franciszek Wolnik, *Liturgia śląskich cystersów w średniowieczu* (The Liturgy of Silesian Cistercians in the Middle Ages) (Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2002), 436-7, for the cult of St. Thomas Becket among Silesian Cistercians, see pages 422-3; for the reconstruction of Cistercian calendar, see pages 226, 250. For a Cistercian calendar on the basis of thirteenth-fifteenth century liturgical books of Łądz, Poznań, etc. cf. Włodarski (*Chronologia polska*, 185ff., who had the feast of St. Stanislaus on May 8, not *rubro*, and the translation feast was missing. An edited fifteenth-century calendar from the Cistercian monastery in Łądz (*Landense*) contained both feasts of St. Stanislaus; *Calendarium Landense*, ed. Teodor Wierzbowski, in MPH 5, ed. W. Kętrzyński (Lviv: PAU, 1888), 462, 466-467. Grotefend (*Zeitrechnung*, 2/2, 20-23) summarised that the feast of St. Stanislaus had not been observed universally in Cistercian Order in the Late Middle Ages on the basis of liturgical books from 1487 and later.

<sup>89</sup> Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, "Kult świętych w śląskich klasztorach kanoników regularnych" (The Cult of Saints in Silesian Convents of Regular Canons), in *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym* (Church and Religious Life in Medieval Town), ed. Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia III, Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2002), 447.

day. Pobóg-Lenartowicz observed that all Canons' breviaries contained the office proper of St. Stanislaus and that in general their liturgy tended to conform to the diocesan one. An altar of St. Stanislaus was constructed in the church at Piasek in Wrocław (commissioned by canon Mikołaj Gleiwicz – from Gliwice) in the early fifteenth century.

The Premonstratensians of Wrocław observed the feast of May 8 as a *duplex minus*, but on September 27 they gave preference to the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the fifteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The Pauline Order's early sixteenth-century calendars prescribed the observance of May 8 with a lower rank (*III lectionum*), while the Apparition of St. Michael was to be observed on the same day with a higher rite (*duplex*).<sup>91</sup> The Teutonic Knights observed the May feast as a *festum chori* (not *rubro*) in the *duplex* rite. They did not observe the feast of his translation, but they had the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian on that day in the fifteenth and at the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Wolnik, "Liturgiczny kalendarz wrocławskich premonstratensów według XV-wiecznego *Liber ordinarius*" (Liturgical Calendar of Wrocław Premonstratensians according to a Fifteenth-Century *Liber ordinarius*), in *Studia teologiczno-historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 19 (1999): 193-209, esp. 202 and 205.

<sup>91</sup> Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, 2/2, 45.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 2/2, 28. Cf. Włodarski, *Chronologia polska*, 185.

### 2.2.1.2 The Cult outside Polish dioceses

Devotion to Saint Stanislaus spread beyond the boundaries of Polish dioceses. Liturgical books, calendars, the distribution of church dedications and relics document his veneration in the neighbouring countries (the Bohemian and the Hungarian Kingdoms) and some other isolated places in various periods (Sankt Florian in Austria, Rome, Assisi, Trent, etc.). It did not spread widely outside Polish regions, but was diffused primarily through personal, cultural and political contacts.<sup>93</sup>

#### Bohemia

There are some hypotheses that the cult of St. Stanislaus existed in Bohemia already before his canonisation. Rajman maintained that the cult arrived in Bohemia through Premonstratensian contacts – the convents in Cracow region, Hebdowa and Zwierzyniec, had been founded from Bohemian Strahov and Doksany.<sup>94</sup> However, after the dating of the mention of St. Stanislaus in the *Life of Blessed Hroznata* was correctly dated to the period shortly after the canonisation, there is not sufficient and credible evidence of the pre-canonisation cult of St. Stanislaus in Bohemia.<sup>95</sup> Some evidence of the cult comes from the period around the canonisation in the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup> The newly canonised saint, and the happenings connected with his canonisation, stirred interest in the neighbouring Bohemian Kingdom: there are records of pilgrims from Bohemia who travelled to Cracow in the canonisation period – a beneficiary of a miracle from Bohemia<sup>97</sup> and the votive badges with an image of St. Stanislaus found in Moravia and Czech territory.<sup>98</sup> In the same period Bishop Prandota of Cracow donated a relic of the saint's arm to King Přemysl Otakar (Ottokar) II.

<sup>93</sup> An overview of cult places outside Poland is found especially in Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian w średnich wiekach" (Cult of St. Stanislaus in St. Florian in the Middle Ages), *Rocznik krakowski* 19 (1923), 116-133, esp. 119-120; and Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 32-33.

<sup>94</sup> Jerzy Rajman, "Przedkanonizacyjny kult św. Stanisława," *Nasza Przeszłość* 80 (1993), 43-45 (on the basis of Hroznata's *Life*, the dating of a document from Brno, etc.).

<sup>95</sup> The previous hypothesis that the mention of St. Stanislaus in Hroznata's life dated back to the pre-canonisation period (*Vita fratris Hroznatae*, ed. in AA.SS. Iulii III, 804-810 and FRB 1, XXVII-XXX) was rejected by Petr Kubín, *Blahoslavený Hroznata – Kritický životopis* (Blessed Hroznata – A Critical Biography) (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000), 47-49. The mention of St. Stanislaus: Hroznata's sister Vojslava married "in Cracovia, in qua sanctus Stanizlaus martyr et episcopus signis et miraculis nostris temporibus choruscat insignis" (FRB 1, 379).

<sup>96</sup> For a short summary and some thoughts on the cult of St. Stanislaus in Bohemia, see Waclaw Rynes, "Kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Czechach" (The Cult of St. Stanislaus the Bishop in Bohemia), *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* 1978, no. 1, 76-77; and for the cult in Bohemia after 1253 see Zbigniew Jakubowski, *Polityczne i kulturowe aspekty kultu biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu* (Political and Cultural Aspects of the Cult of St. Stanislaus Bishop of Cracow in Poland and Bohemia in the Middle Ages) (Częstochowa: Wyższa szkoła pedagogiczna w Częstochowie, 1988), 58ff.

<sup>97</sup> Předvoj from Bohemia was struck by lightning and healed after a vision of St. Stanislaus, who urged him to make a pilgrimage to Cracow. Stanislaus, not yet canonised, had been unknown to him before; *Miracula*, art. 44, 317-318 and *Vita maior*, III 22, 408-409.

<sup>98</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 87-91; and Chapter 1.3.1.

The Bohemian king portrayed himself as an ardent devotee of St. Stanislaus in his letter to Prandota. Such rhetoric might have been politically motivated, in this case arguing for the bishop's intervention in favour of Duke Boleslaus, which would help to restore the unity and alliance and allow the exchange of captives after the previous conflict marked by the Polish-Hungarian raids to Moravia, together with Duke Daniel of Galician Rus'.<sup>99</sup> Other sources which mentioned the request and the gift of relics are of a later date than the document. They explicitly connected the event to the canonisation of St. Stanislaus. Długosz did not mention any political motivations behind the request but devotion to St. Stanislaus and a desire for his relics, which Přemysl Ottokar felt "when he heard about his canonisation." The king's procession welcomed the envoys with relics in Prague.<sup>100</sup> Długosz derived his information on this matter, as he did systematically on many other events concerning Bohemia, from *Pulkava's Chronicle* from the reign of Charles IV.<sup>101</sup> Various redactions of the catalogues of Cracow bishops, some Czech annals<sup>102</sup> and *Marignol's Chronicle* from the reign of Charles IV<sup>103</sup> mentioned the acquisition of the precious relics as well. The reliquaries were kept in St. Vitus' cathedral,<sup>104</sup> and an altar dedicated to St. Stanislaus was built there in order to house the relic.<sup>105</sup> The Prague chapter then gave a portion of the relics from 1254 to the town of

<sup>99</sup> A letter from Přemysl Ottokar II to Prandota from July 19, 1255, expressing thanks for the relic of St. Stanislaus edited in *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. 5/1, ed. J. Šebánek and S. Dušková (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1974), no. 48, 99-101 (earlier edited also in KDKK 1, no. 44): "Quo affectu et quanta fidei nostre devotione gloriosum Christi pontificem et martirem Stanizlaum, qui nobis in Prusia positus suo apud deum profuit interventu et affuit presidio auxilii oportuni, singulariter veneremur, nec lingua dicere, nec scriptoris posset calamus explicare. Hinc est, quod amore et optentu brachii eiusdem sancti nobis desiderabilis super aurum et topazion preciosum omnem nostram offensam..." Jakubowski (*Polityczne*, 102-109) saw the devotional rhetoric of Bohemian king solely as a pre-text for his political interests and contacts with powerful Prandota, Bishop of Cracow. For the politics of Přemysl Ottokar II and his interest in the relics of St. Stanislaus, see also Homza, "Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša," esp. 165; Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 86, 329, 558-9.

<sup>100</sup> "Hic magni ardoris et devocionis in sanctum Dei martirem Stanislaum Cracowiensem episcopum existens, cum illius canonisationem audisset, missis ad Prandotham Cracowiensem episcopum nunciis eius reliquias nondum ex tumulo levatas sibi donari magna precacione optinuit et Pragam allatas solenni omnium ecclesiarum et ordinum processione, solus illis ad lapidem septimum obviam eundo, cum magna reverentia excepit, ac in maiori Pragensi ecclesia locatas argento vestivit." Ioannis Dlugossii, *Annales*, 94.

<sup>101</sup> *Kronika Pulkavova*, ed. J. Emler and J. Gebauer, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 5, ed. J. Emler (Prague: Z nadání Palackého péčí "Spolku historického v Praze", 1893), 300: "1253 Canonizatus est eciam gloriosus martyr Stanislaus. Eodem anno de Cracovia XI kalendas Novembris eiusdem sancti Stanislai martyris sunt allate reilquie et in ecclesia Pragensi cum solempni processione suscepte." The footnote 16 provides the wording of the Manuscript 1, nowadays in Cracow – this marginal note was most probably written by Długosz himself: "Cracoviensis episcopus Prandota largitur Przemislao, regi Boemie, sancti Stanislai martyris reliquias eodem anno octava Septembris per Innocentem quartum in Assisi canonizati." S. Solicki, *Źródła Jana Długosza do problematyki czeskiej* (Jan Długosz's Sources for Czech Issues) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1973), 20 and 97.

<sup>102</sup> The Czech annals also mentioned the reception of the relics in Prague (October 22, 1253; *Letopisy české*, FRB 2, 291-292): "Eodem anno [1253] allatae sunt reliquiae s. Stanislai martiris de Cracovia XI. Kal. Novembris, et receptae in ecclesia Pragensi cum processione sollempni." [cited in AA. SS. Maii II, p. 198, 200]. The Catalogues of Cracow Bishops: *Katalog IV biskupów krakowskich*, MPH SN 10/2, 63: "Hic Prandotha brachium Sancti Stanislai donavit Venceslao regi Bohemie." The same annalistic note is found also in *Katalog V biskupów krakowskich*, *ibid.*, 95. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 23.

<sup>103</sup> "1253/4 Eodem anno Nicolao episcopo procurante allate sunt reliquie sancti Stanislai martiris de Cracovia." *Kronika Marignolova*, ed. J. Emler, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 3, ed. J. Emler (Prague: Z nadání Palackého péčí "Spolku historického v Praze", 1878), 565.

<sup>104</sup> For the reliquary from around 1470, see Jakubowski, *Polityczne*, 69.

<sup>105</sup> The altar was mentioned still in 1654. The altar of Sts. Stanislaus and Oswald in 1259; Jakubowski, *Polityczne*, 65.

Plzeň (Pilsen) in 1434: *cum ... in festo S. Stanislai die VIII Maji, fuisset a gravi et diuturna Thaboritarum obsidione liberata*. The anniversary of the victory over the Taborite siege on the day of St. Stanislaus was supposedly commemorated annually there.<sup>106</sup> Another sign of the revived interest in St. Stanislaus appeared during the reign of Charles IV. The emperor, who was a great relic collector, received the relics of St. Stanislaus from Casimir the Great in 1363.<sup>107</sup>

Bohemian and Moravian dioceses venerated St. Stanislaus in liturgy, although the cult was not as rich as in Polish lands.<sup>108</sup> Various medieval calendars of Prague (*IX lect.*, i.e. the highest rank)<sup>109</sup> and Olomouc (Olmütz) (*IX. Celebre*, i.e. the second highest) dioceses from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century noted the day of St. Stanislaus on May 8 as a *festum chori*. Neither diocese celebrated the feast of translation on September 27. Synodal statutes of Czech dioceses did not mention either feast of St. Stanislaus.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> AA.SS. Maii II (Dies 7), 200.

<sup>107</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 23; AA. SS. Maii II (Dies 7), (199A-) 200, quoted from a sixteenth-century calendar. Another possible connection to Emperor Charles IV is a reliquary with a fourteenth/fifteenth-century inscription with the name of St. Stanislaus of Cracow kept in the parish church of Assumption of Virgin Mary in Omišalj at the island of Krk. The reliquary could have arrived in Dalmatia (the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Omišalj) through the contacts of Charles IV from the Slavic Benedictine Monastery in Prague. However, in the eyes of Jan Lešny, the reliquary could have got to Dalmatia directly from a Prague filial Slavic Benedictine monastery in Kleparz (Cracow); Jan Lešny, "Imię św. Stanisława biskupa na relikwiarzu w Omišalju," (Artykuły recenzyjne i recenzje) (The Name of St. Stanislaus Bishop on a Reliquary in Omišalj), *Studia źródłoznawcze* 31 (1990), 66-68.

<sup>108</sup> See the following: Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 24; Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, vol. 2, part 1, 139, 152; Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 226; Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 370. Some fourteenth-century manuscript missals from the diocese of Olomouc contained sequences dedicated to both Sts. Wenceslas and Stanislaus together beginning with *Laetabundus psallat mundus*; see *Cantica* mentioned above in the chapter on *Image of St. Stanislaus in Liturgy*.

<sup>109</sup> Pilgram named the diocese of Prague among the places of the liturgical cult on the basis of a breviary from the first half of the fifteenth century (both martyrdom and translation feasts) and two fifteenth-century breviaries (only May 8); Antonii Pilgram, "Tentamen de cultu praecipuorum festorum medii aevi," in his *Calendarium chronologicum medii potissimum aevi* (Viennae: Josephi nobilis de Kurzbeck, 1781), 195, 252 (hereafter Pilgram, *Calendarium*). The *Acta sanctorum* referred to an undated Martyrology of Prague Church, which had a memory of St. Stanislaus on May 8; AASS, Maii II (Dies 7), 199. The calendar in *Missale Pragense* from around 1365 (repertoried in Manuscriptorium.cz; MS. Olomouc, Věd. Knihovna M III 9, *Calendarium* 2r-7v) had the feast of St. Stanislaus *rubro* on May 8. Ryneš mentioned that the feast (unspecified) appeared in the following liturgical calendars: in an astronomical codex of the metropolitan chapter of Prague (which he dated around 1290), in the breviary of Kunegond (Kunhuta), Abbess of St. George at Hradčany (before 1321), in the missal of Premonstratensian nuns of Chotěšov ("Kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Czechach," 76-77). The oldest calendars from the Premonstratensian convent of Strahov, dating back to the turn of the sixteenth century, contain the feast of St. Stanislaus (Kubín, *Blahoslavený Hroznata*, 49, fn. 39, referring to a PhD thesis of Michal Dragoun, Prague). Then he mentioned also a codex with a sanctoral containing St. Stanislaus from before 1224, but the note concerning St. Stanislaus was added in the second half of the thirteenth century only (Ibid.). The so-called *Martyrology of Gerona* from Sedlec Abbey of ca. 1410 had the feast of St. Stanislaus – I owe the reference to Rožnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 311 (and fn. 75).

<sup>110</sup> Schenk (*Kult liturgiczny*, 24) maintained that synodal statutes from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries prescribed the feast of St. Stanislaus. However, there is no mention of St. Stanislaus whatsoever, to my knowledge, having checked his references to the provincial statutes of Prague of Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice from 1355 (correct dating according to the new edition – 1349) and of Olomouc from 1343 and 1413; *Concilia Germaniae*, ed. J. Hartzheim and J.F. Schannat (Colonia Agrippina, 1791), vol. 4, 394 and 337, respectively. A new critical edition of Prague provincial and diocesan statutes from the thirteenth century (the earliest of 1279) until 1414 does not have any mention whatsoever of the observance of the feast of St. Stanislaus among the  *festa* listed in various statutes. The reference of Schenk to the statutes is most probably erroneous: I assume that St. Stephen or St. Sigismund might have been misread. "Statuta provincialia [Praga, 11.-12. novembris 1349]," para. [55] *De festivitatibus celebrandis*, in Jaroslav V. Polc and Zdeňka Hledíková, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby* (Prague Synods and Councils of Pre-Hussite Period) (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), 143-144; for the dating and the mistakes of an earlier edition, *ibid.*, 28.



The redactions of the *Legenda aurea* used in Czech lands contained the legend about St. Stanislaus, like the legendaries spread in Polish areas.<sup>111</sup> Ryneš listed the churches dedicated to St. Stanislaus, but these dedications are probably only post-medieval (Ryneš supplied no dating).<sup>112</sup>

### Hungarian Kingdom

Liturgical codices from the Kingdom of Hungary dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are testimony to the liturgical tradition concerning St. Stanislaus in this territory. Some liturgical books contain the feasts of St. Stanislaus in their liturgical calendars. These liturgical books include, apart from some codices of Polish or Bohemian provenance,<sup>113</sup> the missals of Bratislava (Pressburg) collegiate chapter from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>114</sup> and liturgical books from various other places in the Hungarian Kingdom, especially from its north in what is present-day Slovakia [the breviaries from Spiš (Scepusia/Szepes) region, Košice and Bardejov<sup>115</sup>], some codices from Esztergom (Ostrihom/Gran) chapter,<sup>116</sup> and the Premonstratensian breviaries of Leles<sup>117</sup> and a Premonstratensian breviary of Jasov convent.<sup>118</sup> Out of the manuscripts that included the feast of St. Stanislaus, in most cases the calendars noted his martyrdom feast on May 8.<sup>119</sup> In many cases the same date had also the Apparition of St. Michael, together with St. Stanislaus. The calendars recorded the translation day less frequently than the martyrdom feast. Interestingly, several liturgical books noted October 6 instead of September 27 as the day of

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<sup>111</sup> For the references, see above in the chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>112</sup> Ryneš, “Kult św. Stanisława biskupa w Czechach,” 76: eleven localities. Jakubowski (*Polityczne*, 66) listed churches with dedications to St. Stanislaus, which he believed were mostly pre-Hussite churches with later (post-medieval, mostly seventeenth-century, from the Catholic Reformation period) dedications to St. Stanislaus: four localities.

<sup>113</sup> Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 145, 213, 226, 319, 369.

<sup>114</sup> For Bratislava Chapter liturgical books from the fourteenth to fifteenth century see Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 104-106, 166 (*Missale Strigoniense ecclesiae collegiatae Posoniensis* May 8 Stanizlai A, B, E, G, I; October 6 translatio A, B, C). In the repertories of Sopko, nos. 209, 220, 221; but also Bratislava missals I-IV kept in present-day Slovakia, the Archives of the City of Bratislava: nos. 5, 17, 19, 20. [The manuscripts inventoried in Sopko’s two continuous volumes are identified with numbers under which the manuscripts are found in his inventory: Ján Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach* (Medieval Latin Codices in Slovak Libraries), vol. 1 (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1981) *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku* (Medieval Latin Codices of Slovak Provenience in Hungary and Romania), vol. 2 (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982).]

<sup>115</sup> The breviaries which are called as “Spiš breviaries” A-H inventoried by Sopko, the provenance of which is often not specified like Spiš by Radó, but rather as breviaries “ecclesiae Hungariae Superioris.” Some others are generally denoted as “provinciae Strigoniensis.”

<sup>116</sup> For example, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 329.

<sup>117</sup> The fifteenth-century breviaries from the Premonstratensian monastery in Leles had May 8 as the feast “*Stanislai episcopi et dedicatio ecclesie de Lelez*.” The two breviaries (ELTE Cod. Lat. 67, Sopko no. 260, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 338 and ELTE Cod. Lat. 74, Sopko no. 266, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 333), local Hungarian provenance of Leles, does not have the office of St. Stanislaus. The formulation did not mean that the church in Leles was dedicated to St. Stanislaus, but rather that the date when the church was consecrated – May 8 - coincided with the feast of St. Stanislaus in the liturgical calendar. For the foundation and development of the convent, see, for example: Michaela Kalinová and Henrieta Žažová, “Ikongrafia svätcov u premonštrátov na Slovensku na základe interpretácie maliarskej výzdoby kláštora v Lelese” (The Iconography of Saints at Premonstratensians in Slovakia based on Painting Decoration of the Convent in Leles), in *Svätec a jeho funkcie*, 297-316.

<sup>118</sup> Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 284 (*Breviarium et liber collectaneus Ord. Praem. ecclesiae Jasoviensis*, ELTE Cod.lat. 36).

<sup>119</sup> Bratislava missal A from around 1341 contains the feast under May 9. Sopko 220. Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 104.

translation of St. Stanislaus.<sup>120</sup> Some liturgical books even contained the *officium proprium*<sup>121</sup> and two breviaries copied the rhymed office *Dies adest celebris*.<sup>122</sup>

The information concerning observance of the feasts of the Polish saint in the Hungarian Kingdom provided by Wąsowicz, Schenk and Grotefend is not clear enough, and is in many respects simplified and generalised. According to Wąsowicz the feast of martyrdom of St. Stanislaus was prescribed as a *festum chori* in all calendars of the province of Esztergom (for which he erroneously referred to Radó). Then he referred, just as Schenk did, to Grotefend, who listed the martyrdom as a *festum fori* in the dioceses of “Gran” (which Wąsowicz probably did not identify as Esztergom) and Pécs, and the translation as a *festum chori* in the Esztergom diocese. Grotefend did so most probably on the grounds of a sample of later, sixteenth-century sources.<sup>123</sup> What was the position of the feasts of St. Stanislaus in the liturgical tradition of the Hungarian Kingdom then?

Radó did not list St. Stanislaus among the saints enjoying special liturgical devotion in the territory of Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>124</sup> The feast was most probably observed in some centres, not universally in whole ecclesiastical province, as a *festum chori*, i.e. in clerical circles. Locations associated with liturgical cult of St. Stanislaus were found especially in the northern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary (especially in the territory of present-day Slovakia), thanks to its more intensive contacts with neighbouring Poland and nearby Cracow, specifically within the archdiocese of Esztergom, in Spiš prepository, and Bratislava/Pressburg collegiate chapter.<sup>125</sup> Occasionally, St. Stanislaus was liturgically venerated at other places (and also “outside the choir”) - where churches were dedicated to him.

<sup>120</sup> It was mentioned also for the diocese of Esztergom by Grotefend (*Zeitrechnung*, 2/2, 171). The day of translation on October 6 appeared in the following manuscripts: Bratislava missal (*Missale Strigoniense ecclesiae collegiatae Posoniensis*) A, B, C (Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 104), Bratislava missal I (Sopko, no. 5; with additional note with October 25 as well), Spiš breviary A (*Breviarium per anni circulum ecclesiae Hungariae superioris*, Sopko no. 213, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 395; *Graduale per anni circulum Thomae card. Bakocz* (Oct. - Inter f. 4 et 7); Radó, 513).

<sup>121</sup> The texts of the *officium proprium*, also for the feast of *translatio* are found in Spiš breviary A (for October 6) (Sopko no. 213) and F (Sopko no. 398) and in another breviary (September 27) from the second half of the fifteenth century (Sopko no. 330) and in the calendar in Košice Observant antiphonal (Sopko no. 197) and Bratislava missal from around 1341 (October 6, adscr. 25.10, *Stanislai confessoris*) (Sopko no. 5). Kútnik (“Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava na Slovensku,” 323-324) mentioned that no proper office was used in this territory in the Middle Ages, except for the proper prayer *Populum tuum* in Premonstratensian breviaries.

<sup>122</sup> Spiš breviary E (Sopko no. 392) and another breviary (Sopko no. 330).

<sup>123</sup> Wąsowicz, *Kalendarz*, 370; Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, 2/2, 171; Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 32-33. Pilgram (*Calendarium*, 252) mentioned that martyrdom on May 8 was a *festum fori* in Hungary in the sixteenth century.

<sup>124</sup> Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 17; Table *Festa peculiaris Hungariae*. Kútnik maintained that St. Stanislaus had become one of the proper saints of medieval Hungary and that he had belonged to a certain common canon (Hungarian-Polish-Czech) of saints with special devotion on the basis of the presence of his legend in the Venetian edition of the *Legenda aurea* for Hungary at the beginning of the sixteenth century; Jozef Kútnik, “Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava na Slovensku” (A History of Cult of St. Stanislaus in Slovakia) (Pro memoria), in *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti* (The Saint and His Functions in Society), vol. 2, ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2006), 323-332.

<sup>125</sup> For example, Sopko speaks about a special “Scepussian sanctoral,” which comprised Hungarian as well as Polish and Czech patronal saints. Certain particularity of sanctoral of the northern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom (*Hungariae Superioris*), characterised by this group of saints, is acknowledged also by Radó, to whom it served as a means of identifying the provenance of liturgical books (e.g. Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 354).

There were not many churches dedicated to St. Stanislaus in Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages: Pongrácovce, Milož, the Augustinian church in Veľký Šariš (Nagysáros), and Staré. They were all situated in the territory of modern Slovakia, especially in the Spiš and Šariš regions. Some more dedications are of a later date, as in Bohemia as well, especially from the periods of the Catholic Reformation, the seventeenth century and then the nineteenth century.<sup>126</sup> Some of them could be result of contact with Poland, both political and cultural, as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, shortly after the canonisation. The visit of Stephen V, brother of Cunegond, the wife of Duke Boleslaus the Shy, to Cracow was probably also important for the cult diffusion and could have inspired some church dedications. The visit is documented in the *Franciscan Annals of Cracow*, which recorded that Stephen came to Cracow in 1268 in order to “visit the saint’s remains and to meet Boleslaus,” with whom he was said to have sworn peace and alliance.<sup>127</sup> Few other sources mentioned the visit and dated it to 1270, i.e. after the death of King Bela IV.<sup>128</sup> The proclaimed devotion toward the saint had perhaps political undertones, as was the case with the contemporary Bohemian King Přemysl Ottokar II, in which the alliance was directed against the Bohemian King.<sup>129</sup> The *patrocinium* of St. Stanislaus in now-destroyed Augustinian convent in Veľký Šariš, a place of residence of Stephen, could have originated after Stephen’s visit once the relics were brought from Cracow; it is first documented in 1274.<sup>130</sup> The extinguished *patrocinium* in Milož, documented in 1402, was most probably founded by the lords of Hrhov/Görgey, who were close allies of Stephen V and could have accompanied him to Cracow. The dedication to St. Stanislaus dates probably to this period in the thirteenth century.<sup>131</sup> The activities of St. Cunegond (Kinga) could have contributed to the diffusion of the cult of St. Stanislaus, for whose canonisation she was said to have laboured. She was the sovereign of the *terra Sandec* and through her contacts with Scepusian nobility and her donation policy she patronized the cult of Stanislaus. She was also

<sup>126</sup> J. Hudák, *Patrocíniá na Slovensku* (Church Dedications in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1984). See also András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* (Patrocinia in medieval Hungary), METEM Könyvek 40 (Budapest: METEM, 2003), 395-6. Post-medieval dedications are the following: Opatová nad Váhom, Podolíneč (Hudák, *Patrocíniá*, 263), Radošovce.

<sup>127</sup> “Stephanus, rex Hungarie venit Cracoviam visitare limina sancti Stanislai, et ut videret ducem Boleslaum sororium suum, utpote qui habebat dominam Kyngam germanam suam. Fecit quoque predictus rex pacem et concordiam cum Boleslao perpetuam prestito super cruce de ligno iuramento, hec etiam fecit idem dux et omnes barones utriusque partis.” *Rocznik franciszkański krakowski 1202–1288* (Franciscan Annals of Cracow), ed. A. Bielowski, in MPH 3, 49.

<sup>128</sup> *Rocznik Traski*, 841. Długosz dated the visit to late August 1270, i.e. after the death of King Bela IV; Długossius, *Annales*, vol. 7-8, 214-215.

<sup>129</sup> For more about the political interests and motives of Stephen V, see: Martin Homza, “Svätá Kunigunda a Spiš” (St. Cunegond and Spiš), in *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša* (The State of Research about the History of Spiš), ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz a Martin Homza (Levoča-Wrocław: Lúč, 2003), 382, 386; idem, “Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša” (The Early-Medieval History of Spiš), in *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1, ed. Martin Homza and Stanisław A. Sroka (Levoča-Cracow: CMS-Klástorisko and Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2008, forthcoming), 166 (and footnote 55) and 216.

<sup>130</sup> Hudák, *Patrocíniá*, 337. Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 395-6. Homza, “Svätá Kunigunda a Spiš,” 386.

<sup>131</sup> Hudák, *Patrocíniá*, 337. Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 395. Homza, “Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša,” 194, 216-217 and on the aristocratic family also passim.

closely connected with the Franciscans, and worked with her father and her brother on the Hungarian throne, and even after the death of Stephen V, to further interest in the saint.<sup>132</sup>

Another possible incentive for the dedications to St. Stanislaus from the second half of the thirteenth century could have been the participation of some local Church dignitaries in the festivities of the canonisation in Cracow in 1254. They could have acquired relics of the saintly Pole, which were then distributed to various ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>133</sup> In Spiš, in the region of intensive Hungarian-Polish contacts, a dedication to St. Stanislaus is found also in Pongrácovce from the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>134</sup> The church in Staré in the Zemplín (Zemplén) region, which had the *compatrocinium* of Stanislaus from the beginning of the fourteenth century, was a foundation of the aristocratic Sztáray family, who had relatives in Cracow region.<sup>135</sup> Lajta also assumed that the cult of St. Stanislaus had been popular especially in those regions of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom neighbouring Poland, especially the Spiš region.<sup>136</sup> Trajdos maintained that the existence of some medieval *patrocinia* of St. Stanislaus in northern Slovakia implied some kind of political dependence of the localities on the Polish territory, or a presence of a Polish ethnic community (in small villages preserving a strong Polish community from earlier times), which was not so.<sup>137</sup>

After the thirteenth century the cult of St. Stanislaus could have spread to Hungary through the Polish-Hungarian dynastic contacts. A number of Poles were active in the Kingdom of Hungary. The two wives of Charles Robert of Anjou, Mary of Silesia and Elizabeth the daughter of King Wladislaus Łokietek, and their entourages carried Polish traditions, including devotion to their patron-saint, with them. A brother of Mary of Silesia, Boleslaus, became the archbishop of Esztergom in 1321-28, then in 1334-1344 the bishop of Veszprém and the Queen's chancellor.<sup>138</sup> Elizabeth's regency in Poland and her son's succession to the Polish throne brought the two countries even closer to each other. The presence of the narrative cycle about St. Stanislaus in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* reflected the position of the Polish patron-saint in the pantheon of the Angevin dynastic patrons.<sup>139</sup> In the fifteenth century, the connection between the two countries continued with the Jagiellonians and the personalities like Hedwig of Cieszyn as well. The contacts

<sup>132</sup> Homza, "Svätá Kunigunda a Spiš," 385, 395-398; idem, "Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša," 138-284 passim.

<sup>133</sup> Kúttnik, "Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava na Slovensku," 328.

<sup>134</sup> Hudák, *Patrocinia*, 263. Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 396.

<sup>135</sup> Hudák, *Patrocinia*, 337. Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 396. Kúttnik, "Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava na Slovensku," 328.

<sup>136</sup> She referred to two altars of St. Stanislaus enlisted in the canonical visitation of Sigray in 1700 – Pongrácovce (Pongrácfalva) and Fridman (Frigyesvagas). Lajta, "Trois scènes de la légende de St. Stanislas," 29-35 referred to *Canonica visitatio Sigray* 71-71 and 127 in Széchényi National Library in Budapest.

<sup>137</sup> Tadeusz M. Trajdos, "Kult św. Stanisława na Spiszu" (The Cult of St. Stanislaus in Spiš), in *Święty Stanisław patronem ludu społecznego*, ed. Bogusław Wójcik (Tarnów: Wydawnictwo Biblos, 2003), 73-89.

<sup>138</sup> Stanisław Sroka, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-węgierskich w późnym średniowieczu* (From the History of Polish-Hungarian Relations in Late Middle Ages Cracow) (Cracow: Universitas, 1995), 33, 47-48.

<sup>139</sup> For the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, see Chapter 1.3.3.

with Poland intensified with the establishment of the university in Cracow. Hungarian students of the university channelled more information and devotion concerning St. Stanislaus to these regions.

In the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary dynastic networks and relations with Polish dukes and later kings contributed to the promotion of the cult of St. Stanislaus, who had become the principal saint of the Piasts of Cracow and of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>140</sup> Personal, commercial and cultural contacts between the neighbouring regions also facilitated the penetration of the Polish cult to some places in the Bohemian and Hungarian kingdoms.

### Sankt Florian

The liturgical cult of St. Stanislaus existed also in the convent of the Regular Canons in Sankt Florian in the Passau diocese near Linz in Austria. A document from 1325 instituted the duty of liturgical celebration of the martyrdom and translation of St. Stanislaus in the convent: *Item festum sancti Stanislai martiris Christi ad duas libras denariorum cum cantu proprio sollempnissime et in translacione ipsius in cantu communi ad plenum officium statuimus celebrari*. Albert of Waldkirchen recommended the observation of the feasts and covered the expenses.<sup>141</sup> Albert travelled to Cracow twice and brought the relics with him, most probably at the request and expense of the convent. The canons most probably sought to acquire some relics of St. Florian, a Roman tribune and a martyr, with whose martyrdom the legend of the convent's origins was connected.<sup>142</sup> They most probably wanted to get the desired relics from Cracow, which since 1184 possessed the relics of a saint named Florian, although not identical with the Roman tribune Florian, but only his namesake.<sup>143</sup> Dobrowolski maintained that the quest of the monks of St. Florian for the relics could have inspired the creation of the translation legend in Cracow. He also inferred from the preserved documents that Sankt Florian had most probably managed to acquire the relics of St. Stanislaus (together with some liturgical works pertaining to him), and not of St. Florian, from the cathedral in Cracow. Then an altar of St. Stanislaus was built in the convent church. St. Stanislaus was venerated in the convent during the following 200 years, but the cult did not spread from there, and declined from the sixteenth century. Rather stable liturgical texts were used in Sankt Florian.

<sup>140</sup> For dynastic cults and relations in Central Europe, see especially Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, for St. Stanislaus only briefly 131, 221-2, 361. There are a number of works dealing with dynastic interest in the cult of St. Stanislaus, see for example: Pauk, "Kult św. Stanisława na tle innych kultów politycznych," 31-47; Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*; Piech, "Darstellungen," 125-159. I touch on some aspects of this issue elsewhere in this study.

<sup>141</sup> For more on the cult of St. Stanislaus in Sankt Florian, see Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 116-133, for this particular information, esp. 120 ff. and footnote 4; *Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns*, vol. 5 (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868), 415-416.

<sup>142</sup> Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 121, and footnote 1; referring to marginal notes in *Chronicon Florianense*: "A.D. 1323 primo ivi Cracoviam. A.D. 1324 secundario ivi illic afferendo reliquias." Dobrowolski also provided the most important facts from Albert's biography and the possible connections with the cult of St. Stanislaus (pages 121-124).

<sup>143</sup> Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 122. For the legend of St. Florian and his translation (which originated in Cracow later), see also idem, *Dzieje kultu św. Florjana w Polsce*, esp. 107; and Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 281-5.

They were not created there, but had most probably been brought from Cracow in their old thirteenth-century form.<sup>144</sup> The local calendars noted the feast of May 8 as a *summum festum* and a *minus summum festum* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The translation feast on September 27 appeared only in few calendars.<sup>145</sup> As many as fourteen missals from Sankt Florian contained the mass office to St. Stanislaus,<sup>146</sup> and eleven codices contained the breviary office.<sup>147</sup>

### Trent

Archbishop Alexander of Mazovia, who came from the Mazovian (Mazowsze) branch of the Piast dynasty and was a relative of King Wladislaus II of Poland, introduced the cult of St. Stanislaus in the Diocese of Trent at the diocesan synod in 1429. After the archbishop's death in 1444 the cult quickly died out.<sup>148</sup> Alexander, then a canon of Gniezno, whose sister was engaged to Ernest, Duke of Tirol, was named to his office even before his ordination at a priest. The incoming bishop (with his suite, including the Poles) brought with himself the relics of Sts. Adalbert and Stanislaus, entering Trent on 26 June, 1424 with the relics.<sup>149</sup> Later synodal decrees (1439 or 1429) introduced the feasts of Sts. Adalbert, Stanislaus and Hedwig of Silesia into the diocesan liturgical calendar, although their existence in the Trent diocese did not survive his episcopate.<sup>150</sup>

### Rome

In Rome in St. Peter's Church and in the papal chapel the feast of St. Stanislaus was commemorated on April 11 during a period of perhaps several decades in the thirteenth century. A "Roman legendary" (dated to 1254-55, with additional leaves from 1261-64) contained lessons for the saints canonised since the pontificate of Innocent III, including St. Stanislaus of Cracow. The lections for St. Stanislaus (*In natali sancti Stanislai pontificis et martyris*) were added somewhat later below – two folios were inserted for April 11 (Paris, BN Lat. 755, f. 214-215). An indication of the feast was also inserted in the calendar.<sup>151</sup> The calendar of a missal of the papal chapel from the end of the thirteenth century included the same repertory of saints including the feast of St. Stanislaus for April 11. David argued that both the missal and the legendary had belonged to the

<sup>144</sup> Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 130.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 125 listed the calendars and notes of St. Stanislaus feasts.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 127 and a list of missals in footnote 5.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 129 and a list of breviaries in footnote 4.

<sup>148</sup> Jan Władysław Woś, "Un culte importe. Saint Adalbert et l'évêque de Trente Alexandre de Mazovie (1423-1444)," in idem, *Adalbert et Stanislas, saints patrons de la Pologne*, transl. Alain de Penanster (Paris: Éd. du Dialogue, 1998), 97-108 [first published in "Istituto del Sacro Romano Impero. Bolletino Ufficiale", a. V (1992), no. 2 (decembre), 13-15]. See also: Dobrowolski, "Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 120.

<sup>149</sup> Woś, "Un culte importe," 97-98.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 103-106. Cf. for the liturgical calendar in Pilgram, *Calendarium*, 196.

<sup>151</sup> David, *Un légendier romain*, 11, 17-20, transcribed by David on pages 21-25. The text of the lections was probably put together in Cracow shortly after canonisation (before a *vita* and new liturgical texts had been composed and come into usage) and then got to Rome. For more details concerning the text and its function, see above in the chapter 1.2.2. The existence of the liturgical cult in Rome was acknowledged by Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 33.

papal chapel (which had a specific liturgical practice, functioning until the turn of the fourteenth century, with abridged offices)<sup>152</sup> and that the feast of St. Stanislaus was introduced into the papal liturgy by Pope Urban IV (1261-1264), who visited Poland several times as a legate in 1244 and between 1247 and 1248. Two canons from Cracow belonged to the papal chapel under his pontificate. David argued that Urban IV had thus personal motifs for promoting the cult of St. Stanislaus and could also know the actual date of the saint's martyrdom (April 11, and not May 8).<sup>153</sup>

### Assisi

An altar dedicated to St. Stanislaus was constructed in a chapel dedicated to the same saint in the Lower Basilica in Assisi, where the mass of canonisation of St. Stanislaus took place in 1253, supported by the Franciscan Order as well.<sup>154</sup> The altar was allegedly constructed at the place where a *vexillum rubeum* – a banner with the saint's image that appeared during the canonisation – was deposited. The altar's *retabulum* depicting St. Stanislaus no longer exists. Two frescoes with scenes from the saint's legend, the Resurrection of Piotrawin and the Mutilation of the body of Stanislaus after the martyrdom, were painted by a disciple of Giotto in the 1330s or 1340s in the chapel (on the arcade of its niche).<sup>155</sup> The cult of St. Stanislaus in Assisi probably did not endure for long, functioning only in the period around the canonisation. The cult was most probably limited to the very place of the chapel, which was perhaps more of a souvenir of the solemn canonisation and of the Franciscan interests in the mid-thirteenth century than a place of vivid special devotion to St. Stanislaus, which would imply preaching activity.

### Other Places

The cult of St. Stanislaus east of the borders of today's Poland (especially in the territories of today's Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, etc.) has not been researched thoroughly, although there are

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<sup>152</sup> David, *Un légendier romain*, 12.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20. In the papal chapel April 11 belonged to St. Leo, in that case, St. Stanislaus' feast would have been moved to April 12.

<sup>154</sup> *Vita maior*, 437. Later also Długosz described the chapel, which he had reportedly visited several times, in more detail in his *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, 142: "in latere et intra ecclesiam Sancti Francisci, in editiori loco, pendicularis capella, a nobis aliquotiens frequentata atque visa, in qua suum gloriosum martyrium extat desculptum." A bull from January 26, 1256 gave indulgences to the visitors of the altar, which the bishop and the chapter of Cracow had constructed and endowed with the saint's relics, on the feast of the martyr and with its octave; *Bullarium Poloniae* 1, no. 593; and ed. *Bullarium OFM*, vol. 2, no. 155, 111-2: "Cum episcopus et capitulum Cracoviensis ad honorem beati Stanislai martyris in ecclesia sancti Francisci Assisii, in qua per Innocentium PP IV, papa tunc in minori officio constituo praesente, idem martyr sanctorum cathalogo est ascriptus, altare construi fecerint et de illuc transmiserint de ipsius reliquiis, ut ibidem a Christi fidelibus honoretur, visitantibus eandem ecclesiam in festo eiusdem martyris et infra octavam 100 dies de iniunctis eis poenitentiis relaxantur." For the altar in Assisi and indulgences granted by the bull, see *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 505, fn. 447.

<sup>155</sup> Kochanowska-Reiche thought that commissioning of the frescoes was stimulated by the presence of a Polish delegation at the general chapter of the Franciscan Order in Assisi in 1334; Kochanowska-Reiche, "Ikonomia kanonizacyjna," 78-79 (on Assisi pp. 78-83). For more, see the section 1.3.2. See also Plezia, *Dookola*, 45-48.

some indications that it would be a topic worth looking at more closely, if the preserved sources allow (the dedications, liturgical prescriptions, etc.). To my knowledge, those scholars and researchers who touch on this topic usually simply state that cult of St. Stanislaus had been present in the regions east of present-day Poland, but do not support their assertions with any particular material, such as the lists of the cult representations. The formulation of the bull of delegation (of May 26, 1252) for the Franciscan Jacob of Velletri, who was in charge of re-examination of the miracles in the canonisation process, instructed him, among others, to inquire about the vicinity of the diocese of Cracow to schismatic Rus'. It is a well-known fact in historiography that the consent of the Roman Curia to the canonisation was connected with the prospects of missionary activities in the east (in which the Franciscan Order also played an important role), and was paralleled, for example, with the efforts at a union with Daniel of Galicia in 1252.<sup>156</sup> The papal curia expected the cult of St. Stanislaus to facilitate missionary activities (especially of Franciscans, Dominicans) in the east. Another important condition and inspiration for diffusion of cult of St. Stanislaus in the regions east of today's Poland was the union with Lithuania and the accession of the Jagiellonian dynasty to the throne. Wladislaus Jagiello dedicated the cathedral in Vilnius to Sts. Stanislaus and Ladislav in 1387.<sup>157</sup> Długosz mentioned this dedication as well.<sup>158</sup>

Aleksander Gieysztor mentioned a calendar from years 1362-1380, which had originated as a Parisian calendar, but had then been supplemented with references to national saints of German university nation, including St. Stanislaus for May 8 [*Stanislai episcopi et martyris Polonorum*]. The note was probably added some time before 1523.<sup>159</sup> The hypothesis that the cult of St.

<sup>156</sup> KDKK 1, no. 33, 41: "Inquiras insuper utrum Cracouiensis diocesis Paganis et Ruthenis scismaticis sit confinis, ut per hoc ex ipsorum confinio lucrum prouenire ualeat animarum." For the bull, see above, Ch. 1.1.2. For this topic, see for example the following: Władysław Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* (The Beginnings of the Organisation of the Latin Church in Rus') (Lviv 1904), 117, 141 et passim; Witkowska, "The Thirteenth-century *miracula*," 152; Dariusz A. Dekański, *Początki zakonu dominikanów prowincji polsko-czeskiej*, 124ff. Bełch claimed after Dobrowolski ("Kult św. Stanisława w St. Florian," 118) that the diffusion of the cult to the east had copied the presence of the Polish ethnic (similarly to Trajdos's hypothesis concerning the cult at Spiš and Orava); Bełch, *Święty Stanisław*, 26. He also noted that when the Latin metropolity at Rus' had been established under Casimir the Great, its cathedral of St. Pantaleon in Halicz (Galicia) had received St. Stanislaus as a new co-patron.

<sup>157</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Ecclesiae Cathedralis necnon Dioeceseos Vilnensis*, vol. 1 (1387-1507) (Cracow: PAU, Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Secesja, 1994) (1st ed. Jan Fijalek and W. Semkowicz, Cracow: PAU, 1932), vol. 1, no. 1, 4: "... ecclesiam in castro nostro vilnensi constructam et locatam ac ad laudem et honorem Omnipotentis Dei, Glorioso Virginis Marie, omnium Sanctorum et specialiter beatorum Stanislai pontificis et Ladislai consecratam, in qua sedem episcopatus Vilnensis, voluntate tamen sanctissimi Romani pontificis ad id ipsum specialiter accedente, decrevimus collocandam, dotamus bonis et possessionibus infrascriptis." The document is dated in Vilnius on February 17, 1387. For the union with Lithuania, the accession of Wladislaus Jagiello and the following situation, see e.g. Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (The Political Activities of the Jagiellonian Kings) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999).

<sup>158</sup> After the description of the canonisation celebrations in Cracow in 1254 he mentioned that the relics of the saint were distributed and since then many various foundations were dedicated to St. Stanislaus. Długossius, *Vita*, 149: "In aetate quoque, quae nostram paululum praecessit, dum Lithuaniae et Samogitiae gentes opera Wladislai secundi Polonorum Regis ad iura Christianitatis ab idolatriae cultibus conversae forent, Cathedralis Ecclesia apud Vilnam in Lithuania beatissimo Stanislao dicata est..."

<sup>159</sup> Aleksander Gieysztor, "Mistrzowie polscy uniwersytetu paryskiego w XIV-XV wieku" (The Polish Masters of the University of Paris in the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries), in *Wieki średnie. Medium Aevum*. Prace ofiarowane



Stanislaus had existed in Sweden before the canonisation, which was based on an iconographic representation on a baptistery from Tryde, is very unlikely and has been convincingly refuted.<sup>160</sup>

The preaching on St. Stanislaus was tied primarily to the saint's native geographical region, i.e. Polish lands, and to the places of his cult in neighbouring countries where his feast was observed as of the highest liturgical level – with a sermon prescribed. The day of St. Stanislaus (at least the day of martyrdom) was among the feasts of highest rank in Cracow, but also came to be perceived as such in other Polish dioceses, especially in cathedrals and monastic communities, and also in some places outside Poland, where his feasts (martyrdom, and rarely translation) were observed as *festa fori*.

### 2.2.1.3 Cracow Festivities

The provenance of most sermons on saints was usually situated in the saint's "native" region, to the centre of his cult.<sup>161</sup> Although sermons were delivered on St. Stanislaus outside Cracow and Poland, Cracow was the most important centre of the cult with regard to preaching as well. The city and the diocese of Cracow, which celebrated their saintly compatriot and patron, offered an ideal setting for preaching about St. Stanislaus in front of a varied audience consisting of clerics and laymen. The sermon was an indispensable part of the local religious festivities of such a high significance. The following description of the basic forms of the cult, both liturgical and non-liturgical, which were bound to the place of the saint's martyrdom and his resting place, provides a setting for the subsequent portrayal of the preaching about St. Stanislaus in Cracow.

There were two sacred centres of veneration of St. Stanislaus in Cracow, which existed prior to his canonisation: the Church of Saint Michael at Skalka (*Rupella* or the Rock), where the bishop was killed, and the royal cathedral at Wawel Hill, where his body rested after translation. A number of miracle accounts were connected with the place of the martyrdom at Skalka, which attracted pilgrims to the place.<sup>162</sup> The faithful came to Skalka even before the remains of the bishop of saintly

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Tadeuszowi Manteufflovi w 60-rocznicę urodzin (The Middle Ages. Medium Aevum. Studies Offered to Tadeusz Manteuffl on His Sixtieth Birthday), ed. A. Gieysztor (Warsaw: PWN, 1962), 220, footnote 50. For the Parisian calendar [MS. BN Nouv. Acq. Lat. 535], see Paul Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier de la nation d'Allemagne de l'ancienne Université de Paris* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937), for St. Stanislaus esp. 55.

<sup>160</sup> For a summary of the discussion about the baptistery font of Tryde, see: Labuda, *Święty Stanisław*, 148-156; Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 31-35.

<sup>161</sup> Ferzoco, "Medieval sermon collections," 121. Only sermons on apostles, popular early Christian martyrs, and regular, especially Mendicant saints had broader geographical diffusion; *ibid.*, 119-123.

<sup>162</sup> For a history of the cult at Skalka see Witkowska, *Kulty*, 83-86; Teofil Krauze, "Zarys dziejów kościoła św. Michała i Stanisława w Krakowie na Skałce do 1472 roku" (An Outline of the History of the Church of Saint Michael and Stanislaus at Skalka until 1472), *Studia Claramontana* 17 (1997): 275-305; Wiesław Skiernia, "Sadzawka św. Stanisława biskupa na Skałce" (The Pool of Saint Stanislaus at Skalka), *ibid.*: 595-623; Janusz Zbudniewek, "Św. Stanisław w dziejach Skałki" (St. Stanislaus in History of Skalka), in *Święty Stanisław w życiu kościoła w Polsce*, esp.

fame were translated to the cathedral and the site continued to be a magnet for devoted pilgrims after the translation. The Church of St. Michael the Archangel received St. Stanislaus as a co-patron after his canonisation in between 1254-1270.<sup>163</sup> Skalka was also convenient as a pilgrimage place because of its position outside the city.<sup>164</sup>

Wawel Cathedral became the cult place when the body of St. Stanislaus was translated there from Skalka. Then, around 1243-45, probably in 1244, the saint's remains were elevated from the subterranean grave in the side chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul built by Prandota.<sup>165</sup> The miracle accounts vividly documented the traffic of pilgrims, who came to the cathedral from the mid-thirteenth century – who used to hold vigils in the cathedral, touch the ground in the place of the first subterranean grave of the saint, adore the arm reliquary, pray at the shrine, and offer *ex voto* gifts.<sup>166</sup> The shrine was a result of the joint efforts of the bishop and his chapter and of the Cracow branch of the Piast dynasty. St. Stanislaus appeared as a co-patron of the cathedral together with St. Wenceslas for the first time in the papal bull granting indulgences to the cathedral church for the feast of the saint's translation in 1256.<sup>167</sup> Historians have debated whether the relics of St. Stanislaus were placed on the altar in the centre of the church immediately after the canonisation during the celebrations in 1254 or only in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>168</sup>

The cathedral housing the shrine of St. Stanislaus achieved further prestige when Wladislaus Łokietek was crowned as the king of Poland (possibly in Wawel cathedral) in 1320,<sup>169</sup> and the Polish saint gained the upper hand over the old patron of the cathedral, St. Wenceslas. Bishop Nanker (1320-1326) took the initiative in the Gothic rebuilding of the cathedral damaged by fire. The reconstruction started already under Bishop Muskata, who proposed rather different architectural and symbolic plans. The new cathedral was designed to fulfil an important function as the shrine of a national patron-saint, who was given a prominent position at the monumental altar in the centre of the church – where the naves crossed. The cathedral was well-adapted for its primary

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330-347. For an interesting symbolic-anthropological interpretation of the cult place, see also Węclawowicz, *Krakowski kościół katedralny*, 107, 130-170.

<sup>163</sup> Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława," 56; Jerzy Rajman, *Średniowieczne patrocinia krakowskie* (Medieval Patrocinia in Cracow) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papiesskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2002), 87-8.

<sup>164</sup> Witkowska, *Kulty*, 83.

<sup>165</sup> For the translation and elevation, see Chapters 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, respectively.

<sup>166</sup> A succinct description on the basis of miracle accounts in the *Miracula* and the *Vita maior* in Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 73-74; and an analysis of religious practices described in these sources in Witkowska, *Miracula małopolskie*, esp. 138ff.

<sup>167</sup> KDKK 1, no. 51, 67; *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1, no. 597. Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława," 57.

<sup>168</sup> Starnawska (*Świętych życie po życiu*, 203-214) argued that the body was not translated to the centre of the cathedral until some time in between 1349-64 in connection with the rebuilding of the cathedral. Rożnowska-Sadraei (*Pater Patriae*, 71) maintained, in keeping with practically whole historiography before Starnawska, that the relics of St. Stanislaus had been placed on the main altar in the centre of the cathedral after the canonisation. Bishop Nanker then envisaged the new plan of the cathedral from the "ancient site" of Stanislaus' shrine in the central point, the crossing of the naves (*ibid.*, esp. 210).

<sup>169</sup> The cathedral as the venue of the coronation is disputed among historians, see Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 194-5.

role as the shrine of St. Stanislaus and its new architectural design facilitated the display of the relics. Some changes and improvements were introduced under Nanker's successor, Bishop Grot, and later in the fifteenth century, and new reliquaries were commissioned. Besides the shrine of St. Stanislaus at the intersection of the naves, in the central point, other *loca* in the cathedral were connected with veneration of the saint: the chapels of Sts. Peter and Paul (called also Prandota's chapel) and of St. Nicholas, where the saint's body had rested before. The relics of his head and arm were displayed there for the pilgrims.<sup>170</sup> At the same time, the cathedral was intended to serve as a *Königskirche* – the royal mausoleum and the coronation church.<sup>171</sup>

Witkowska noted the different character of the two places, royal Wawel being the centre of the official cult pertaining to the dynastic, episcopal and national patronage; while Skałka became the centre of folk worship. As many as 26 out of 42 miracle accounts from the fifteenth century, recorded by Długosz in his *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, were associated with Skałka, while only 5 miracles happened in the cathedral. The distinct character of the two places was clear by then.<sup>172</sup> Wawel was an important place of the cult of the *patronus*, pertaining to patronage of the entire nation, together with the so-called *ara patriae*, where the standards of enemies were offered after victorious battles, for the first time after the Battle of Płowce in 1331.<sup>173</sup> In the fifteenth century, people would come to Skałka regularly on Fridays, which is also documented in the miracle accounts gathered by Długosz.<sup>174</sup> In 1472 Długosz introduced the Pauline Order, who became the guardians of the place. A chapel dedicated to St. Stanislaus was built there between 1441 and 1505.<sup>175</sup>

The liturgical celebrations of martyrdom and translation did not differ substantially. Both main places of worship – the cathedral and the church at Skałka - were involved in the festive rites. One of the most outstanding features of both feasts of St. Stanislaus was a spectacular procession from the royal cathedral to Skałka, the sacred place of the martyrdom. The technical ceremonial prescriptions for the feasts and processions are found in the liturgical missals and ceremonials of Cracow cathedral and diocese. Although the oldest records date from the early sixteenth century,

<sup>170</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 235-247, 270-289, 389ff. See also her earlier article "Theatrum Passio Sancti Stanislai. Some Thoughts on the Role of Kraków Cathedral as the Shrine of St. Stanisław," *Folia Historica Cracoviensia* 9 (2003): 155-175. See also Węclawowicz, *Krakowski kościół katedralny*, 104-107, 124-129.

<sup>171</sup> Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, esp. 193; see also Paul Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra and Polonia Sacra. Liturgy and History in Prague and Cracow Cathedrals," *Folia Historiae Artium Series Nova* 7 (2001), 49-69, esp. 57-68.

<sup>172</sup> Witkowska, *Kulty*, 104.

<sup>173</sup> Michał Rożek, "Ara patriae. Dzieje grobu św. Stanisława w katedrze na Wawelu" (*Ara Patriae. History of the Shrine of St. Stanislaus in Cathedral at Wawel*), *AC* 11 (1979): 433-460.

<sup>174</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 159-160, 162-3 (miracle accounts nos. 13, 14, 23), e.g. "feriam sextam, qua scilicet limina Sancti Stanislai in Rupella a populo visitantur" (*ibid.*, 159).

<sup>175</sup> Spórna, "Kult św. Stanisława," 57; Stanisław Szafraniec, "Fundacja paulinów na Skałce" (*The Foundation of the Pauline Order at Skałka*), *Studia Claromontana* 17 (1997), 307-327.

Jagosz and other experts of these ceremonies believe that they are the evidence of a much older tradition, which started in the period of the canonisation.<sup>176</sup>

Other sources are some accounts of the festivals in the annals of Długosz and in his *Vita of St. Stanislaus*, including the *miracula*, which document mostly the fifteenth-century practice. People gathered not only from the city (which counted around 20, 000 inhabitants in the late fifteenth century), but also from all over the diocese, the country and even from abroad. Długosz, perhaps projecting the contemporary mid-fifteenth century situation to an earlier period, noted that already in 1254 such a huge mass of the faithful had gathered that the crowds had to stay behind the town walls; people of both sexes, of various nations and regions.<sup>177</sup> By the fifteenth century, when most of the extant sermon texts originated, all the community of Cracow was involved in the holidays celebrating the local martyr: if only by fasting, preparing for the holiday with devotion and not engaging in work or hunting. Some miracle accounts recorded the cases when persons had been punished for violating the holiday.<sup>178</sup> Dominic of Prussia, the future Carthusian who studied at the university in Cracow in the early fifteenth century, recounted a story which demonstrated the importance of St. Stanislaus in Cracow. The young student was allegedly eating and not fasting on the vigil of St. Stanislaus, in order not to be seen worshipping the “god of the Poles.” He mentioned that the Poles venerated St. Stanislaus so much that the Germans often mocked them for treating the saint like their god. Dominic was then evidently punished by falling ill and was healed through the

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<sup>176</sup> Michał Jagosz, “Procesje ku czci św. Stanisława z Wawelu na Skalkę w okresie przedrozbiorowym” (Processions to St. Stanislaus from Wawel to Skalka Before Partition Period), in *AC* 9 (1979), 608. Descriptions are found in the missals of Bishop Jan Konarski (*Missale Cracoviense* 1509, f. CCXXVIIv – BJ 4384; *Missale Cracoviense* 1515, f. CCV (AKK); *Missale Cracoviense* 1516, f. CXCv – BJ 6153); and in the missals of his successor Piotr Tomicki (*Missale Cracoviense* 1528, f. CCv – BJ 8014; *Missale Cracoviense* 1532, f. CCXXVI – BJ 8018) and also in the *Collectarium* (AKK, f. CLI-CLIIIv, from the first half of the sixteenth century). All missals contain a rubric ordering a procession to Skalka “in die competenti infra octavam s. Stanislai”, not precisely on which day. Some fragments of these texts are edited in Appendix 1 in Dziwisz, *Kult św. Stanisława*, 131-137.

<sup>177</sup> Długossius, *Vita*, 148 and 149: “Quo quidem die adveniente, ex omnibus Polonorum oris, sed et ex Hungariae Regno, tanta multitudo plebis in Cracoviensem urbem convenit, ut homines advenas urbs tanta non caperet; sed et in campis pratisque gregatim turbae starent.” and “Populis diversarum regionum, linguarum atque nationum utriusque sexus ad celebritates natalitii beati Stanislai... in Cracoviam pergentibus, frequenti concursu nomen et tumultum honoraturis...”

<sup>178</sup> A miracle account from 1437 tells a story of John from Lublin, who travelled to Cracow for the market on the feast of St. Stanislaus and did not fast during the vigil, a lapse for which he was punished (Długossius, *Vita*, 167). Another miracle account, which is dated to the thirteenth century, tells the story of a knight Rinardus, who went hunting on St. Michael’s feast (within the octave of St. Stanislaus), “neglecting the divine affairs” and “violating the holiday”, and was punished by disease, until he was healed through St. Stanislaus’ intercession (Długossius, *Vita*, 106-7).

intercession of St. Stanislaus.<sup>179</sup> Both feasts of St. Stanislaus were observed also at the University of Cracow: there were no classes during those days, including the vigils.<sup>180</sup>

Various processions from Cracow churches (both parish and monastic) came to the tomb of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral at Wawel.<sup>181</sup> First a mass was celebrated in honour of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral. After celebrating the mass a solemn common procession to Skalka started, during which the responsories taken from the saints' breviary office among others were sung. The music varied from Latin Gregorian chants of clerical and school choirs to simpler folk hymns; church bells were ringing. Various groups, guilds and confraternities walked in dresses of various colours and carried various images and flags. On the return journey the procession stopped at two more churches, St. Catherine's and St. Hedwig's, to pray. They also prayed litanies while marching. They carried the holy reliquaries, and people could even kiss the relics exhibited. Nevertheless, not everybody was devoted and attentive on liturgical processions and not everybody came for religious purposes, as some accounts disclose. After the festivities, big markets (*nundinas*) and dancing started, although often criticised by clergy. Miraculous cures added to the excitement. The festivities connected with the cult of Stanislaus, the patron-saint of Cracow and Poland, involved the entire community, where the sacred and the mundane intersected. Similar processions from royal Wawel Hill to Skalka, with a slightly different purpose and background though, took place on the vigil before the coronation day of Polish kings.<sup>182</sup>

There were many *loca sacra* in Cracow in the fifteenth century: Witkowska counted as many as 17 objects of cults in Cracow. There was tough competition between the cult places, as Cracow witnessed great a explosion of new cults, especially monastic. Some of the recent figures were not canonised, but enjoyed a fame of sanctity and a popular cult, although in some cases these

<sup>179</sup> "Hunc sanctum, ut dignum est, Poloni in magna reverentia habent, festum illius sollempniter celebrantes et vigilia eius ieiunantes; et ob hoc almanis eorum aemulis saepius deridentur, quasi eundem sanctum suum deum putarent." "Nam, cum Cracoviae iuxta ecclesiam sanctae Mariae in scolis ut lascivus studens starem, quadam istius sancti vigilia, et si bene recolo etiam tunc sexta feria, fuit, cuius ieiunium fortiter ibidem observatur, publice mane in scolis comedi." "Nolo jeiunare, ne videar et ego deum colere Polonorum." Quoted from Dominic's treatise *Corona gemmaria* (32-33) after Nowak, "Kraków i jego uniwersytet w świetle wspomnień kartuza Dominika z Prus (1384-1460)," 64 and footnotes 12 and 13.

<sup>180</sup> *Statuta nec non Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica*, ed. J. Muczkowski (Cracoviae 1848), XX, XXIV: "De festivitibus per facultatem celebrandis. In die S. Stanislai episcopi et martyris et de sero 'non disputetur.' 'Translacio.' In vigilia S. Stanislai de sero et in die similiter." The statutes are dated to 1406.

<sup>181</sup> This description is based mainly on the studies of Michał Jagosz, "Procesje ku czci św. Stanisława z Wawelu na Skalkę w okresie przedrozbiorowym" (Processions in Honour of St. Stanislaus from Wawel to Skalka Before Partition Period), in *AC* 9 (1979), 603-608. Very similar, almost identical, description is found in the article by idem, "Procesje ku czci św. Stanisława biskupa i męczennika z Wawelu na Skalkę" (Processions in Honour of St. Stanislaus Martyr-Bishop from Wawel to Skalka), in *Święty Stanisław w życiu kościoła w Polsce*, 134-161.

<sup>182</sup> For pre-coronation processions, see for example: Jagosz, "Procesje," 608-613; and idem, "Procesje," in *Święty Stanisław w życiu kościoła w Polsce*, 161-172; Aleksander Gieysztor, "Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 152-162.

did not endure. St. Stanislaus, although an “old” saint, was an exception with regard to the continuity of the centres of veneration.<sup>183</sup>

Only two out of 42 churches were dedicated to St. Stanislaus in Cracow before 1529: the church at Skalka and the cathedral at Wawel. Altars in other churches in Cracow were dedicated to St. Stanislaus – a chapel (1383) and two altars (1433, 1481) in the Church of the Virgin Mary and the altars in the Church of St. Barbara (1433) and the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity (1447).<sup>184</sup> According to Rajman there were thirteen dedications to St. Stanislaus in Cracow, including chapels and altars.<sup>185</sup> Długosz supported the project of establishing a Carthusian monastery dedicated to St. Stanislaus in Bielany near Cracow, which was not successful.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Witkowska, *Kulty*, 82.

<sup>184</sup> Spórna, “Kult św. Stanisława,” 57. Cf. B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 2 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława biskupa-męczennika Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1999), 568.

<sup>185</sup> Rajman, *Średniowieczne patrocinia*, 195.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

#### 2.2.1.4 Prescriptions and Records of Preaching – in general and on Stanislaus

The city of Cracow was the most important locale for the preaching of sermons about its former citizen, who had become its holy patron. The cathedral on Wawel Hill not only housed the shrine of St. Stanislaus, it was also one of the most important centres of preaching in the bishopric.<sup>187</sup> The previously cited miracle recounted that St. Hyacinth had gone to preach at the cathedral at Wawel castle hill on the “day of the translation” of St. Stanislaus.<sup>188</sup> However, if the dating to 1244 and the reference to the actual act of elevation are incorrect, it is possible that the Dominican went to preach at the cathedral on the annual liturgical feast of translation, September 27, which was officially celebrated after the canonisation, and not earlier. The Dominicans, like St. Hyacinth, and the Franciscans used to preach to people (*ad populum*) in the Cracow cathedral on festivals, on so-called station days and some other feasts.<sup>189</sup> The custom probably existed already in the thirteenth century, and it is documented in the sources from the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. Archdeacon Zbigniew of Nasięchowice payed 2 *grosze* for a sermon to the friars in years 1389-1400.<sup>190</sup> Their preaching duties in the cathedral were abolished by an act of the chapter under Bishop Jan Konarski in 1520 (February 11), which claimed that their obligation in the cathedral had lasted for around 300 years.<sup>191</sup> However, some medieval authors complained about the mendicants’ reluctance to fulfil their duties and preach properly.<sup>192</sup> The Chapter of Cracow urged the priors of the Dominicans and the Franciscans to send appropriate and competent preachers to the cathedral in its act from 1468 (May 16). The friars were also obliged to leave their place to another preacher if a member of the chapter or a university doctor wanted to deliver a sermon on a solemn feast.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> An overview of preaching and preachers in the cathedral at Wawel Hill in Kazimierz Panuś, *Kaznodziejstwo w katedrze krakowskiej 1: Od początków do czasów rozbiorów* (Preaching in Cracow Cathedral 1: From the Beginnings to Partition Period) (Cracow: Papieska Akademia Teologiczna, 1995), for medieval period pp. 32-73. For preaching in the cathedral in the fifteenth century, see Jerzy Wolny, “Krakowskie środowisko katedralne w czasach Jana Długosza: 1431-1480” (Cracow Cathedral Milieu in the Times of Jan Długosz: 1431-1480), in *Długossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza* (Długossiana: Historical Studies on the 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Death of Jan Długosz), ed. Stanisław Gawęda, (Warsaw: PWN, 1980), 85-107. See also idem, “Kaznodziejstwo” (Preaching), in *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce 1* (A History of Catholic Theology in Poland 1), ed. M. Rechowicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1974), 296-298.

<sup>188</sup> For the debate of the miracle account and its dating, see above in the beginning of Chapter 2.1.

<sup>189</sup> Joannes Dlugossius, *Liber Beneficiorum Diocesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, Opera omnia 7, ed. Alexander Przezdziecki. (Cracow: Typografia Kirchmajeriana, 1863), 261-263: “...Sbigneus sanctae memoriae cardinalis et episcopus Cracoviensis, summovit, et ecclesiae Cracoviensi, in qua ordinarie nonnisi per fratres praedicatorum et minores in certis duntaxat festivitibus, quas stationes appellabant, extraordinarie vero nonnisi precario et sub multiplici, qui interveniebat frequentibus, defectu, praedicabatur...” See also Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 282.

<sup>190</sup> *Rationes Zbignei de Nasięchowice archidiaconi Cracoviensis*, MPH 5, 917-925; as quoted in Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 282.

<sup>191</sup> *Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis et Plocensis* (no. 277), 73. Quoted already in Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 296.

<sup>192</sup> E.g. Dlugossius, *Liber Beneficiorum* 1, 261.

<sup>193</sup> *Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis et Plocensis selecta* (no. 146), 35: “Eodem die quo immediate supra placuit dominis unanimi voto nullo contradicente, ut fratres mendicantes cenobiorum s. Trinitatis videlicet et s. Francisci avisarentur, ut ad ecclesiam cathedralem Cracoviensem idoneos et tantum doctos viros mitterent ad predicandum formando sermones ad propositum et iuxta qualitatem dispositionemque ac modum temporum et personarum presencium; in festis tamen solemnibus et temporibus aliis, quando aliquis doctorum aut canonicorum vel personarum idonearum predicare vellet,

Besides the preaching practice of the Mendicants, another effort to cover the demands of delivering sermons in the cathedral was initiated by securing benefices for the clerics. For example, the benefice of All Saints' altar (*altaria*) was established for a university master, fluent in Polish, who was to preach in the cathedral on Christological and Mariological feasts (not on Stanislaus' feasts though).<sup>194</sup>

In 1454 the bishop established an office of permanent preacher, who was to preach *ad populum* in the cathedral: he was required to have at least a university master degree and to be fluent in both Latin and Polish.<sup>195</sup> The bishop explained that the existing number of sermons preached by the friars and altarists did not suffice for the magnitude of the crowd that flocked to the cathedral, as well as a result of the increasing popularity of the cult of St. Stanislaus.<sup>196</sup> Paul of Zator (1395-1463) was the first to hold the office, but he had actually preached in the cathedral regularly from 1423 at least.<sup>197</sup>

Thus, a number of sermons on St. Stanislaus were to be delivered in front of the lay public as well. Still, some specific occasions for preaching on Stanislaus' feasts to clerical audiences must be pointed out. There was definitely a habit of preaching to the clergy on the feasts of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral in Cracow – in front of the assembly of cathedral canons, or in front of the clergy who came to Cracow cathedral from the city and its surroundings. The two feast-days of St. Stanislaus were traditionally reserved for two out of the three annual general assemblies of the cathedral chapter. In the fifteenth century, the general chapter assemblies were usually held three

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quod prefati fratres eodem tempore a predicacione in prefata ecclesia conquiescerent suo accepto salario alias elemosina; super quo eciam Rmus pater Epus est avisandus intencionem videlicet tocius capituli sibi reserando; presentibus ibidem." Mentioned in Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 296.

<sup>194</sup> Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," 97-8.

<sup>195</sup> For an account of the foundation, see Joannes Długossius, *Liber Beneficiorum Diocesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, Opera omnia 7, ed. Alexander Przędziecki. (Cracow: Typografia Kirchmajeriana, 1863), 261-263: "... singularem praedicatorum perpetuum et assiduum, theologiae aut canonum, aut saltem atrium doctorem ad praedicandum in quadragesima singulis diebus, sub alio vero tempore in singulis celebritatibus et diebus dominicis verbi Dei ad populum, instituit, et praedicatoriam perpetuam a. D. 1454." The document of foundation, known only from copies, is edited in CDUC [Codex diplomaticus Studii generalis Cracoviensis (etc.), vol. 2 (Cracoviae: Sumptibus et typis Universitatis, 1873)], no. 173. See Maria Koczarska, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu* (1423-1455) (Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the Church of Cracow in the Time of His Pontificate) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004), 251-253 about the document; its *regestum* in the appendix "Regesty dokumentów datowanych, wystawionych przez Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego" (The Regesta of Dated Documents Issued by Zbigniew Oleśnicki), no. 220, 423-424.

<sup>196</sup> "Ecclesia nostra Cracoviensis cuius regimen a multis iam favente nobis divina clemencia annis prefecti sumus, inter alias eiusdem Regni maiores ecclesias, dono Dei specialiter sacro Beati Stanislai pontificis et martyris corpora multisque et notabilibus et presertim nostro tempore aliorum sanctorum reliquis mirifice sit dotata, ubi diversarum nacionum pro eiusdem sacri corporis et ipsarum reliquiarum veneracione catervatim populi concurrunt et mirabilia, que per merita eorundem sanctorum inibi fiunt videndo Deum omnipotentem glorificant minus sufficienter sit proviso. In eo maxime, quod licet in ea verbum dei populis christianis proponatur, tamen quia officium predicacionis necdum certum directorem seu predicatorem nec eciam pro sustentacione ipsius predicatoris certos et specialiter deputatos habeat proventus." From the foundation document, CDUC, vol. 2, no. 143, here quoted after Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," 99.

<sup>197</sup> For his biography, see Jerzy Wolny, "Pawel z Zatora" (Pawel of Zator), PSB 25, 401-403. For more about him and his sermons, including the sermons on St. Stanislaus, see below in Chapter 3.6.



times a year: on February 2 (the feast of Purification), May 8 (*S. Stanislai in maio*) and September 27 (*S. Stanislai in autumnno*).<sup>198</sup>

The bull of Pope Martin V from 1429 listed among the duties of the cathedral archdeacon that he, or his appointee, was obliged to deliver six sermons a year in Latin to the clergy in the cathedral – two on the May and September feasts of St. Stanislaus, and the other four on the great Christological feasts.<sup>199</sup> King Wladislaus Jagiello asked Pope Martin V in a letter from 1420 to allow for the establishment of a position of permanent preacher, who would take care of the clergy especially, in the cathedral.<sup>200</sup> The acts of the chapter of Cracow (September 30, 1488) later reminded the archdeacon of this duty.<sup>201</sup> For example, Bartłomiej (Bartholomew) of Jasło (1360-1407) preached *ad clerum* in the cathedral on May 8, 1391 on the thema *Iustus sicut leo* [Prov. 28, 1]. Bishop Jan Radlica, who was present in the audience, assigned him the task of preaching on the occasion.<sup>202</sup>

A diocesan synod was not required to be held on the feast of St. Stanislaus in May. The diocesan synods convened on various dates (and at various places, not even regularly annually), depending on the bishop's decision.<sup>203</sup> However, at least twice in the fifteenth century a diocesan

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<sup>198</sup> B. Kumor summarised that already from 1328 the general chapters had used to convene on these three dates, although originally, the last session used to be held on St. Michael's feast (September 29) and then transferred to St. Stanislaus' translation feast (September 27); Bolesław S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do r. 1795*, vol. 2 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława biskupa-męczennika Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1999), 332. The statute "De conuocandis canonicis ad capitula generalia" ascribed to Bishop Jan Grot instituted: "statuimus, quod omnes et singuli personatus et dignitates obtinentes, et canonici ad **tria generalia capitula, videlicet in festis purificationis beatae Marie virginis, sancti Stanislai martiris in Mayo patroni nostro (sic) celeberrimi, et sancti Michaelis Archangeli** conuenire iuxta consuetudinem antiquam ecclesie teneantur." [emphasis mine]; "Statuta capituli ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis a. MCCCXXVIII-MCCCCLXXVIII," in Heyzmann, *Statuta synodalia*, vol. 4, 120. For the general chapter sessions in the fifteenth century, see Bolesław Przybyszewski, "Kapituła krakowska za kanonikatu Jana Długosza (1436-1480)" (The Chapter of Cracow during the Canonry of Jan Długosz), in *Długossiana*, 25-26; and Marek D. Kowalski, "Piętnastowieczne statuty kapituły katedralnej w Krakowie" (Fifteenth-Century Statutes of the Cathedral Chapter in Cracow), in *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średniowieczu* (Poland and Its Neighbours in Late Middle Ages), ed. Krzysztof Ozóg and Stanisław Szczur (Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe "Societas Vistulana", 2000), 233-253.

<sup>199</sup> Regestum in *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 4 (1417-1431), no. 2250, 418-419. Cf. Jerzy Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," 96.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>201</sup> *Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis et Plocensis selecta (1438-1523; 1438-1525)*, ed. B. Ulanowski, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, vol. 6 (Cracow 1891), no. 277, 73: "Consuetudinibus et iuribus ecclesie Cracoviensis antiquibus conservatis recensitis domini capitulares suprascripti concluderunt, quod dominus archidiaconus huius ecclesie cathedralis Cracoviensi pro tempore **sermonem latinum ad clerum** annis singulis perpetuis temporibus in eadem ecclesia Cracoviensi sex vicibus facere et complere teneatur et sit astrictus, scilicet ad quodlibet **festum s. Stanislai patroni tam de Mayo quam in autumnno** celebrari solitum ac eciam aliis quatuor festis domini nostri Ihesu Christi precipuis et celebribus, ita tamen, quod pro quolibet sermone huiusmodi ipse dominus archidiaconus in ecclesiis loci huius Cracoviensis intimationem fieri procurabit..." Cf. Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 293.

<sup>202</sup> More details below in Chapter 3.6. Kuś, "Justus sicut leo," 10 [9-22]. This sermon (no. XLV) is preserved in MS. BJ 2192, f. 28-32. See also Maria Kowalczyk, "Odnowienie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w świetle mów Bartłomieja z Jasła" (The Restoration of Cracow University in the Light of Bartholomew of Jasło's Speeches), *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne* 6 (1964), z. 3-4, 37-38; Wolny, "Uwagi," 31-36.

<sup>203</sup> The manuscripts of synodal statutes and acts give various dates for diocesan synods. Moreover, medieval sources often used the word synod ambiguously to denote various kinds of clerical assemblies. In 1320 Bishop Nanker promulgated the synodal statutes at the end of a synod on October 2, which is a date within the octave of the translation feast of St. Stanislaus; *Najstarsze statuty synodalne krakowskie bpa Nankera z 2. pazd. 1320*, ed. Jan Fijałek, *Studia i*

synod could have been held on the feast of St. Stanislaus in May in the cathedral at Wawel: in 1446 and 1459.<sup>204</sup> One of the manuscripts of the synodal statutes of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki from the year 1446 dated their publication to the synod held in Cracow “at the octave of the feast of St. Stanislaus after Easter.” In such case a general chapter and a parallel diocesan synod could have been held in the octave of St. Stanislaus’s feast day (and there must have been a sermon or several sermons preached, although not preserved or identified).<sup>205</sup>

Similarly, a note from the acts of the February general session in 1459 mentioned the chapter’s approval in the matter of convoking a diocesan synod “for the feast of St. Stanislaus in May” in order to discuss the contributions for the warfare against the Teutonic Order. They intended to convoke prelates of all collegiate churches, abbots and priors of convents, rural deacons and parish priests.<sup>206</sup> The synod was to be held on the traditional date of the general chapter assembly. The two assemblies were perhaps to be held simultaneously. Then, it had probably been held on the planned and approved date, as the dating formula of the synodal statutes of Bishop Thomas Strzępiński in one of the manuscripts indicated.<sup>207</sup>

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*materiały do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, vol. 3 (Cracow: PAU, 1915), 1-2. For an overview, prescriptions and the dating of medieval synods in Cracow diocese, see Leszek Zygmunt, “Synody diecezjalne metropolii gnieźnieńskiej na przełomie XIV i XV wieku (Gniezno-Cracow-Płock-Poznań-Włocławek)” (Diocesan Synods in Metropolis of Gniezno at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century) *Kultura prawna w Europie Środkowej* (Legal Culture in Central Europe), ed. Antoni Barciak (Katowice: Societas Scientiarum Favendis Silesiae Superioris, 2006), on the diocese of Cracow 177-192. For general prescriptions for synods and their dates, especially the Second Easter Sunday as a day for synod, see also Chapter 3.4, where the *themata* of sermons are discussed.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. the list of the dates of synods for the diocese of Cracow in Bolesław S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do r. 1795* (The History of the Diocese of Cracow until 1795), vol. 2 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława biskupa-męczennika Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1999), 115-135, these two synods on pages 131-132. Still, a thorough research and verification of the dates of diocesan synods and statutes in Cracow diocese is needed before the possibility that synods took place on the feast of St. Stanislaus more times is excluded. For the problem of dating and source material pertaining to synods and their statutes in general, cf. Zygmunt, *Synody*, 167-169.

<sup>205</sup> “Expliciunt statuta sinodalia publicata **in sinodo** Cracovie celebrata per Reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Sbigneum Episcopum Cracoviensem **infra octavas sancti Stanislai post Pascha** anno domini M CCCC XL sexto.” *Statuty synodalne krakowskie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego*, 54. In this year the feast of St. Stanislaus fell on the Third Easter Sunday, i.e. a week after the Second Easter Sunday. Editor Zachorowski thought that it was an interesting date for a synod, because it coincided with the date of the first out of the three Cracow annual general chapter congregations. On the other hand, Sawicki maintained that the convoking of the proceedings of synod and general chapter simultaneously in the same days had been neither unusual nor rare, mainly due to practical reasons like the difficulties of communication and travel. Sawicki pointed out the cases when the two were convoked for the same dates in the diocese of Wrocław, but also in other Polish dioceses. He maintained that the two concurred several times in the diocese of Cracow: 1320, 1394 and 1408, in addition to the years 1446 and 1459 mentioned before. The dates will have to be verified. Sawicki, *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne* (Sources and Critical Studies), vol. 10: *Synody diecezji wrocławskiej i ich statuty*, 57, 71.

<sup>206</sup> Piotr Bober, “Z dziejów synodów dawnej diecezji krakowskiej w XIV, XV i XVI w” (From the History of Synods in Old Diocese of Cracow in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries), *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 3 (1956), no. 1, 90 pointed at the unpublished note from the chapter acts (Acta capituli Eccl. Crac. an. 1458-67, 1440-47, vol. Ib, 17 Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej): “Placuit dominis quod **pro festo sancti Stanislai in Maio Synodus** super danda vel non Domino Regi contributionem novam ad quam vocandi sunt prelati omnium ecclesiarum Collegiatarum et Abbates prepositi et priores conventuales istius dioecesis necnon decani rurales cum voluntatibus plebanorum ipsis subiectorum ad tractandum de huiusmodi contributione.” [quoted after Bober].

<sup>207</sup> “Constitutiones presentes sunt facte et publicate per reverendum patrem dominum Thomam, dei gracia episcopum Cracoviensem, **anno MCCCCL. nono, feria quarta in crastino sancti Stanislai pontificis et martyris ac patroni gloriosi, nona mensis maij**, in ecclesia collegiata sancti Michaelis archangeli in castro Cracoviensi sita, **in sinodo**

Sermons on St. Stanislaus were regularly delivered not only in the cathedral, but also in other places in Cracow. The king used to have his own preacher and confessor at the royal court at Wawel Hill.<sup>208</sup> Wolny determined that in the fifteenth century the inhabitants of Cracow could listen to as many as 18 sermons in Polish and 6 in German on Sundays (and thus also on obligatory feasts, such as the feasts of St. Stanislaus) in a number of parish and regular churches,<sup>209</sup> including, for example, the Mary's Church in the main square,<sup>210</sup> the Dominicans, Franciscans, the Regular Canons, Augustinians, and so on. The preaching started to flourish, and sermon manuscripts began to proliferate, especially after the establishment and re-establishment of the university in Cracow. The university finally supplied educated and able preachers, who were needed in whole diocese and elsewhere.<sup>211</sup> University masters and professors delivered sermons not only at the university (including *collationes* in *collegia*, speeches on various occasions such as graduations and promotions, and so on) but they also held benefices, and some preached, in the chapters and in various parish churches, not only in Cracow, but practically throughout the diocese and Poland. Common masses with sermons for the whole university took place in St. Anne's Church or at the university on feasts.<sup>212</sup>

In general, clerics were obliged to preach on Sundays and feasts at least (and also on the feasts of St. Stanislaus in many places where they were observed) in cathedral churches,<sup>213</sup> collegiate churches,<sup>214</sup> town<sup>215</sup> and village parish churches,<sup>216</sup> and in the churches of various

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**dyocesano** (sic) michi (sic) prelati et clero sue dyocesis Cracoviensis habita et tenta." "Statuta Thomae Strzempinski episcopi Cracoviensis Ann. MCCCCLIX," in Heyzmann, *Statuta synodalia*, 114.

<sup>208</sup> Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 284, 289-292. For court preachers and confessors of King Wladislaus Jagiello, see Krzysztof Ozóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagielly (1384-1434)* (Intellectuals in the Monarchy of Hedwig of Anjou and Wladislaus Jagiello) (Cracow: PAU, 2004), 309-320. A list of court preachers in Panuś, *Kaznodziejstwo w katedrze krakowskiej*, 263-264.

<sup>209</sup> Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 304.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>211</sup> Długosz appreciated the role of the university in this respect in his account of the foundation of permanent preacher's office in the cathedral mentioned above. Długossius, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 1, 261: "Universitatis deinde studii generalis in civitate Cracoviensi per Vladislaum Secundum, genere Lithwanum Poloniae regem, et consortem suam hedvigim, filiam Ludovici Hungariae regis, Poloniae reginam, a.D. 1400 factam, plantation, neglectum illum atque deformitatem tam diuturno tempore vigentem, sustulit. Coeperunt enim extunc non in civitatibus tantummodo oppidis, atque castellis, sed in vicis, atque villagiis regni Poloniae doctorum atque discretorum hominum linguis, crescent studio et librorum numero, fiery praedicationes, et simplicium agrestium et rudium hominum pectora, ex auditu frequenti legis et praedicationis divinae, ingenia potiora limata, atque cultiora, et ex pravis operibus atque moribus ad rectas operations et studia sortiri."

<sup>212</sup> For an overview of university preaching in Cracow, see Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 285-288; for proper university speeches especially and their practice in Cracow, see Maria Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie z pierwszej połowy XV. wieku* (Cracovian University Speeches in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century) (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Ossolineum, 1970).

<sup>213</sup> For an overview of preaching in the cathedrals in Poland, see Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 296-300.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-302.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 303-304.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 305-306. For preaching in villages, see also Bylina, *Christianizacja wsi polskiej*, 80-93. For the state of research of preaching in villages in Poland, see Krzysztof Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. Sermones dominicales et festuales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia (Preaching in Late Medieval Poland. The *Sermones Dominicales et Festuales* from the so-called Collection of Piotr of Miłosław) (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, 2007), 38-39.

religious orders.<sup>217</sup> We have evidence about regular preaching in these places, although in most cases we lack explicit prescriptions concerning the preaching particularly on the feast of St. Stanislaus on May 8 or September 27.

Regular and diocesan clergy could and were obliged to preach about him during the liturgy in other churches, the feast being a *festum fori* in Polish dioceses. For instance, Stanislaus' day was a festival of the highest category with procession and sermon – a *festum triplex cum statione et sermone* – in the cathedral in Wrocław (together with Christological feasts, the Birth of St. John the Baptist, the Dedication of the church, St. Vincent, and Hedwig). The fifteenth-century *Modus agendi* and the notes in manuscripts prescribed on which feasts and who was to preach in the cathedral. The preaching duties were divided among the Dominicans from St. Adalbert Convent, the Franciscans, and the Augustinian Hermits from the Convent of St. Dorothy. The Franciscans from the Convent of St. James in Wrocław were to deliver sermons on the feast of St. Stanislaus on May 8, and also on the day of St. Stephen (December 26), the Easter Monday, and the Monday after Trinity.<sup>218</sup>

In the places where the feast of St. Stanislaus on May 8 was a *festum chori*, especially abroad in Hungarian and Bohemian kingdoms, sermons could be delivered *ad clerum* at least. The churches dedicated to the Polish saint were also most probably the venues of sermons about him on his feasts. Manuscripts containing sermons on St. Stanislaus are found in collections of libraries throughout Poland and abroad in Bratislava, Prague, Budapest, Munich, Uppsala, Sankt Florian, Vienna, Oxford and the Vatican. The location of manuscripts does not necessarily imply the existence of practice of preaching about St. Stanislaus (nor a single occasion of preaching on him) in the particular place, where the manuscript got in the Middle Ages or where it is located in present.<sup>219</sup> The saint could be mentioned in sermons on other occasions, apart from the days devoted to him in liturgical calendar.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>217</sup> Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 306. Besides the old nineteenth-century work of Brückner (*Kazania średniowieczne*), there are not many overviews of regular preaching, and none of them is comprehensive, and then numerous partial studies of particular preachers and collections, or preaching at some particular places, or short summaries concerning preaching within works dealing with the culture and activities of particular Orders. There are several studies of Dominican preaching (which leave more details desired) in Poland; see Wolny, “Uwagi o kaznodziejstwie dominikańskim w Polsce średniowiecznej” (Some Thoughts Concerning Dominican Preaching in Medieval Poland), in *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222-1972*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, 1 (Warsaw: Wydawn. Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975), 543-551. A general short study of J. Kłoczowski, “Problem mendykantów i kaznodziejstwa w Polsce średniowiecznej” (The Problem of Mendicants and Preaching in Medieval Poland), in *Ludzie-Kościół-Wierzenia: Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej. Średniowiecze-wczesna epoka nowożytna* (People-Church-Beliefs: Studies from the History of Culture and Society in Central Europe. Middle Ages-Early Modern Period) (Warsaw: DiG, 2001), 145-149.

<sup>218</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 40; Dola, “Kult,” 252-253; Sobeczko, *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej*, 213, 215, 249.

<sup>219</sup> For more about the manuscripts abroad, their provenance, and so on, see also Chapter 3.7.

<sup>220</sup> The possibility of hearing or reading about a saint on days other than his feasts is mentioned in Ferzoco, “Preaching, Canonisation, New Cults,” 297. I mention a few sermons on other saints or occasions which recalled St. Stanislaus in later chapters.

This section (supplemented with the section on liturgical observance) presented an overview of possible occasions for preaching about St. Stanislaus, mainly on the basis of normative sources (synodal statutes, liturgical prescriptions, ceremonial prescriptions for preaching at various places) and mentions in narrative sources. It will be confronted with the evidence (direct and indirect) of extant sermon texts. The manuscripts of sermons about St. Stanislaus are the main sources that we have for the actual preaching on him, besides normative sources and other mentions in narrative sources and alike. Only extremely rarely do they provide direct information about the circumstances of the sermon delivery. Below I will also try to identify possible circumstances of the delivery of sermons (in the form preserved in the manuscript or at least inspired by the written text), where possible, and try to establish the relation between the sermon texts extant in manuscripts and the actual preaching on St. Stanislaus (or in different words, the uses of the collected texts). The following chapter presents sermons on St. Stanislaus preserved in manuscripts.

## Chapter 3: Sermons on St. Stanislaus of Cracow in Manuscript Codices – An Overview

The source corpus of this enquiry comprises sermons on Saint Stanislaus from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century: 80 different texts (sermons and sermon materials) in 86 various codices, which make up altogether 129 positions – appearances of sermons on St. Stanislaus in the examined manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> The dossier includes several texts which were more widely disseminated (e.g. the sermon by Peregrinus, John-Jerome of Prague, etc.), especially those transmitted as parts of systematic sermon collections on saints. However, a text from this particular dossier can be considered to have circulated more extensively if at least three copies of the particular sermon have survived. It is certainly not a high number, but in the context of the preaching about St. Stanislaus, taking into consideration other possibly undiscovered copies in the area and the loss of the manuscripts, these texts could be considered relatively more successful from this point of view than a number of sermons which are extant in a unique copy. On the other hand, a number of sermon texts appear only in a single copy, a *codex unicus*. The high number of sermon texts provides evidence of the great versatility of the preaching on the feasts of St. Stanislaus. Still, the eighty sermons would represent only a small portion of the “live” sermons delivered about St. Stanislaus on his two feasts at various places during the period of almost 250 years from his canonisation until the end of the fifteenth century. Some manuscripts contain not only one, but several (in one case even seven!) sermons on St. Stanislaus, in many cases distinguishing between the sermons on the feast of martyrdom and the day of translation of St. Stanislaus and offering models for both occasions.

Sermons, especially those anonymously authored, are difficult to date and most of them can be dated in general terms only on the basis of the dating of their surviving manuscripts. The oldest preserved manuscript sermon texts on St. Stanislaus date back to the turn of the fourteenth century. Only five sermons can be dated reliably to the fourteenth century, or rather to a period before the fifteenth century (mostly on the basis of the dating of their manuscripts).<sup>2</sup> Only eight manuscripts of sermons on St. Stanislaus date back to the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> All other texts and their manuscripts

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<sup>1</sup> There are 18 other identified MSS., which I could not check myself or of which I do not have copies – some of them include sermons already known, like e.g. the sermon by Peregrinus.

<sup>2</sup> Sermon I by Peregrinus, Sermon LXXIII: Anonymous (from Uppsala C383), Sermon XXV: Anonymous (Prague Chapter Library F 46), Sermon LXV: Anonymous (Bratislava Chapter Library 64); Sermon XVIII: Anonymous (Sankt Florian XI.262) from the first half of the fourteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. of the sermon by Peregrinus: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 442; BUWr I Q 355 from the second half of the fourteenth century; in MSS. Prague Chapter Library F 65/2 and F 71 also from the second half of the fourteenth century. Other sermons: Uppsala C383 (with sermon LXXIII) from the second half of the fourteenth century; Sermon XXV: Anonymous (MS. Prague Chapter Library F 46) from the first half of the fourteenth century; Sermon LXV: Anonymous (MS. Bratislava Chapter Library 64) from the second half of the fourteenth century; Sankt Florian Stiftsbibliothek MS IX.262 (with Sermon XVIII: Anonymous) from the first half of the fourteenth century; [and Sermon III (BJ 836, Matthias of Colo) - late fourteenth or early fifteenth century].

were written in the fifteenth century or cannot be reliably dated to an earlier period. The vast majority of the texts, as well as manuscripts, were put down in the fifteenth century. This period was marked by an immense growth in sermon production. None of the sermon texts from the dossier resulted in an edition in the form of *incunabula* or early print in the Middle Ages, as compared to sermons on some “more universal” saints. The geographical scope of the sermons was clustered primarily around the central area of the cult of St. Stanislaus, in Cracow and other centres in Poland, and in some cases also abroad, in the neighbouring regions and countries and in some isolated places in Europe, where the bishop was venerated or where the sermon manuscripts had spread.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.1 Sermons as Texts

Medieval sermon texts in manuscript books are the evidence of preaching that we have. However, it is not enough to see the sermon only as a text written down in a manuscript. Such treatment of the sermon text would be insufficient. The texts of medieval sermons were transmitted to us in manuscript codices, i.e. in written form, while the sermon is a genre determined primarily for oral presentation, or delivery. The student of medieval sermons has to keep in mind that the relationship between the written text preserved in manuscript form (a sermon) and its actual oral delivery (the preaching) is problematic. It is usually difficult to cross this barrier and reconstruct the sermon in the form in which it was actually preached in a certain time, space and in front of a certain audience.<sup>5</sup> The manuscripts record sermons in various stages of elaboration: before oral delivery as a form of preparation, a model sermon or as a *reportatio*.<sup>6</sup>

Model sermons are the most widespread type of sermon texts. They belonged to preaching aids (just as the *distinctiones* collections, saints’ legends, etc.), being perhaps the most important among them. They served as models for other preachers; in a way, all sermons that were copied into manuscripts were ultimately meant to serve as models for further preaching.<sup>7</sup> The success of model

<sup>4</sup> For a description of my search for sermon manuscripts in geographical terms, see Introduction; and for manuscripts and possibilities of preaching abroad Chapter 3.7.

<sup>5</sup> Augustine Thompson, “From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event,” in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: Brill, 2002), 13-37. Kienzle, “Introduction,” in *The Sermon*, 168-173.

<sup>6</sup> These are what J.-L. Bataillon called “versions;” Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,” *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 11 (1980): 19-35 [reprinted in *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie: Etudes et Documents* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1993) as Ch. 1], 21-2.

<sup>7</sup> For more about model sermons, their characteristics and diffusion see: David L. d’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars. Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 78, 105-131 and passim; and Nicole Bériou, “Les sermons latins après 1200,” in *The Sermon*, ed. B. M. Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 81-83, 363-448. D’Avray’s definition of model sermons, which has become a classical reference (“sermons written for a proximate public of users and an ultimate public of listeners”), has been broadened by Wenzel (*Latin Sermon Collections*, 3) to any sermon that got written down, “if one extends the intention of producing models from the authors to collectors and scribes.”

sermons depended above all on their versatility, utility and the ease with which they could be reworked and adapted to the needs of various audiences, places and times. That is why their content was usually limited to what was necessary for dealing with a particular topic. Texts in model collections were logically “neutralized” and deprived of all unnecessary detail and of all information that was too particular and topical. Unfortunately, the manuscripts themselves usually do not provide much evidence about the actual delivery of the sermons about St. Stanislaus: the dates, places and the audience (which the *reportationes* type provides more often); even if they do, it is not explicit. The earliest known sermon on St. Stanislaus is most probably a sermon from the collection *de sanctis* by Peregrinus of Opole (ca. 1260-1333), a Silesian Dominican.<sup>8</sup> The sermon by Peregrinus was the best-known, the most widespread and the most influential medieval sermon text on St. Stanislaus. It represented a successful model text, which preachers continued to copy and exploit during entire fifteenth century. I describe it in detail in a separate chapter below.

Besides Peregrinus several other authors included model sermons about St. Stanislaus in their systematic collections designed for diffusion as preaching aids. These sermon collections were conceived as collections *de sanctis*. Among the authors of these collections, who are described in more detail below, are: a Praemonstratensian of Bohemian origin, the royal preacher and later Camaldolese John-Jerome of Prague, Cracow cathedral preachers and university professors Paweł of Zator and Jan of Słupca, another alumnus of the university in Cracow, Grzegorz of Mysłowice, and some anonymous authors. Most of these authors were active in Cracow in a part of their lives at least. Other sermons preserved in manuscripts as either *sermones praevii* or reportations are, for example, sermons by Mikołaj (Nicolaus) of Kozłów in a collection of conciliar sermons, or a sermon by Jan Sculteti of Reichenbach.

The written texts of sermons have to be considered on several levels, which are sometimes difficult to discern and can be interconnected: the composition of a sermon text, its oral delivery, and its writing down, and then the uses of the resulting manuscripts. The sermon collections were parts of inventories of various parish, conventual, school or personal libraries (sometimes the owner is noted in the manuscript), often exploited as preaching handbooks and model materials. Sometimes the sermon collections were originally conceived for personal use only, but more frequently they were put down with an intermediate audience of users – other preachers – in mind (not only the ultimate audience of listeners at the oral delivery). Thus, several relations come into question here: the relation between the text in a manuscript and the preacher who was the author of the text, the relation between the text and the oral delivery (in front of the audience of the faithful,

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<sup>8</sup> Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. Ryszard Tatarzyński (Warsaw, Institutum Thomisticum PP. Dominicanorum, 1997); the sermon *In festo sancti Stanislai* on pages 584-591.



its ultimate audience), the relation between the text and its intermediate public, i.e. the preacher who utilized the codex.

### 3.2 Sermon Manuscripts

Sermons survive in manuscript form in two basic ways: first, more often as parts of the collections, or second, as an isolated sermon.<sup>9</sup> Sermons are frequently copied and organized in manuscripts according to a certain guiding principle.<sup>10</sup> In other cases the manuscript is random and lacks any kind of visible organization principle. Thus, the collections (i.e. manuscripts with sermon texts) can be divided into two basic categories: unified (systematic) and miscellaneous (random).<sup>11</sup> However, sometimes the boundaries between these two types are not completely clear. Some manuscripts do not easily fall in either of these categories, or in other words, they fall in both types.<sup>12</sup>

Most frequently, a systematic collection (a sermon cycle) contains one or several sermons for each liturgical occasion, following the order of liturgical calendar.<sup>13</sup> The author's prologue, if there is one, can elucidate his intentions and motivations and the purpose of a particular collection. Random sermon collections, in Wenzel's typology, could have some kind of organizing principle, "however vague this might be," e.g. chronological order. Wenzel has also explained that the distinction between systematic and random collections concerned not only the order of arrangement, but also its essence, origin and purpose. While systematic cycles are products of scholarly study, sermons in random collections are closer to "real" sermons, although this does not have to be universally true. Each collection should be approached and analysed individually.<sup>14</sup> In another study, Wenzel distinguished between several subtypes of manuscripts containing sermons (sermon collections): the sermon diary, the preacher's handbook, notebooks, commonplace books

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<sup>9</sup> Bataillon, "Approaches to Study of Medieval Sermons," 19.

<sup>10</sup> Collections (conceived as collections or merely diffused as collections) could be ordered according to various principles: according to the liturgical calendar, chronologically corresponding to the calendar of a particular year when the sermons were preached, thematically. Bataillon, "Approaches to Study of Medieval Sermons," 20-21; Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," 387.

<sup>11</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, xvi and 2-4. Wenzel's division roughly corresponds to a classification proposed by Father Bataillon, who divided the collections into 1) ordered collections, and 2) manuscripts called in Italian a "zibaldone", i.e. manuscripts containing sermons and often other texts which could be useful for preaching without any discernable order. Bataillon, "Approaches to Study of Medieval Sermons," 20.

<sup>12</sup> Wenzel (*Latin Sermon Collections*, i) warns against the temptation to "think in binary terms" with respect to the typology of not only sermon collections, but also with respect to the audience of preachers, the form of sermons (ancient or modern), and so on.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 3; see also d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 144, 179. Wenzel (*Sermon Collections*, 251) also maintained that if a sermon on a particular saint appeared in a random collection, it may reflect the popularity of the saint in the respective time and place more accurately.

or florilegia (*materia predicabilis*), the anthology (some sort of thematic unity), and the miscellany.<sup>15</sup>

Some sermons about St. Stanislaus were integral parts of sermon collections *de sanctis* diffused in Polish lands and rarely also abroad. Most collections *de sanctis* were ordered according to liturgical calendar and included sermons on saints' feasts observed in the particular region or religious order, or sermons on saints that the author of the collection deemed important and useful to include in his work, depending on its audience.<sup>16</sup> Collections of sermons on saints (*de sanctis*) belonged to the basic types of sermons series, usually arranged around the liturgical year, together with collections *de tempore*, *de communi sanctorum* and *de quadragesima*; and sermons *de festis* appeared sometimes together with *de sanctis*, other time with *de tempore*, etc.).<sup>17</sup> Consistent and autonomous collections of sermons on saints appeared in the thirteenth century: while Maurice of Sully around the 1170s included a dozen of sermons for the common of saints in his collection, thirteenth-century authors composed more and more developed collections on saints.<sup>18</sup> The thirteenth century witnessed the production of new and more diversified and specialised preaching aids, among them the collections of model sermons on saints.<sup>19</sup> George Ferzoco pointed out (on the basis of Schneyer's repertory) that the production of sermons *de sanctis* (within collections by various authors) and specific collections *de sanctis* increased in the period of the twelfth until the early fifteenth century, which paralleled general increase in popularity of saints' cults.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3 The genres of sermons and sermon materials pertaining to St. Stanislaus

I have already described the different forms in which sermon texts are preserved in preachers' manuscripts. They represent a wide scale of materials on a continuum – from the sermons which were deliberately composed and diffused as model texts (especially in ordered collections) to the *sermones preavii* or *reportationes* of real sermons delivered at a precise place and on a precise date. Another characteristic of the collected materials pertaining to St. Stanislaus is the genre of sermons, which they represent. The *sermo* and the *homily* are the two basic types of preaching genres. The homily was the basic preaching genre known already in the times of the

<sup>15</sup> Wenzel, "Sermon Collections and Their Taxonomy," in *The Whole Book. Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 7-22. Cf. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, xiv.

<sup>16</sup> For "series ordonnées," ordered collections, among them collections *de sanctis*, see Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," 386-394. See also Bataillon, "Approaches to Study of Medieval Sermons," 20.

<sup>17</sup> d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 78-79.

<sup>18</sup> Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," 388.

<sup>19</sup> Eadem, "Pellem pro pelle," 269-270.

<sup>20</sup> George Ferzoco, "Sermon literatures concerning Late Medieval Saints," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 104; for collections *de sanctis* (importantly such authors as Peter of Reims, Jacques de Vitry, Jacopo da Varazze, etc.) see idem, "The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints," in *Preacher, Sermon, Audience*, 281-284.

Church Fathers, the *sermo modernus* was a new type of sermon, which spread from the thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup> The *thema* was a distinctive feature of the *sermo modernus*.<sup>22</sup> As compared to another preaching genre, the homily, the *sermo modernus* was built upon a thematic verse (a short quotation) only, while in the homily (or also the *postilla*) preachers would expand on the whole Biblical pericope of the liturgy of the day, and explain it verse by verse, topic by topic. The *thema* was most frequently taken from the liturgy of the day. The *thema* was then “divided and developed at length according to the technical patterns later systematised in the *Artes praedicandi*.”<sup>23</sup> The *thema* “contains the whole sermon in miniature”; “the parts of the text and the parts of the body of the sermon have matching structures.”<sup>24</sup> The *thema* was a decisive factor for the structure and content of the sermon, but preachers had still a variety of possibilities regarding how to develop the sermon from the *thema*. Except for a few exceptions the preaching texts about St. Stanislaus are *sermones moderni*, which is a type of sermon typical for the Late Middle Ages.

The genre of homily (exposing all verses of a biblical pericope one by one) is only marginally represented among the sermon materials on St. Stanislaus. The homily or *postilla* was becoming once again more popular, especially in the intellectual and reform circles, which were returning to the patristic roots and to the Scripture. The *postilla* collections by authors like Jan Milíč of Kroměříž/Cremsir, Conrad Waldhausen or Jan Štěkna (Szczekna in Polish orthography; he was active in Cracow) diffused especially from the centres in Prague and in Cracow.<sup>25</sup> The manuscript BJ 1626 from the mid-fifteenth century contained a collection *de tempore* with a sermon, or rather a *postilla*, for the Second Easter Sunday on the Gospel passage about the Good Shepherd, which mentioned St. Stanislaus.<sup>26</sup> Here again, it is important to note the versatility and utility of preaching aids. For example, when a preacher prepared for the preaching on the feast of St. Stanislaus, he could use a model (a *sermo*, a *postilla*, a *homily*) from a collection *de tempore*, which exposed the respective Biblical verse or passage, and supplement it with the saint’s legend from another

<sup>21</sup> Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,” 28. For the terminology, see also Kienzle, “Introduction,” in *The Sermon*, 160-2.

<sup>22</sup> For more on the *thema* and the ways and techniques of constructing a sermon on the basis of a *thema*, see e. g. Bériou, *Les sermons latins après 1200*, 370-382.

<sup>23</sup> See the definition of Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,” 28.

<sup>24</sup> David L. d’Avray, *Death and the Prince: memorial preaching before 1350* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 186.

<sup>25</sup> For Waldhausen and his *Postilla*, see Stanisław Bylina, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku* (The Influence of Conrad Waldhausen in the Polish Lands in the Second Half of the Fourteenth and the First Half of the Fifteenth Century) (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN, 1966). For Milicius, see Peter C.A. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia. The Life and Ideas of Milicius de Chremsir and His Significance in the Historiography of Bohemia* (Heršpice: EMAN, 1999), esp. 99ff. For the postilla *Carcer Anime* by Štěkna, see e.g. Maria Kowalczyk, “Postylla de tempore w rękopisie B 13 Biblioteki OO. Paulinów w Krakowie na Skałce” (Postilla de tempore in the Manuscript B 13 of the Library of the Pauline Fathers in Cracow at Skałka), *Studia Claromontana* 7 (1987): 7-39.

<sup>26</sup> BJ 1626, f. 64v: “Unde dicit *Bonus pastor ponit animam suam*, idest vitam suam corporalem, *pro ovibus suis*, idest pro spirituali vita homini. Sic enim fecit Christus, **sic et sanctus Stanislaus** et alii quamplures...” The MS. contains also a sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon XII), which is edited in Appendix 5, but it is located in the MS. only after the end of the first collection (f. 152v-153r).

collection. Most frequently, it would be the pericope from the Gospel of St. John about the Good Shepherd and its introductory verse “I am the good shepherd,” which was the most frequently read gospel for both feasts of St. Stanislaus. Some sermon materials in manuscripts point to such practice among the preachers. The compiler of the collection *de sanctis* attributed to Nicolaus Wigandi did not include a sermon on St. Stanislaus, but he noted that the “gospel *I am the good shepherd* with his legend is to be preached about him.”<sup>27</sup> Two Cracow manuscripts from around 1400 (BJ 188 and BJ 1299) included aids for preachers for the feasts of St. Stanislaus (Sermon Materials XXI A-B).<sup>28</sup> I listed them among sermon materials on St. Stanislaus although they are not typical sermons, because they are evidence of the preaching practice pertaining to the Polish saint. They contained the Gospel pericope [Jn 10,11-16] together with a practical exposition for those who wanted to expand on this Gospel passage in their sermon: interlinear and marginal gloss, and useful notes and excerpts, in the MS. BJ 188 including a *postilla* by Albertus de Padua, OESA for the Second Sunday after Easter.<sup>29</sup> Undoubtedly, the scriptural exegesis had been an important method of preachers and element of sermons, no matter what the genre of their preaching was. Thus, the materials like the two manuscripts mentioned above could be exploited in a different form also by preachers who prepared *sermones moderni* on St. Stanislaus.

Some texts in the manuscripts do not have the typical form of *sermo modernus* with a *thema* and a structure developed from the thematic verse. It is usually explicable by the form of the sermon’s presentation in the manuscripts (in the form of notes, outline only), fragmentation of the text or a lack of articulation of the scribes. Some sermons in manuscripts resembled rather a free discussion or exhortation with a less strict structure. Sometimes a scribe recorded a sermon, which could have originally been a thematic *sermo modernus* with a clear structure, in a chaotic and unclear way, or a preacher prepared notes for his sermon in a disorderly manner. In some cases it was even difficult to establish a *thema* of the sermon put down in a manuscript.<sup>30</sup> Among the preaching resources on St. Stanislaus I also included some sermon materials, which are rather hybrid genres: I mentioned the exegetical aids in the MS. 188 and 1299 (Sermon Materials XXIA and XXIB); and materials on the borderline between sermons and legends no. LXXVI and LXXVII, which are discussed in another place.

<sup>27</sup> MS. BJ 1389, f. 144v: “De sancto Stanislao patrono nostro predicetur ewangelium: *Ego sum pastor bonus cum ipsius legenda.*”

<sup>28</sup> Both texts read in the beginning in the upper left margin that this gospel was read “on the feast of St. Stanislaus and also on the First Sunday after the Octave of Easter.” BJ 188, f. 187r: “Istud ewangelium habetur Johannis X. prope principium, et **legitur in festo sancti Stanislai, et etiam in prima dominica post octavas pasce.**” Cf. BJ 1299, f. 72r.

<sup>29</sup> As identified by the *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 194; cf. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 127, no. 44 (T30).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Sermon LXXV (MS. BUWr I F 520, f. 326v-328v); Sermon LXXIV (MS. BUWr I F 520, f. 387r-389r). These sermons are listed in the final part of the *Register of Sermons*. It was not possible to identify the *thema* of the Sermon LXXVIII because the sermon was considerably truncated and the beginning and the end of the sermon was missing in the MS. (Kielce MS. 42/24, f. 242r-242v), although it was originally a *sermo modernus*.

The *prothema* was an optional element of the *sermo modernus*, following immediately after the *thema*. It was usually introduced by a quotation of a Biblical verse different from the *thema*. The function of the *prothema* was to invite the hearers to and prepare them for a concentrated and devoted listening to the sermon. It usually ended with a common loud prayer of the faithful.<sup>31</sup> Some sermons on St. Stanislaus contained a *prothema*, or, more often, an introductory part, which resembled a prothematic part in function, but without a prothematic verse.<sup>32</sup>

Some sermons which had a *thema* incorporated some elements of the exegetical homily. Wenzel rejected thinking solely “in binary terms” also with respect to the form of sermons and classifying them as either ancient (i.e. homily) or modern (i.e. *sermo modernus*). Some cases share characteristics of both.<sup>33</sup> For example, Jan of Słupca quoted and explained also other verses from the pericope of the day on the good shepherd in the course of his sermon (Sermon VII). Uhlř, who studied medieval hagiographical works and sermons about St. Wenceslas, noticed that the preaching about saints is represented by various types and forms of sermon literature, for which the binary classification did not work completely. He further divided the materials into subtypes, depending on their style (narrative and non-narrative): 1) *sermo modernus* (which he called “thematic sermon”) – a) epic (which contained narrative from the saint’s hagiography), b) exemplary (which contained exempla that had nothing to do with the saint’s hagiography), c) explicative; 2) exegetical homily – a) epic, b) commentary, c) thematic.<sup>34</sup> For example, the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus would be an “epic thematic sermon” in this classification, while Słupca’s sermon would be an “explicative thematic sermon” (or possibly “thematic exegetical homily”). The complicated tentative typology reflects the variety within the sermon genre and it is certainly helpful in this respect. However, some sermon texts are difficult to label.

### 3.4 Themata of Sermons on St. Stanislaus of Cracow

The eighty sermons on St. Stanislaus discovered to date have as many as 45 various *themata* (43 biblical and 2 non-biblical *themata*, see the Appendix *Index of Themata*).<sup>35</sup> The high number, which is not unusual for sermons on saints, demonstrates the rich variability of the preaching on the saintly bishop. Preachers on saints had a considerably great freedom to choose a *thema* (greater than for sermons *de tempore*, in general). Most frequently, authors would select a verse from the liturgy

<sup>31</sup> For a definition of the *prothema*, see Bériou, “Les sermons latins,” 397-8; Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,” 29.

<sup>32</sup> Sermons IB, VIII, IX (rather an introduction than a prothema – marked by “?”), XIII, XIV (?), XXXIV (?), LXIV (?), LXXV (?), LXX.

<sup>33</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, i.

<sup>34</sup> Uhlř, *Literární prameny*, 87-96.

<sup>35</sup> I exclude two sermons where I have not been able to discern the *themata* with certainty (Sermons LXXIV and LXXV).

of the day (the saint's feastday – either the saint's proper or *commune* used for the saint's feast - or the closest Sunday, on which they also could have preached on the saint), from the liturgical readings (Epistle, Gospel) or from other liturgical works (hymns, etc.), but they could also select a completely different verse, e.g. whose content was relevant for the particular saintly figure.<sup>36</sup> Although a wide spectrum of the *themata* were used in the sermons on St. Stanislaus, many of them appeared only once: 39 verses appeared as the *themata* of a single sermon text only (out of which, 7 appeared in more than one copy; out of those 7 – in two cases the sermon was preserved in two different redactions).

A big group of preachers constructed their sermons for the feast of St. Stanislaus on a verse from the pericope of the Gospel of John [Jn 10,11-16] which was read on the feasts of St. Stanislaus. Its beginning verse *Ego sum pastor bonus etc.* (“I am the good shepherd”) was the most frequent choice – 13 times. Two texts (Sermons XVIII and XIX) explicitly take the second part of the verse Jn 10,11 as their *thema* - *Bonus pastor dat animam suam*. I include here also a sermon that had a similar *thema* from the same Gospel pericope (Sermon XX) – Jn 10,14 - *Ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me mee*. The Sermon XI cited as the *thema* whole fragment *Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis*, but it was not reflected in the division, as the main distinction of the sermon was based on the word “shepherd.” When we add two redactions of the sermon material which exposed the particular pericope (XXI A and B), the total of the texts drawn from this Gospel reading makes up as many as 17 distinct sermon materials (out of 80 sermon texts and preaching materials on St. Stanislaus) in 37 copies altogether<sup>37</sup> (out of 129 positions – appearances of the sermons on St. Stanislaus in the 86 codices). The vast majority of these texts originated in the fifteenth century. In this respect the preaching was tied to the liturgy of the feast, as the *thema* was taken from the most popular Gospel reading for the feast of St. Stanislaus. The Gospel pericope was presented above in a broader context of the liturgy for St. Stanislaus' feasts,<sup>38</sup> and the following section is devoted to the presentation of the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* in a broader context of the preaching.

Besides the feasts of St. Stanislaus, the Gospel passage about the Good Shepherd was to be read on the Second Easter Sunday, from which it follows that a number of sermons *de tempore*, from the regular cycle of the year, on that particular Sunday were constructed on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus*. Schneyer listed more than 300 sermons on this thematic verse. Similarly, the

<sup>36</sup> For an interesting overview of possible motivations for the choice of the *thema*, as demonstrated on the example of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, see Gecser, *Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, Chapter 6.1.

<sup>37</sup> Excluding the seven identified and not checked copies of the sermon by John-Jerome. See the *Register of Sermons on St. Stanislaus* on the *thema* Jn 10, 11: *Ego sum pastor bonus* (and *Bonus pastor dat animam suam*) for their incipits, explicits, and manuscripts in the appendix.

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 1.2.1 *Mass Formulary*.

electronic *Repertorium* lists another hundred of sermons from the period after 1350.<sup>39</sup> The overwhelming majority of those sermons were meant for the Second Easter Sunday (T30 is the universally-used abbreviation for this liturgical occasion). Almost every model collection *de tempore* contained a sermon on this liturgical verse. Every preacher must have come into contact with this *thema* or preached on this *thema* in some way.<sup>40</sup> The content of the sermons for the two liturgical circumstances could resemble each other, and the preaching material composed and copied for either of them could be exploited freely for either of them, or even for any other applicable occasion. The utility was the decisive criterion in copying and exploiting medieval sermon materials. Therefore, preachers could make use of an extremely rich reservoir of sermons on *Ego sum pastor bonus* meant originally for the Second Easter Sunday (or any other occasion), which they had at hand especially in model sermon collections, when they preached on St. Stanislaus.

For copyists (preachers-users) the sermons for Stanislaus' feast and Second Easter Sunday could often become interchangeable. They could put down a text that they found useful for another occasion. That is why, perhaps, some texts with no mention of the saint whatsoever may have been entitled *de sancto Stanislao* – simply because a model constructed on the same verse could be used for his feast as well.<sup>41</sup> Two Cracow miscellaneous manuscripts from around 1400 (MSS. BJ 188 and BJ 1299) provided the Johannine “shepherd” pericope [Jn 10,11-16] together with a practical exposition for those who wanted to expand on this Gospel passage in their sermon: interlinear and marginal gloss, and useful notes and excerpts of varied authorship (Sermon Materials XXI A and B). Both texts note in the beginning in the upper left margin that this gospel was read “on the feast of St. Stanislaus and also on the First Sunday after the Octave of Easter.”<sup>42</sup> The Polish copyists of

<sup>39</sup> For a long index of these sermons, see Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 11, 278-280; idem, *Repertorium von 1350 bis 1500*, CD-ROM.

<sup>40</sup> Sermons on this *thema* include the sermons by renowned preachers in widely diffused sermon collections (one can risk to say that all), such as Peregrinus of Opole, Conradus Holtzner, St. Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure, Conradus of Brundelsheim (Soccus), Conradus of Waldhausen, Alan of Lille, Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, Berthold of Regensburg, Jacques de Vitry, Jaques de Voragine, Jean de la Rochelle, Jordanus de Quedlinburg, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž (Johannes Milicius de Cremsir) and very many others. For an analysis of the sermons for the Second Easter Sunday and their content connected to Easter, based especially on a sermon collection from England, see Mary O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS. Laud. Misc. 511* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 242-254. See also Jussi Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons,” in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: Brill, 2002), 293-315, a test of his method on a dossier of sermons for the Second Easter Sunday on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* on 302-305.

<sup>41</sup> At the same time, preachers might not have mentioned St. Stanislaus in their speech or in the model they put down, if they chose not to, even if the sermon was actually to be delivered on his feastday.

<sup>42</sup> BJ 188, f. 187r: “Istud ewangelium habetur Johannis X. prope principium, et **legitur in festo sancti Stanislai, et eciam in prima dominica post octavas pasce.**” Cf. BJ 1299, f. 72r. The texts do not have rubrics in the manuscripts; the text in BJ 188 is listed in the catalogue (Cf. *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 189-196, esp. 190) as *De sancto Stanislao (27 IX)* for the feast of translation, which also the position in the liturgical order of materials proves, i.e. the text was probably copied primarily for the use on the translation feast of St. Stanislaus, although nothing prevented its later use for the other liturgical circumstances. Similarly, the position of the Johannine pericope in the MS. BJ 1299 could correspond to the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus, cf. *Catalogus*, vol. 8, 154-181, esp. 170. Interestingly, in the MS. 188 explicitly

these manuscripts for “private” use noted the two most important liturgical contexts of this Gospel passage in Polish territory, and particularly in the diocese of Cracow: besides its universal usage for the Second Easter Sunday in the temporal cycle, it was the feast of St. Stanislaus (both his feasts, actually) in the sanctoral cycle. Another manuscript collection of sermons on the saints of Polish provenance (probably Cracow) did not include a sermon on St. Stanislaus, but its scribe inserted a note regarding St. Stanislaus in the position corresponding to the liturgical place of a sermon on the translation of St. Stanislaus, in between a sermon on St. Matthew the Apostle and a sermon on St. Wenceslas. He recommended to preach on the Gospel “I am a good shepherd” and the saint’s legend.<sup>43</sup> The preacher who used the collection would naturally turn to other preaching aids, perhaps to a collection *de tempore*, for a model.

Another group of sermons on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* listed in Schneyer’s *Repertorium* represented circumstances of preaching *ad clerum*: e.g. *in synodo ad praelatis, sacerdotis, clerum* (C 14), *in generali capitulo*, or the “Pentecost Sunday or on Holy Spirit” (T 39/3).<sup>44</sup> The verse was one of the most popular *themata* for synodal sermons (besides that, preachers favoured also other Biblical *themata* pertaining to the topic of shepherd and the flock, etc.). For example, some thirteenth-century examples were preserved from the French diocese of Cambrai.<sup>45</sup> Another renowned example, a sermon on the theme *Bonus pastor animam suam dat* was delivered by Jean Gerson at a synod in French Rheims in 1408.<sup>46</sup> The content of this Gospel passage was extremely suitable for synodal gatherings. Furthermore, at many places diocesan synods took place on the Second Easter Sunday. Already William Durand noted this custom in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. In the entry on its liturgical particularities he advised that the

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after the Johannine pericope with exposition in the position of the feast of Stanislaus’ translation follows a postilla by Albertus de Padua OESA for the Second Easter Sunday (T30) [Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 127, no. 44], as identified by the *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 194. This is another evidence of the versatility of the material (with respect to the Johannine shepherd passage in this case) and interchangeability for the two liturgical occasions.

<sup>43</sup> For the citation from the MS. BJ 1389, f. 144v, see above in this chapter, fn. 27. The attribution of the collection to Nicolaus Wigandi (and the provenance in Cracow; the copy dated into 1432) according to the catalogue manuscript description by Ryszard Tatrzyński in the forthcoming volume of the manuscript catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library.

<sup>44</sup> Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 11 vols. The Pentecost was another possible date for a synod. Not necessarily was a “synodal” sermon delivered exclusively for clergy; lay public could sometimes attend sermons on the occasion of festive synod opening. Owst recreates a medieval synodal gathering in Gerald R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge: CUP, 1926, reprint New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), 150-152, on synodal sermons 247-251. For characteristics of synodal preaching and preaching *ad clerum*, see, e.g., Nicole Bériou, “La prédication synodale au XIIIe siècle d’après l’exemple cambrésien,” in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur* (Amiens, 1991) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), 229-247; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 263-277.

<sup>45</sup> This *thema* was according to Nicole Bériou typical for a “spring synod,” which took place on the Second Easter Sunday. Bériou, “La prédication synodale,” 233.

<sup>46</sup> Sermon *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis* (April 29, 1408 Rheims) “Sermo de officio pastoris,” in Jean Gerson, *Opera omnia*, vol. 5, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1960-1968), no. 215, 123-144. For an analysis and a commentary of the sermon’s content, see Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 110-123, 128-145; and Catherine D. Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).



Second Sunday after Easter was devoted to “shepherds.” He further explained that Christ was resurrected for the simple faithful (and the previous Sunday was dedicated to them) as well as for the “perfect,” (to whom this Sunday was devoted) i.e. the shepherds. They are obliged to imitate Christ, as Apostle Peter’s Epistle said.<sup>47</sup> In this way Durand explained that it was a proper time for synods to take place. The Gospel passage to be read was the Johannine *Ego sum pastor bonus*, which spoke about good prelates and mercenaries.<sup>48</sup> In general, the synods were not necessarily summoned for this particular Sunday. The custom could vary from place to place.<sup>49</sup> The Council of Basel mentioned this Sunday as a desirable date for synod and commanded that, following the “ancient custom,” “an episcopal synod should be held yearly in every diocese after the octave of Easter, or on another day according to diocesan custom, at least once a year.”<sup>50</sup> The Johannine pericope, and consequently the verse as a *thema* of the sermon, was suitable for a synod not only because of the coincidence of the dates. Thanks to its content and possibilities of interpretation, preachers frequently constructed their sermons to clergy (on various occasions, synods and other) on this verse, not depending on the date in the liturgical cycle.

Another liturgical occasion of this *thema* represented in sermons inventoried by Schneyer (*Repertorium*) was the feast of St. Thomas Becket (S 12). It was the most popular thematic verse for the feasts of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>51</sup> The *thema* was used for sermons on St. Adalbert as well, although not noted by Schneyer.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> “Christus passus est pro vobis vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius” [1 Pt 2,21] was the epistle for the Second Easter Sunday.

<sup>48</sup> Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril OSB and T. M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140A, lib. 6, cap. XCVIII, 494-5: “Quia enim per Christi resurrectionem illuxit Deus nobis, non tantum paruulis sed etiam perfectis, ideo hec dominica de pastoribus est qui debent plene imitari Christum... Et ideo sicut antecedens dominica fuit de paruulis, sic ista est de perfectis... ideo nunc fiunt synodi... Euangelium uero: Ego sum pastor bonus, Io. X c., est de bonis prelati et mercenariis.”

<sup>49</sup> The decretals, following the late antique and early medieval tradition, prescribed to convoke provincial and diocesan synods at least once a year, or twice a year: in spring and in autumn (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, vol. 1, part 1, dist. XVIII, c. I-XVI, coll. 53-58), but the precise dates could vary (another date for the spring synod could be the Pentecost period. Moreover, at many places, including Poland, the synods appear not to have occurred as regularly as they should have had. The Fourth Lateran Council insisted on regular convocation of provincial synods in Const. 6, *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych* (The Documents of Universal Councils) (hereafter DSP), vol. 2 (869-1312), ed. and transl. A. Baron and H. Pietras (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2002), 238. For the dates of the synods in Cracow and their possible concurrence with the day of St. Stanislaus, see Chapter 2.2.1.4 on occasions for preaching.

<sup>50</sup> Session November 15-26, 1433, *On provincial and synodal councils*: “...ideo eadem sancta synodus antiquos et laudabiles mores nostris cupiens temporibus observari, statuit atque praecipit synodum episcopalem in qualibet dioecesi **post octavas dominicae resurrectionis, vel alia die secundum consuetudinem dioeceseum**, ad minus semel in anno, ubi non est consuetudo bis, annuatim celebrari per dioecesanum propria in persona...” [emphasis mine] DSP, vol. 3 (1414-45), ed. and transl. A. Baron and H. Pietras (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003), 320.

<sup>51</sup> Phyllis Roberts listed as many as 18 out of 184 texts on the *thema Ego sum pastor* and the *thema Bonus pastor animam suam dat* for the feastday of St. Thomas Becket, which proved to have been the most frequently occurring verses; Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Traditions: An Inventory*, nos. 19-30 and 48-53.

<sup>52</sup> The Gospel pericope was sometimes used for St. Adalbert’s feast-day, although not as often as for Stanislaus, see Ch. 1.2.1. The absence in Schneyer’s *Repertorium* is not surprising, taking into consideration an analogical situation of St. Stanislaus. Although the *thema* was probably not so frequent and typical for sermons on Adalbert as on Stanislaus, given the lower profile of this Gospel in liturgy, there are some. I have come across some sermons on *Ego sum pastor bonus* on St. Adalbert in my enquiry: e.g. a sermon by Jan of Słupca entitled in one of the MSS. *In die sancti Adalberti vel Stanislai* (see Ch. 3.6), or one of the four sermons in the collection by Paul of Zator (see Ch. 3.6 for the collection;

Statistically, the verse from the epistle to the Hebrews [7,26] *Talis enim decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* was one of those *themata* which appeared most frequently in manuscripts, although it was actually used as a *thema* for 4 distinct texts only. It was one of the most widely diffused *themata* in manuscripts thanks to the numerous copies of the model sermon by Peregrinus of Opole (ca.1260-1333), the single most influential and widespread sermon text on St. Stanislaus: as many as 17 copies and four other redactions identified to date.<sup>53</sup> It was taken from the liturgy of the common of a confessor, although liturgical sources for the feast of St. Stanislaus do not list this biblical text in the repertory of the epistles for the feasts of St. Stanislaus.

Besides the two most popular *themata*, some themes popular for the feasts of translation of other saints as well were used for the preaching on St. Stanislaus, especially on his feast of translation. Usually, various senses of translation referring to their sanctity were explained.<sup>54</sup> One of the more general themes, which could be used for any saint, was *Mirificavit Deus sanctum suum*.<sup>55</sup> Another topic common for the saints in general was their acquisition of the crown of sanctity.<sup>56</sup>

Like in the liturgy of his feasts, two big themes connected with the type of sainthood which St. Stanislaus represented are reflected in the liturgical verses selected as the *themata* of the sermons on him: his being a bishop (often paired with a confessor in the models) and a martyr. Several *themata* were taken from the liturgy of the feasts of St. Stanislaus based on the common of a martyr: from the lessons (used in the Mass Formulary but also in the Liturgy of the Hours) *Iustus si morte preoccupatus* [Sap 4, 7] which was used for the May feast – appeared as the *thema* of one sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon XLIV); *Beatus vir qui inventus est sine macula* [Sir 31, 8.11] (from the liturgy of both feasts) – appeared as the *thema* of one sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon XXVI). The *thema* *Nemo enim coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit* [2 Tim 2,5], which occurred once in connection with St. Stanislaus (Sermon XLVIII), was typically employed for sermons on a martyr.

Other *themata* were taken from the liturgy of the feasts, which was inspired by the common of a confessor and a bishop. The lections for the feast of martyrdom (also used as an antiphon and responsory) *Ecce sacerdos magnus* [Sir 44, 16-27; 45, 3-20 – interpolated with Sir 50,1] and [Sir

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the sermon in BJ 491, p. 163-4; *Catalogus BJ* 3, 108), etc. Sermons on other themes were more frequent for St. Adalbert, especially those connected with his liturgy, e.g. *Ego sum vitis vera*, which accentuated his martyrdom. Sermons on St. Adalbert are the topic of a PhD. dissertation in preparation by Tomasz Ossowski from Kielce, Poland.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of this verse used as a *thema* for sermons and for the choice of Peregrinus, see the section 4.3.1 *Thema and divisio thematis* in the chapter on the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole.

<sup>54</sup> Typical passages were from the Old Testament: *Placuit Deo et translatus est* [Sir 44,16], *Ante translationem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [Heb 11,5] in various variations in wording of the MSS.

<sup>55</sup> Ps 4,4. The *thema* appears for St. Stanislaus twice.

<sup>56</sup> Typically, several types of metaphoric crown were mentioned: the passages *Data est ei corona* [Ap 6,2] and *Non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit* [2 Tim 2,5] stood as *themata* in one sermon each (XXX and XLVIII, respectively). One sermon on the *thema* based on a responsory verse from the common of a martyr used in second nocturn: *V. Posuisti Domine super caput eius. R. Coronam de lapide precioso* [Ps 20, 4] (Sermon LII).

50, 1.5.7.8-11] provided the *thema Ecce sacerdos magnus* for three sermons: the identical beginning verses *Ecce sacerdos magnus* for one sermon each (Sermons XXXIV and XXXV, respectively)<sup>57</sup> and the latter lection inspired the *thema Quasi stella matutina* [Sir 50, 6-7] in one sermon in two different redactions (Sermon LVIII A-B). The *thema Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis* [Sir 45, 30], which was also typically used for sermons on bishop saints, was chosen only by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (Sermon LXVI). Only one sermon (Sermon L) was constructed on the *thema Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus* [Heb 5, 1], which developed to be the only epistle for the feasts of St. Stanislaus from the second half of the fifteenth century.

Besides the popular passage about the Good Shepherd, other Gospel readings did not inspire many preachers. No wonder, as other pericopes gradually disappeared from the liturgy of St. Stanislaus. The Gospel reading for a martyr's feast, which was used for September feast, provided the *thema* for one sermon on St. Stanislaus only: *Si quis vult venire post me* [Mt 16,24] (Sermon LXIV). The *thema Sine me nihil potestis facere* [Jn 15,5], which was taken from another Gospel from the common of a martyr in Eastertide, also started one sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXV). A verse from the Gospel of John appeared one more time as a *thema* in the sermon by Johannes Sculteti of Reichenbach (Sermon XLVI): *Loquitur* [Jn 16,18]. Three more verses from the Gospel of Matthew were the themes of one sermon each (Sermons LX, LIII, LXIV), like three verses from the Gospel of Luke (LVII, XXXIA-B, XXVIII). The verse *Iustus sicut leo* [Prov 28,1], which Bartholomew of Jasło selected for his sermon (Sermon XLV), was not a typical theme for a bishop saint. Preachers would typically use it for the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist.

The authors of the sermons selected thematic verses from a source other than the Bible in two cases only. They chose sentences from the liturgical compositions pertaining to the saint – from the breviary office and its rhymed history: its beginning verses *Dies adest celebris etc.* (Sermon XXXII), and the fragment *Imitator redemptoris etc.* (Sermon XLII).<sup>58</sup>

### 3.5 Some Remarks on the Liturgical Occasions of the Sermons in Manuscripts: *festum passionis, festum translacionis (canonisacionis)*

The vast majority of sermons on St. Stanislaus were delivered on the occasions of the two feasts of St. Stanislaus in the liturgical calendar: the feast of his martyrdom on May 8 and the feast of his translation on September 27. Preachers could speak about him either on the precise date on

<sup>57</sup> In the case of Sermon XXV, a longer fragment of the text was cited as a *thema* and consequently divided in the sermon.

<sup>58</sup> Antiphons from the *historia rhythmica Dies adest celebris*, a breviary office proper for the feasts of St. Stanislaus – Vespers Antiphon 1 and Vespers antiphon no. 5, respectively, for the First Vespers of the translation feast; see Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 82.

which the feast was observed, or on another day connected to this occasion – the closest Sunday, the feast’s vigil or the like. The sermons on St. Stanislaus preserved in manuscripts sometimes provide actual evidence of the occasion for which the sermon was meant – his martyrdom or his translation feast. The occasion can be established from various indications – explicitly from a rubric, a running title, a marginal note – or it can be inferred from the position in a cycle in liturgical order, from the content of the text, or from the chosen *thema* (which could, however, also be misleading in some cases).<sup>59</sup>

Some extant sermons on St. Stanislaus could be used interchangeably for both his feasts in a similar way that most of the biblical readings were used for the liturgy of both his feasts. In some cases the precise liturgical occasion and the difference between the two feasts of St. Stanislaus was not important for the author of the sermon: for example, some preachers did not specify if their model sermons on St. Stanislaus were intended for the feast of martyrdom or translation – the text was simply meant as a model for preaching on St. Stanislaus.

Although the sermons for the two liturgical occasions pertaining to St. Stanislaus were often interchangeable, there are some particularities of sermons for either occasion. Some *themata* were used specifically for the feast of translation not only of St. Stanislaus, but also for the translation feasts of other saints. The biblical themes referring to the translation of Enoch to heaven were especially fitting for the feast of translation. Typical passages were from the Old Testament: *Placuit Deo et translatus est* [Sir 44,16], and *Ante translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [Heb 11,5].<sup>60</sup> The fact that some *themata* were suitable for the feast of translation of any saint is documented in a rubric of the sermon on St. Stanislaus on the *thema Vidi alterum angelum descententem* from the Apocalypse: “On the translation of St. Stanislaus or whenever you want.”<sup>61</sup> However, not always did a *thema* like this mentioning a translation explicitly infer that a sermon was delivered on the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus. For example, at least in the case of a sermon noted down in the MS. BJ 1635 (Sermon XXIII), the sermon on a seemingly “translation” theme was meant for a date when the feast of Ascension and a feast of St. Stanislaus concurred, which could not have been other than the feast of martyrdom of St. Stanislaus in May.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 7. I attach specific liturgical occasions to the sermons preserved in manuscripts, where possible, in the appendix *List of Manuscripts*. A sermon text could be used interchangeably for both occasions – that is why I decided to mention the particular occasions with respect to the particular copies of the texts in the manuscripts (as they can theoretically differ from copy to copy).

<sup>60</sup> For example, Sermon XXXVI on the *thema: Enoch placuit deo et translatus est in paradysum terrestre, ut daret disciplinam gentibus*. [Sir 44,16]. Wrocław Chapter 135, f. 80v: “Translacio Enoch in paradysum terrestrem significat translacionem sancti Stanislai hodie factam in ecclesia militante.” See *Appendix 4* for the list of sermons, and for the fact that some MSS. refer to Gn 5 as the *thema*.

<sup>61</sup> Sermon LXX, MS. Cracow PAU Library 1707, f. 262r: “De translacione Sancti Stanislai vel quando vis.”

<sup>62</sup> MS. BJ 1635, f. 94v: “Duplex festum tangitur hic, dic, scilicet Ascensionis et beati Stanislai.” The sermon is edited in *Appendix 5*. For a more detailed discussion of this sermon collection, as well as other collections and authors mentioned in this subchapter, see below in Ch. 3.6.

Some preachers observed that the Church celebrated two feasts of St. Stanislaus during a liturgical year: “the feast of his passion in Paschaltide and the feast of his translation.”<sup>63</sup> It was an easy introduction to one’s sermon also from the rhetorical viewpoint. Their reminder was often followed with a specification of the feast on which they delivered their sermon and an explanation of its significance. Another preacher distinguished between the feast of the holy body of St. Stanislaus, i.e. the passion, and the feast of his glorious spirit, i.e. the translation.<sup>64</sup> The feast of martyrdom could be explained, for example, in the following way: it was not the day on which

he was born on the earth, but on which he was reborn in Heaven through the death and passion. Because the man who suffers death for Christ is reborn in Heaven. That is why we do not have to be afraid to suffer death for Christ, the death by which we are reborn to the salvation. And that is why we celebrate the birth of the glorious martyr and bishop Stanislaus today, not his birth in the earth, but the one with which he is crowned with the crown of glory in Heaven...<sup>65</sup>

An interesting explanation of the feast of the translation of St. Stanislaus is found in one of the sermons, where a preacher explained two different significations of the translation of St. Stanislaus in his eyes. The preacher explicated that the first reason why the feast of his translation was celebrated was the saint’s canonisation (!). He supported the claim with a fragment of the legend of St. Stanislaus describing the canonisation.<sup>66</sup> In general, the events of the translation and canonisation were sometimes confused in medieval sources.<sup>67</sup> Only then the preacher described the second reason for the celebration of the translation feast in autumn, which was the actual translation of the saint’s remains from the place of his martyrdom at Rupella/Skałka to the cathedral Church. The second reason was also followed by the retelling of the miracles which had preceded and instigated the honourable translation. This story, and not the canonisation description, was the

<sup>63</sup> For example, the author of the Sermon XII in the MS. BJ 1626, f. 152v: “Sancta mater ecclesia duo festa celebrat annuatim in laudem et honorem beati Stanislai martyris et pontificis gloriosi, videlicet passionis tempore paschalis et translacionis.” The sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>64</sup> Sermon XI, MS. Kórnik 53, f. 122v: “Fratres dilecti, mater sancta Ecclesia duo festa hodie celebrat de sancto Stanislao annuatim: unum corpori suo sanctissimo et aliud anime gloriose, videlicet passionis et translacionis. Nunc celebramus passionem, sed ante festum sancti Michaelis eius translacionem.” The sermon is edited in Appendix 5. Similarly, the author of another sermon (XVII), but he concluded his speech with a similar statement; MS. Ossolineum 824/I, f. 202v-203r: “Quod sancta mater Ecclesia bis celebrat annuatim festum beati Stanislai: unum ibi post festum Pasche, sive festum eius sancte passionis, quando[?] animam suam dedit et exposuit pro ovibus suis. Secundo, ut hodie, et istud festum est ipsius sancte canonisationis seu translacionis, cuius historia sequitur.”

<sup>65</sup> Sermon II in Budapest University Library Cod. lat. 75, f. 450: “Hodie mater ecclesia celebrat et peragit diem festum sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris gloriosi. Non quo in terris est natus, sed in celo per mortem et passionem est renatus. Qui enim homo pro Christo mortem patitur, in celo renascitur. Et ideo non debemus mortem timere, pro Christo pati mortem, qua renascimur ad salutem. Et hinc est quia hodie huius gloriosi martyris atque pontificis Stanislai natalem colimus, non qua in terra natus, sed qua in celo corona glorie est coronatus...”

<sup>66</sup> A copy of the Sermon XXXVII in the MS. BJ 1646, f. 234r-v: “Quare in autumnno eius celebratur festum patet in legenda eius, quia canonisatus est, quod hic contigisse dicitur: *Cum magister Iacobus cum aliis magistris venisset Romam pro canonisatione sancti Stanislai, ipse accedens Cardinalibus incepit ostendere eius miracula testimoniis approbata...*”

<sup>67</sup> The two acts are confused also in another sermon on St. Stanislaus, in the MS. Cracow PAN 1707, f. 263v: “Et presertim Cardinalem qui contradicebat eius translacioni, que translacio facta est hoc modo.” Another example in the MS. BUWr I F 650, f. 135r: “Quod ostendunt magna per eum facta miracula, scilicet ante translacionem eius, et in ipsa translacionis sollempnitate, et post longo tempore, sicut clare patet in legenda vite sue.”

actual legend of the translation of St. Stanislaus (beginning with the typical words “When ten years elapsed...”).<sup>68</sup>

The liturgical occasion for a sermon can be inferred from its content. For instance, the sermon which mentioned Sts. Cosmas and Damian, whose feast was observed on September 26, was clearly intended for the feast of the translation of St. Stanislaus on September 27. More precisely, the sermon appears to have been delivered on the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, when also the vigil of the translation of St. Stanislaus was observed.<sup>69</sup> A similar instance is a sermon on St. Stanislaus [title: *De sancto Stanislao*] which mentioned St. Wenceslas: it could have been meant for the feast of St. Wenceslas on September 28, which immediately followed the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus, or for the vigil of St. Wenceslas feast, or possibly for a similar occasion (e.g. a Sunday close to both neighbouring feasts in the calendar).<sup>70</sup>

### 3.6 Sermon collections and manuscripts containing sermons on St. Stanislaus

This chapter discusses those who authored and made use of both sermons and manuscripts containing sermons about St. Stanislaus, especially in Cracow. The sermon composed by Peregrinus at the turn of the fourteenth century, which is discussed below in Chapter 4 in detail, belongs chronologically before the time frame of most of this chapter’s discussion. However, it is included only later, because it is presented in its entirety together with a detailed analysis of its content, unlike the sermons presented here. I sketched the situation and the occasions for preaching in Cracow especially in the fifteenth century in the previous chapter. The fifteenth century in particular saw an increased production of preachers’ manuscripts and more occasions for preaching activity than before, with an important contribution from not only the local bishops and their pastoral efforts, but also the university in Cracow, which was an important platform for the education of future preachers but also for both the intellectual and material exchange of preaching materials, including the sermons about St. Stanislaus – their texts, copies, and inspirations for them. The following presentation of the authors and preachers about St. Stanislaus is set against this landscape. I describe these personalities and their work, the composition, publication and diffusion of the model collections containing the sermons on St. Stanislaus, but also a variety of other ways of recording, distributing and exchanging the sermons on the Polish bishop, which are preserved in

<sup>68</sup> MS. BJ 1646, f. 234r-v: “Secundo in autumnno celebratur festum, quia corpus eius translatum est de Rupella sancti Michaelis in Ecclesiam kathedralem, quod sic legitur contigisse: Quedam matrona visitavit frequenter sepulcrum Stanislai cum multa devocione, et aliquando profunde in nocte. Cum iam decem anni volveruntur, tunc apparuit sanctus Stanislaus eidem matrone...”

<sup>69</sup> Sermon XXXVIII, MS. BJ 1646, f. 236v-237r: “Et eciam hodie est festum Cosme et Damiani, ideo vitam eorum videamus infra...” besides its position in the cycle in this case.

<sup>70</sup> Sermon LIII, MS. BUWr IQ 435, f. 115r-116r.

various forms in manuscript. For the period between the times when Peregrinus composed his sermon within his collection *de sanctis* some time around the first third of the fourteenth century at the latest, and the late fourteenth century, not much can be said with certainty: no authors of sermons about St. Stanislaus are known by name to us, and only a few manuscripts can be dated to the period before the turn of the fifteenth century. Some texts copied in the fifteenth century may date to an earlier period, but their dating is indeterminate. The collection by Peregrinus continued to spread in this period (which it did in the fifteenth century too), and some sermons inspired by his work appeared, which I demonstrate in the chapter devoted to the reception of his sermons in Chapter 4. I will concentrate here on the “long fifteenth century,” for which more data is available on the basis of the collected source corpus. It is to be noted, however, that this seemingly poor period for sermons on St. Stanislaus corresponds with a slightly weaker period with respect to the hagiographical production about him (in between the lives/*Vita Tradunt* around 1320 and the new *Life* by Długosz). Perhaps, this period was not so much poorer in terms of productivity than originality, making use of the works which continued to serve well and reliably since the earlier times, be they the lives from the thirteenth century, or the sermon by Peregrinus, instead of leaving its original footprint with a new piece.

However, this is not a chronological overview only; I also describe a broad variety of sermon materials. I will describe the sermons on St. Stanislaus which were parts of the systematic model collections *de sanctis* (model sermons proper) compiled by identified authors. I will provide basic information about their authors and background, their preaching activities, and circumstances relating to the composition of the collections (sometimes described directly in a prologue). Then I will describe the diffusion of the sermons on St. Stanislaus by these authors – within the collection or separately outside the collection – and thus point to their uses (on the basis of direct evidence, and also palaeographical-codicological traces pointing to particular usage). A short characterisation of the sermons on St. Stanislaus will be given. In addition to the systematic sermon collections, other types of manuscripts (collections) containing sermons on St. Stanislaus, i.e. other modes of preservation of sermon texts on St. Stanislaus, for example, sermon diaries and preacher’s notebooks will be explored. This description will help to show the relationship between the texts preserved in manuscript form and the preaching about St. Stanislaus, and how the preaching about him functioned with the help of these written materials, and how these materials circulated.

John-Jerome of Prague (born before 1370, died in 1440 in Venice),<sup>71</sup> compiled a sermon collection *de sanctis* entitled *Exemplar salutis*, which contained a sermon on St. Stanislaus of Cracow (Sermon IX in the *Register of Sermon Texts*). He completed his collection by 1409.<sup>72</sup> The Praemonstratensian came from Prague in the period before the Hussite turmoil, probably from the Strahov Abbey. Długosz maintained that he had escaped from Prague because of the Hussites, who had allegedly plundered and destroyed the monastery, which cannot be true, as he had been present in Poland long before that, as early as 1394.<sup>73</sup> He studied in Prague together with figures like Jan Hus, his namesake Jerome of Prague, and Jakoubek of Stříbro, but most probably did not finish his studies of law and theology there. He completed his studies of theology and was probably a professor at the university in Cracow for some period.<sup>74</sup> John-Jerome went to Lithuania as a missionary twice: in 1394-1398 and in 1411.<sup>75</sup> He was the personal chaplain of King Wladislaus Jagiello, a recent convert. The monk was his confessor and court preacher in the years 1394-1410.<sup>76</sup> Later John-Jerome became the prior of the Praemonstratensian abbey at Nowy Sącz south-east of Cracow founded by King Wladislaus Jagiello.<sup>77</sup> John-Jerome had a prominent position close to King Jagiello in the important times of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, the re-foundation of the university in Cracow, and the rise of the reform movement and Hussitism. John-Jerome was one of

<sup>71</sup> John-Jerome of Prague is the name used in most recent literature, especially in the works of Hyland quoted below. He is also known under the names John Silvanus of Prague or under his Camaldolese name Hieronymus Albertus. He is not to be confused with his namesake and contemporary Jerome of Prague, a Hussite, as opposed to John-Jerome, who was burned. For biographical details see Jerzy Zatycki, "Hieronym Jan Silvanus z Pragi," in PSB 9, 507-509; J. Bidlo, "Čeští emigranti v době husitské a mnich Jeroným Pražský" (The Czech Emigrants in Hussite Period and Monk Jerome of Prague), *Časopis Musea království Českého* 69 (1895): 118-128, 232-265, 424-452, for John-Jerome see especially 242-263. Most recent works include especially the studies by the specialist in John-Jerome of Prague, William Patrick Hyland: "Reform Preaching and Despair at the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-1424)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998), no. 3 (July), 409-430; and idem, "Abbot John-Jerome of Prague: Preaching and reform in Early Fifteenth-Century Poland," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 80 (2004), 5-42. There is also a recent book about his life and career, based on older literature and partially also on his works, by Jan Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma* (The Curious Story of John-Jerome) (Prague: Mladá fronta, 2004).

<sup>72</sup> For the collection *Exemplar salutis*, see Aleksander Brückner, "Kazania średniowieczne" (Medieval Sermons) 2, in *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydział Filozoficzny* 24 (1895), 355-359 (and a short summary by Idem, "Kazania średniowieczne" (Medieval Sermons), vol. 1, in *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydział Filozoficzny* 24 (1895), 49-50). For the dating of the collection, see the colophon in its manuscripts: "... in vigilia Epiphaniae fecit finem huic operi, transactis ab incarnatione Domini annis MoCCCCoIXo, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui sit laus per infinita secula. Amen."

<sup>73</sup> Długosz, *LB 3: Monasteria*, Opera omnia 9 (Cracow 1864), 79-82; Aleksander Brückner, *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej 1: Kazania i pieśni* (Religious Literature in Medieval Poland 1: Sermons and Hymns) (Warsaw: Druk P. Łaskańca, 1902), 24-25.

<sup>74</sup> He graduated as a doctor of theology at the university in Cracow before 1404 and was (probably until 1408) a professor there; Markowski, *Dzieje Wydziału Teologii*, 107-108.

<sup>75</sup> He got into a conflict with Duke Witold and had to leave Lithuania. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, then a young secretary of a cardinal, met John-Jerome at the Council of Basel and made use of John-Jerome's Lithuanian adventures in his description of Lithuania in the work *De Europa*. For his Lithuanian mission, see Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 11-25; and Hyland, "John-Jerome of Prague (1368-1440): A Norbertine Missionary to Lithuania," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 78 (2002), 228-254.

<sup>76</sup> See Krzysztof Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagielly (1384-1434)* (Intellectuals in the Monarchy of Hedwig of Anjou and Wladislaus Jagiello) (Cracow: PAU, 2004), 311-312; Jerzy Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 290.

<sup>77</sup> For his life, activities and preaching in Poland, see William Patrick Hyland, "Abbot John-Jerome," 5-42. For the foundation of Nowy Sącz Abbey, see also Długosz, *LB 3*, 80.



the many Bohemian clergymen that the King welcomed at his court. He probably had a close relationship with him and was respected for his eloquence and way of life.<sup>78</sup> He remained at the abbey until 1412 (?) and tried to introduce strict and ascetic rules there.

He resigned from his office and entered the Camaldolese Order in Camaldoli in Tuscany, Italy and soon became a prior there. However, his eremitic life was an active one and his “subsequent twenty seven years of activity hardly qualify as retirement.”<sup>79</sup> He laboured for the reform of monastic life as a *visitor* and a member of the general chapter of the Order. In the later twenties and thirties as an *eremita reclusus* he wrote several works for his Camaldolese brethren and hermits, which promoted a penitential, eremitical and mystical way of life.<sup>80</sup> He preached the reform of Church, especially of monastic life, but also of the morals and lives of prelates. The Camaldolese reformer was active at the Council of Pavia-Siena, where he preached two sermons, in which he criticised the current state of affairs and urged for the moral reform of clergy: on the First Advent Sunday (November 28, 1423) and on Septuagesima Sunday (February 20, 1424).<sup>81</sup> He also took part at the Council of Basel as an expert in Hussite affairs.<sup>82</sup>

The monk wrote two collections of sermons as practical manuals for clerics on the basis of the sermons that he had actually delivered while in Poland: *Linea salutis (aeternae)* with sermons *de tempore* (published on the request of the Polish bishops[?] in 1405), and *Exemplar salutis* (The Pattern of Salvation) with sermons on selected saints and feasts.<sup>83</sup> Długosz praised the two collections for their “singular form” and “admirable brevity.”<sup>84</sup> The author explained in the prologue of the *Exemplar salutis* that he was urged to put together a model collection for clerics and

<sup>78</sup> Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 7-8. Długossius, *LB* 3, 80. Długosz also described how happy King Jagiello was to receive John-Jerome as a member of the embassy from the Council of Basel to Poland in 1433, long after he left Poland for his Camaldolese “retreat” in Italy (*LB* 3, 82).

<sup>79</sup> Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 38. He also discusses possible motivations for his resignation. Stejskal (*Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 33-34) connects the decision with his lifelong “imitatio sancti Adalberti,” who spent some time as a monk in Italy. He reminded that Bruno of Querfurt, a biographer and follower of St. Adalbert, had entered St. Romuald’s Camaldolese cloister near Ravenna and propagated the cult of St. Adalbert there.

<sup>80</sup> For John-Jerome’s Camaldolese activities, and also for a sermon preached on the occasion of a visitation from the period before the council, see Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 31-45. He preached about and wrote epilogues to the lives of saintly female mystics Angela of Foligno and Catherine of Siena, whom he set as examples of life (*ibid.*, 46-55). He also wrote a treatise *Linea salutis heremitarum* (or *Dialogus inter angelum et heremitam de amaro gustu mundi et aliis quaestionibus*) and a manual *Forma perfeccionis heremitarum* (*ibid.*, 52-54) and sermons on some other saints, including Sts. Blaise, Benedict, Jerome, George, Romuald; *ibid.*, 62-3 and Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 22 (also references to their editions).

<sup>81</sup> Hyland, “Reform Preaching and Despair at the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-1424),” *The Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998), no. 3 (July), 409-430. Stejskal (*Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 42-45) also analysed his conciliar sermons, although not in such detail (and without knowing this article of Hyland). In 1430 John-Jerome wrote a work *De vera et falsa poenitentia* on the request of Polish bishop Stanislaus of Płock, which resembles a confessional *summa* and was meant rather for secular priests (*ibid.*, 63-5).

<sup>82</sup> Długossius, *LB* 3, 79-82. He wrote a treatise against the four Hussite articles during the Council of Basel; Brückner, *Literatura*, 35. In this last stage of his life, he got into a conflict with Ambrose Traversari, the general of the Camaldolese Order, and was forced to stay in a cloister in Venice, and not return to the hermitage; see Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 66-77.

<sup>83</sup> For the *Linea salutis*, see Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 10ff. and for the *Exemplar salutis*, *ibid.*, 18ff. (an analysis of the Prologue, a list of 51 sermons on saints, pp. 20-21).

<sup>84</sup> Długossius, *LB* 3, 80; recalled by Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 8.

friars. In the prologue of his collection *Quadragesima salutis*, which he put together for his fellow Camaldolese brethren when he was in Italy in 1436,<sup>85</sup> he returned to the circumstances of the composition of his first two collections in Poland.<sup>86</sup>

John-Jerome took a very suitable biblical verse as the motto of the Prologue to his model sermon collection on saints *Exemplar salutis*: “Look and make it according to the pattern that was shewn thee in the mount” [Ex 25, 40].<sup>87</sup> The collection was entitled *Exemplar salutis*, because the author urged readers to follow the example of saints, like he mentioned at the end of the Prologue and elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> In the Prologue the author named Christ, the Virgin Mary, Old Testament figures, and saints who could be examples for his contemporaries, and assigned each of them with a special virtue worthy of imitation. John-Jerome included sermons on three Slavic saints among the 51 sermons in the collection: St. Stanislaus, St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert.<sup>89</sup> In the prologue Jerome considers Stanislaus quite important, as the holy bishop is mentioned in the second place in order immediately after the Virgin Mary, as an exemplar of charity. The reformist monk chose the theme of the good shepherd for St. Stanislaus’ feast [Jn 10,11] and discussed the duties, virtues, and the dignity of the spiritual pastoral office. The sermon was supplemented with a short life of the saint.<sup>90</sup>

The work probably became popular and copied soon after Jerome completed it.<sup>91</sup> In most cases John-Jerome’s sermon on St. Stanislaus was copied within the collection *Exemplar salutis*. Most copies come from the first half of the fifteenth century, especially from the period relatively soon after its composition. This was the period when its charismatic and active author still enjoyed great respect and popularity among clerics of various backgrounds. Two collections – *Linea* and *Exemplar* – quite often occurred side by side in manuscript, and often in larger miscellaneous composite codices.

Copies of the collection from the first half of the fifteenth century belonged not only to the cathedral chapter in Cracow, but also to various individuals (e.g. a John, the parish priest of Łubica

<sup>85</sup> Stejskal (*Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 85) dated the work to 1406 (?), which is wrong.

<sup>86</sup> “Thirty years before while I was the confessor and preacher of the most serene King Wladislaus of Poland, at the request of friends and prelates of this same Polish kingdom I edited two books of sermons. The first, I called *Linea Salutis* contains sermons for all the Sundays through the year, and the second book, entitled *Exemplar Salutis*, contains sermons on the saints and all notable feast-days of the whole year.” As translated by Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 5. The passage is edited in Latin original *ibid.*, fn. 2 (after *Quadragesima Salutis*, Cracow Cathedral Archives, MS. 150, p. 240) and also in K. Ożóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej*, 311-312, fn. 12.

<sup>87</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, f. 308r: *Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est*. For other copies of the sermon (no. IX), see appendix *Register of Sermon Texts*.

<sup>88</sup> “Sic et omnium sanctorum vitam inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod monstratum est; Quia si secundum exemplar illud feceris, procul dubio salutus eris. Et ob hanc causam libellus iste vocatur Exemplar salutis, docens nos exemplo sanctorum bonis operibus insistere, ut possumus salutis omnium portum attingere.” Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, f. 309v.

<sup>89</sup> Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 22ff. Hyland provided a brief analysis of the three sermons on pp. 32-35 (Stanislaus 32-33, Wenceslas 33-34, Adalbert 34-35).

<sup>90</sup> The sermon is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.1.

<sup>91</sup> For tentative lists of extant manuscripts, see Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 85. See also S. Wielgus, *Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna bibliistyka*, 49-50.

– *Johannes plebanus in Leubitz* – in the Scepusian region, Spiš/Zips, present-day Slovakia)<sup>92</sup> the libraries of various convents, for example, to the library of the Carmelitans in Poznań, the Augustinian Regular Canons at Piasek in Wrocław, the Charterhouse of Lechnitz, and the Pauline monastery at Skalka in Cracow.<sup>93</sup> Not all manuscripts of the *Exemplar salutis* (or at least collections identified as *Exemplar salutis*) contain the sermon on St. Stanislaus; the sermon collections have often been incorrectly identified. This is no surprise, given the “fluidity” of sermon collections, like in the case of the collection *de sanctis* by Peregrinus.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, there is an example when John-Jerome’s sermon on St. Stanislaus appears individually, outside the *Exemplar salutis*, copied within a different (most probably an “ad-hoc”) collection in the fifteenth century. The small-size codex with preaching aids was bound together from the quires that had been used separately before, which is reflected in the worn first pages of the quires in the codex. A German-speaking scribe probably collected sermons by various authors which he found useful for his own preaching activity.<sup>95</sup>

A sign of active usage of the collection is visible in one of the Pauline manuscripts, for example: it contains numerous marginal and interlinear glosses, occasionally in Polish, corrections by the scribe and also additions by another hand. The text of the sermon on St. Stanislaus is supplemented with excerpts from the *Vita (minor)* of St. Stanislaus and from the *miracula* on the margins.<sup>96</sup> Given the number of copies (and more are to be identified) and these physical signs of usage, the sermon was clearly used as a model for preachers throughout the fifteenth century. Just as other model sermons, it could be freely adapted for preachers’ use: a preacher reworked John-Jerome’s model sermon later in the fifteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (Skarmibierz/Skałbmierz) (ca. 1360-1431), a renowned preacher and a distinguished university professor, was John-Jerome’s contemporary.<sup>98</sup> He was the confessor

<sup>92</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, see the appendix for details.

<sup>93</sup> For details, see the manuscripts in the Appendix *List of Manuscripts*: Cracow Chapter 158 (the sermon on St. Stanislaus had been lost due to the damaged state of the beginning of the manuscript); Wrocław, Ossolineum, MS. 1490/II; BUWr I F 567; Budapest University Library Cod.lat. 50; Cracow, Archiwum Klasztoru Ojców Paulinów na Skalce MS. B 4, p. 20-34; respectively. Brückner mentioned another copy in the inventory of Przemyśl diocese from the fifteenth century, a copy in Sankt Petersburg Public Library (Lat. I Folio nr. 111) and in Berlin; Brückner, *Kazania* 2, 355ff.

<sup>94</sup> A manuscript in Wrocław University Library (BUWr I Q 280) allegedly contained John-Jerome’s *de tempore* collection *Linea salutis*, which however, contained a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole. A Kórnik manuscript (I D 53) contained according to Zathey’s catalogue the collection on saints by Hieronymus de Praga, but it contained different two sermons on St. Stanislaus (a sermon by Peregrinus and another one).

<sup>95</sup> BUWr IV Q 161a, f. 42v-48; see the appendix for details.

<sup>96</sup> Cracow, Archiwum Klasztoru Ojców Paulinów na Skalce MS. B 4, p. 20-34.

<sup>97</sup> See Sermon XIII in the appendix *Register of Sermons*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (hereafter Ossolineum), MS 414/II, f. 244v-245r.

<sup>98</sup> For Stanislaus of Skarbimiria and an overview of his preaching, see Jerzy Wolny, “Uwagi nad kaznodziejstwem uniwersyteckim w Krakowie w XV. stuleciu” (Some Considerations on University Preaching in the Fifteenth-Century

of Queen Jadwiga, a cathedral preacher, and the doctor of canon law who taught at the university in Cracow. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria was one of the most distinguished intellectuals of the era. Like many of his contemporaries, he studied in Prague and then taught at the university in Cracow (he was the first rector of the restored university). He used to preach to university students but also to clergy in the Cracow cathedral (between 1392 and 1423).<sup>99</sup> His collection of sermons, which contains a sermon on St. Stanislaus (*de sanctis; sermones de tempore et de sanctis in ordine liturgico etc.*), is a sermon diary containing sermons corresponding to a liturgical year (94 sermons), as opposed to model collections in their own right.<sup>100</sup> It was dated to the year 1393/4 (27.9.1394) or 1411/2 (27.9.1412), according to the position of the sermon for the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus. The collection (and also the sermon for the translation of St. Stanislaus) is preserved in a unique manuscript. The volume was one of the three large codices with works of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria which an unknown scribe put together (perhaps on order) around 1415. They originated in Cracow for the use of the same unknown possessor; they might have been a part of Nicholas of Kozłów's library.

Stanislaus of Skarbimiria did not speak directly about any saints in his sermons and he maintained that preachers should draw solely on the Holy Scripture, in keeping with the reformist current of preaching which was spreading, for example, from Prague.<sup>101</sup> His sermon on the translation feast of St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXVI) is the only known sermon on a Polish saint by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria.<sup>102</sup> It truly abounds with Scriptural citations and allusions (along a set of decretal references). However, the sermon on St. Stanislaus is not as completely devoid of historical information as Zawadzki claimed (that he did not speak about the "ancient Polish history").<sup>103</sup> It is clear from the sermon that the preacher knew the details of the life and legend of St. Stanislaus, and so did his audience, and he referred to it. The famous preacher recalled the saintly Pole once again: a sermon for the *Feria VI in Parasceve* from a collection attributed to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria on

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Krakow), in *Sw. Jan Kanty – w sześćsetną rocznicę urodzin (1390-1990) (St John Cantius – The Sixhundredth Birth Anniversary)*, ed. Roman M. Zawadzki, (Cracow: Kolegiata Św. Anny w Krakowie, 1991), 36-43.

<sup>99</sup> He was the author of several sermon cycles, which have been edited: Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones sapientiales*, 3 vols., ed. B. Chmielowska (Textus et studia historiam theologiae in Polonia excultae spectantia vol. 4) (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1979). See also Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones de sapientia selectae*, ed. Mirosław Korolko (Cracow: Arcana, 1997). Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones super "Gloria in excelsis Deo,"* ed. R. Zawadzki (Textus et studia historiam theologiae in Polonia excultae spectantia vol. 7) (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1978).

<sup>100</sup> For more information concerning the MS. BJ 190, see Roman M. Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza. Studium źródłoznawcze* (Written Heritage of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria. A Source Study) (Cracow: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1979), 29-30; *Catalogus BJ* 1, 218-233. See also the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>101</sup> Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, 147-8. He referred to a statement from one of his "sapiential" sermons: "Item non debet praedicator aliud nisi Scripturas sanctas vel eis consonantia praedicare." Quoted after the text edited by Zawadzki from the *Sermones Sapientiales*, no. 86, from BJ 192, f. 189v.

<sup>102</sup> The entire sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>103</sup> Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, 24-26 (this part on p. 25), see also 100, 147-148.

the thema *Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum* [Mt 10,7] contained a reference to St. Stanislaus.<sup>104</sup>

Another collection of *materia predicabilis* on saints was attributed in a manuscript to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria: the so-called *Passionale de sanctis* or, as the title in the manuscript reads, *Passionale Stanislai de Skarbimiria cum optimis doctrinis popularibus*, from around 1430. It contains a sermon material about St. Stanislaus: *De sancto Stanislao Polonorum seu Sarmatarum alumno* (Sermon Material LXXVI).<sup>105</sup> It is a compilation of the Golden Legend or a similar *passionale*, including the legends of the local saints, which resembles the sermon genre.<sup>106</sup> The *Passionale* contains accounts, called *historia cum themate* in the author's words, consisting of an introductory thematic discussion and an account of the saint's life based on a legend. The Prologue to the *Passionale* began with the words of the Venerable Bede: *[P]erfectum opus vite magisterium est ecclesie primitive actus semper imitari*. The author urged the readers to imitate the examples of the saints of the early Church. He admonished the preachers to live up to what they preached.<sup>107</sup> The author also described his intentions and the "design" of his collection, not avoiding rhetorical commonplaces. He also cautioned against relating any information about the saints which would not have been true.<sup>108</sup> The texts were probably designed for reading and preaching. They could have been delivered as sermons or at least served as a preaching aid.

The part that the author called a *thema* was not a *thema* of a *sermo modernus* in the proper sense; it was rather a short introduction to the discussion of the saint, delineating the main lesson connected to the saint's figure and the emblematic material for preaching, which was then followed by the narrative of the saint's life with the author's explanations.<sup>109</sup> The *historia cum themate* about St. Stanislaus focuses rather on historical details and explains the place of St. Stanislaus in Polish history, unlike, for example, the piece on St. Thomas Becket.<sup>110</sup>

The *Passionale* represents an exception among the works and speeches by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, which did not deal extensively with historical information, and are all rich in scriptural references. This is the main reason why Zawadzki rejected the attribution of the collection to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, claiming that such a distinguished author could not have written such a

<sup>104</sup> BJ 1670, f. 120r-123r, the mention is found in the f. 121r [the context: three conditions are necessary *cuilibet catholico* for martyrdom (he suffered unlike heretics suffer): *pena, perseverancia, causa, si sit in unitate ecclesie*: "Sic beati Stanislai martiris fuit vite instrumentum, qui manens in unitate Ecclesie penam mortis sustinuit pro Ecclesia et lege eius, dum vitam viciosam Regis Boleslai correxerat, occubuit, propter quod coronam veri militis Christi obtinuit."]. I would like to thank Dr Dagmara Wójcik for a reference to this manuscript.

<sup>105</sup> Cracow, BCzart, MS. 3413 III, f. 79v-87r.

<sup>106</sup> Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, 24-26.

<sup>107</sup> Prologue in Cracow, BCzart, MS. 3413 III, f. 1-3r.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2r: "Nihil comendacionis gracia sanctorum audeamus dicere vel scribere, quod subsistenciam veritatis non haberet."

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 70r: "Quod ut clarius presentatur, vita et processus cum incidentibus sub brevitate videatur."

<sup>110</sup> "De sancto Thoma Cantuariensi," Cracow, BCzart MS. 3413 III, f. 21v-23v. His sermon on Becket discusses the issue of his martyrdom and its noble and moral cause, in which his stand was an outcome of a virtuous life.

“compilation.”<sup>111</sup> This is, however, not a sufficient argument against the authorship of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria. Compilation was a legitimate technique in the Middle Ages; and if a work was meant for pastoral purposes, utility and practicality outweighed considerations regarding originality or high style. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria was also an active preacher, who preached to mixed and lay audiences as well, and he was a cleric with pastoral duties. It is not certain that he was the author, or the compiler, of the *Passionale*, but the hypothesis cannot be convincingly refuted either.

Another well-known author of a sermon about St. Stanislaus, a contemporary of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, is Master Bartholomew of Jasło (1360-1407).<sup>112</sup> He studied at the university in Prague, like many other important Polish figures of that period – e.g. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria or Matthias of Colo, then continued his studies and taught at the newly established university in Cracow. He supported the restoration of the university by his several speeches. He delivered a number of sermons in front of the university audience and other audiences as well. Bartholomew of Jasło delivered a sermon on St. Stanislaus in front of the clergy in the cathedral in Cracow on the May feast in 1391 at the request of Bishop Jan Radlica (Sermon XLV). I have mentioned the custom of preaching in Latin for clerical audiences on the feasts of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral, which was a duty of the archdeacon or his delegate, before.<sup>113</sup> The bishop requested him to preach, although he was not a priest at that time, most probably because of his connections with the bishop and their efforts at the restoration of the university.<sup>114</sup> The sermon is preserved in a unique exemplar, which had been written by Bartholomew himself.<sup>115</sup> The author put the text down into a booklet, which functioned individually and was later bound together with some of Bartholomew’s other booklets (containing mostly his own works: sermons, treatises, *quaestiones*, songs) into the codex BJ 2192. The text is most probably an example of a *sermo praeivus* – Bartholomew could have recorded the sermon in preparation before the actual delivery, and even used the manuscript

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<sup>111</sup> He also marked that a copy of the same work, probably, in the Archives of the Polish Dominican Province MS. R XV 35 was not ascribed to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, but my examination showed that it is a different work. See Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, 24-26, see also 100, 147-148.

<sup>112</sup> For his biographical details and for his works, see Maria Kowalczyk, “Odnowienie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w świetle mów Bartłomieja z Jasła” (The Restoration of Cracow University in the Light of the Speeches by Bartholomew of Jasło), *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne* 6 (1964), no. 3-4, 23-42; Wolny, “Uwagi,” 31-36; and Maria Kowalczyk, “Bartłomiej z Jasła,” in *Materiały do historii filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce. Uczeni i filozofowie w Polsce* (Materials Concerning the History of Medieval Philosophy in Poland. Intellectuals and Philosophers in Poland), vol. 3 (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965), 3-23.

<sup>113</sup> This was a regular gathering of clergy in the cathedral in Cracow, see above in the section *Preaching Occasions*, section 2.2.1.4. The sermon has been a subject of interest of several historians: Jan Kuś, “Justus sicut leo: Studium z ikonografii św. Stanisława Szczepanowskiego” (A Study on the Iconography of St. Stanislaus of Szczepanow). *Rocznik Krakowski* 51 (1987): 5-22; Krzysztof Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagielly (1384-1434)* (Cracow: PAU, 2004), 76-79, about this sermon particularly on the page 79; Kowalczyk, “Odnowienie,” 37-8 (who also edited some short fragments); Wolny, *Uwagi*, 32-34.

<sup>114</sup> Wolny, “Uwagi,” 34.

<sup>115</sup> MS. BJ 2192, f. 28r-32r. The sermon has been edited and translated into Polish by Kuś, “Justus sicut leo,” 9-22.

(the actual quire – leaves of paper) at the ambo.<sup>116</sup> Thus, this sermon has been preserved in a form close to the shape in which it was actually delivered, and even the circumstances of the delivery are well-known. It represents an example that reflects the “live” preaching rather well and more readily, as compared to the model sermons diffused in the collections *de sanctis* presented above.

A sermon on St. Stanislaus appeared also in a manuscript which belonged to Matthias (Maciej) of Koło/de Colo (d. 1441) (Sermon III).<sup>117</sup> Matthias, like his contemporaries, studied in Prague (a master of arts in 1399), later taught theology in Cracow (a theology professor at the Cracow University) and held the rector’s office (1423/4).<sup>118</sup> His preaching work is not known from written sources, although he was considered to be a good preacher; only a sermon on St. Stanislaus has been attributed to him. He recorded a sermon on the Polish martyr-bishop on the vacant pages in a codex belonging to him. The manuscript from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which was bound outside Poland, contained some natural-scientific and astrological works. Matthias had probably brought the volume from Prague to Cracow.<sup>119</sup> The empty pages in the manuscript were filled with some notices and shorter texts, together with a sermon on St. Stanislaus, which is found on the manuscript’s final pages. The sermon is written in a hasty, unrefined and heavily abbreviated script. Although the sermon has been attributed to Matthias of Colo, it is actually a redaction of a sermon on St. Nicholas composed by Pope Clement VI (Petrus Roger, Pope 1342-52). Pope Clement’s sermon was disseminated in some collections of conciliar sermons, although it was of an older date than the Councils of Constance and Basel.<sup>120</sup> The part of the sermon which was built on the life of St. Nicholas had to be left out.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Kowalczyk (“Bartłomiej z Jasła,” in *Materialy* 3, 14-15) pointed to this possible use of Bartholomew’s manuscripts (that some of the leaves were actually vertically folded as if in order to be put on the ambo, in her eyes).

<sup>117</sup> BJ 836, f. 158v-159v.

<sup>118</sup> Maria Kowalczyk, “Maciej z Koła,” in PSB 19, 20-21; Wolny, *Uwagi*, 46.

<sup>119</sup> *Catalogus BJ*, vol. 6, 335-338 and the *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>120</sup> The sermon (Inc.: *Videtur mihi ut illum decet*) is repertoried in Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, 767 (no. 88). It was delivered in the year 1326 (or 1327?) in Paris. Quite confusingly, an identical sermon, most probably, is also listed in the other Schneyer’s repertory of later sermons (Schneyer, *Repertorium CD*) three times: in the collection by Johannes de Cardalhaco, no. 57 – identified as a sermon by Petrus Roger; in a collection *Konzilspredigten*, no. 70 under the date Dec 6, 1415; in a collection by Paulus Cholner, no. 104 (from MS Clm 14590). The most precise reference to the sermon is found in the work of Nighman and Stump, which lists the manuscript copies, including a Cracow manuscript cited here, and supplies their bibliography; Chris Nighman and Phillip Stump, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414-1418)*, available at the website: 2006 BibSite, The Bibliographical Society of America (<http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump>). A description of the register by the same authors is found in “A New Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Speeches Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414-18),” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50 (2006): 71-84; Pope Clement’s sermon mentioned on p. 74. The sermon is found in a collection of sermons from the Council of Constance in the manuscript BJ 1648 (f. 70r-74r, “De sancto Nicolao pontifice Clementis pape VI”), which I use for further reference here.

<sup>121</sup> A short description of the manuscript BJ 1648 in Wislocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 398. The “biographical” part begins on the f. 71v with the following words: “Fratres karissimi, ex vita beatissimi patroni sancti Nicolai colligo ipsum has virtutes excellenter habuisse, primo predicacionis utilitatem, unde in vita sua legitur, quod erat efficax in loquendo, alacer in exhortando, severus in corripiendo...”

Another important figure in Cracow in the first half of the fifteenth century, Mikołaj (Nicolaus) of Kozłów (ca. 1378-1443),<sup>122</sup> a doctor of theology and an envoy of the Bishop of Cracow, delivered a sermon on St. Stanislaus at the Council of Basel (Sermon VIII). The distinguished intellectual and experienced preacher studied in Prague (master of arts in 1402, when Jan Hus was the dean there) and in Cracow (taught and studied theology, a doctorate in 1425). He held the offices of rector and vice-chancellor of the university. He was a canon in Poznań and in the collegiate chapter of St. Florian in Cracow. The sermon on St. Stanislaus was probably delivered in Basel on the saint's feast in May 1435.<sup>123</sup> He briefly alluded to the situation after the death of King Wladislaus Jagiello and the election of the new king, which is an argument in support of the dating to 1435.<sup>124</sup> Nicolaus delivered several other sermons in Basel, including a sermon commemorating the deceased King Wladislaus Jagiello on July 31, 1434.<sup>125</sup>

He constructed much of his sermon on St. Stanislaus in the form of a *quaestio*;<sup>126</sup> and appended a hagiographical narrative based on the saint's life in the manuscript;<sup>127</sup> the *quaestio* part of the sermon was rather general and did not speak about St. Stanislaus at all. His sermon is extant in several copies.<sup>128</sup> It spread in a collection of conciliar sermons, which included various sermons and treatises from the council of Basel, but also sermons of an older date from the Council of Constance and elsewhere. The codex BJ 1614 belonged to Andrew of Labyszyn, a canon of Cracow; it may have been brought from Basel and even may have belonged to Nicolaus of Kozłów

<sup>122</sup> For more about his biography, activities and works, see Mieczysław Markowski, "Mikołaj z Kozłowa," in *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii filozofii starożytnej i średniowiecznej* (Materials and Studies of the Department of History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy), vol. 5 (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Wydawnictwo PAN, 1965), 76-141; and also Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 129-132; Wielgus, *Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna bibliistyka*, 51-55 (also a list of manuscripts); Ożóg, *Uczeni*, on the sermon 109, about the speeches of Nicolaus of Kozłów on pages 107-111.

<sup>123</sup> In the MS. Oxford, Balliol 165a, f. 744v the heading of the sermon indicated that it was preached on the "Sunday after Easter:" "Sermo Nicolai Kosolowski doctoris in theologia de Polonia predicatus Dominica post Pascha." The sermon does not appear among sermons listed in the protocols of the council (Haller, *Concilium Basilense*, vol. 2); not mentioned in the article by J. M. Vidal, "Un recueil manuscrit de sermons prononcés aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle," RHE 10 (1909): 493-520. He was named as a representative of the Bishop of Cracow on July 31, 1433, got incorporated there from October 17 [Haller, *Concilium Basilense*, vol. 2, p. 505ff.], and left Basel after April 27, 1436. T. Wunsch, *Konziliarismus und Polen*, 74, 114, 118, about Prague 43-5; for his activity at the council, see also Ożóg, *Uczeni*, 107-111, 284-293.

<sup>124</sup> For the allusion and its citation, see below in Chapter 5.2.2, fn. 111. Moreover, the Second Sunday after the Easter octave fell precisely on May 8, the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus in 1435. Even if the paragraph with a mention of the King's death was not original but an addition *ex post*, the date coincidence makes it highly probable that the sermon was delivered on that occasion in 1435.

<sup>125</sup> For the speech on Wladislaus Jagiello delivered on the funeral commemoration on July 31, 1434 on the thema *Finis illorum mors* [Rom 6,21] and also for his other speeches in Basel; see Ożóg, *Uczeni*, 109 and fn. 195, 288-290; Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 132; Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 289. The speech is edited in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 2, ed. August Sokołski and Anatol Lewicki (Cracow: Nakładem PAU, 1891), no. 221, 323-330.

<sup>126</sup> For more details, see below in Chapter 5.1, where the content is analysed. In the sermons of Gerson *quaestiones* played a significant role; d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 256 (referred to Mourin's work on Gerson). These could have been university sermons (or sermons for clerical gatherings).

<sup>127</sup> For the hagiographical part, see below in this chapter, section 3.8.

<sup>128</sup> MS. BJ 1614, f. 74v-81; a truncated copy in MS. Oxford, Balliol College 165a, f. 744v-748; and a different redaction in MS. BJ 1354, p. 182-6.



himself.<sup>129</sup> A copy of the same sermon on St. Stanislaus is found also in a manuscript collection of various conciliar materials, which Bishop William Grey, Guarino's pupil, brought from Italy to Oxford in the fifteenth century. From him the volume reached Balliol College in Oxford, where it remains today. The sermon is, however, abruptly cut after five pages, before the end of the general part. As a result, the extant fragment does not speak about St. Stanislaus at all.<sup>130</sup> Another redaction of the sermon, with the introductory part left out and with some modifications in the text, is found in a manuscript containing various preaching aids (including conciliar, synodal and university sermons, some patristic works and biblical concordances) written by Jan of Słupca between 1453 and 1462.<sup>131</sup>

Two sermons on St. Stanislaus by Paul of Zator (ca. 1395-1463) are extant in his collection *de sanctis*. Zator was a doctor of canon law, a professor of the university in Cracow (in canon law from 1430, a pupil of John Elgot), the first holder of the office of permanent cathedral preacher in Cracow (1454-63) and the vicar general of Cracow diocese under Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Cracow.<sup>132</sup> He was a great preacher in the opinion of his contemporaries<sup>133</sup> – he was a cathedral preacher from 1423 at latest (he preached at the anniversary of Queen Jadwiga's death around 1430, and also at the funeral of Wladislaus Jagiello 1434 in Polish); from 1454 he was the first to hold the official cathedral preacher's office. Between 1419 and 1432 at least, he was the rector of the cathedral school at Wawel in Cracow, where he received the basics of his education. He interpreted gospel pericopes for students. He preached in the cathedral for more than 40 years and three collections of sermons (the other two: *Sermones de tempore super epistolas dominicales* (before 1423), *Sermones de tempore super evangelia dominicalia*) and individual sermons attributed to him are extant.<sup>134</sup>

The collections of Zator's sermons, including his two sermons on St. Stanislaus on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* (Sermons V and VI), were read and copied in the schools in Poland in the fifteenth century.<sup>135</sup> Sermon collections in cathedral schools were not only used as an aid in preparation for sermon delivery, but also for teaching and the religious, pastoral and rhetorical formation of their pupils. The exegetical interpretation of Biblical texts has become a part of the

<sup>129</sup> For the content of the MS. and possession notes, see the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>130</sup> Oxford, Balliol College 165a, f. 744v-748.

<sup>131</sup> BJ 1354, f. 182-186. For the modifications in the hagiographical part, see below in this chapter, section 3.8.

<sup>132</sup> For biographical details of Paul of Zator, see "Pawel z Zatora" (Paul of Zator), PSB 25, 401-403. For the establishment of the office of cathedral preacher, see above in the section 2.2.1.4, fn. 195-6. Other literature on Zator: Wolny, "Uwagi," 46-7; Panuś, *Kaznodziejstwo w katedrze krakowskiej*, 67-9.

<sup>133</sup> Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," 100-103.

<sup>134</sup> Wolny ("Krakowskie środowisko katedralne") gives a list of extant manuscripts of his sermon collections on page 102, footnote 93. For his preaching in the cathedral, see Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," 297-8.

<sup>135</sup> Jerzy Wolny first pointed to the practice of copying of his sermons, on saints and other, at schools according to manuscripts notes; see his "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," 102; and also idem, "Kaznodziejstwo," 287-288. Wolny informs us that already during Zator's active preaching career, his sermons *super epistolas dominicales* were read aloud by an anonymous *baccalarius* in All Saints' Church school in Cracow in 1432 (MS. BJ 2536).

education of future clerics.<sup>136</sup> What Paul of Zator had done during his life, bachelors in the cathedral and lower schools continued to do with the help of his texts as well. After the death of the renowned preacher his sermons on saints were “read aloud” (*pronunciati*) by *baccalarius* Andrew of Gąbin in the cathedral school in Cracow (*in areiopagio nec non pauperum gymnasio*) in 1469. The colophons in two extant manuscripts document this act. They both praise Zator as an *egregius vir doctor*, and *dive ac memorie bone*.<sup>137</sup> The colophon in one of the manuscripts specified that the sermons had been collected by Jan of Słupca, the professor of theology and a student of Zator, and had been handed over to *baccalarius* Andrew of Gąbin so that he could read them aloud, which he finished in the octave of St. Stanislaus in 1469.<sup>138</sup> This colophon implies that Jan of Słupca compiled a collection of sermons (or ordered someone to do it), which his mentor Zator had preached or prepared, either on Zator’s request or on his own initiative, either during Zator’s active career or afterwards. The sermons by a preacher of high reputation then spread in this form, also thanks to their use in cathedral and other Church schools. The same collection *de sanctis* is probably found in more copies.<sup>139</sup>

The two sermons on St. Stanislaus were located side by side in the collection, in a position corresponding to the martyrdom feast of St. Stanislaus (placed in between a sermon on St. Florian and a sermon on the Ascension). Besides the sermons on St. Stanislaus, the collection contained a sermon on St. Florian and several sermons on St. Adalbert (at least four). The sermons contained moral and legal expositions on the community and the roles of spiritual and temporal powers. These model sermons, which were used also as teaching material in the cathedral school, often perhaps meant for a clerical audience, are much more “schoolish” than the sermon by Peregrinus. They belong neither to the most erudite nor to the most inspiring preaching.<sup>140</sup>

Zator’s collection remained popular after the preacher’s death. Another copy of the sermons *de sanctis* by Zator is also of a later date. A manuscript from the Jagiellonian Library (BJ 491)

<sup>136</sup> This was one of the duties of a *baccalarius locatus*. Sermon collections (also James of Varazze’s *quadregesimale*, *de sanctis* by Nicholas of Błonie, homilies by Church Fathers), and also saint’s legends and pastoral works were recited, exposed and copied in Polish cathedral schools. Krzysztof Stopka, *Szkoły katedralne metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w średniowieczu. Studia nad kształceniem kleru polskiego w wiekach średnich* (Cathedral Schools of the Metropolis of Gniezno in the Middle Ages. Studies in Education of Polish Clergy in the Middle Ages) (Cracow: Nakładem PAU, 1994), 107, 169-170.

<sup>137</sup> BJ 1506, f. 181: “Expliciunt sermones per universum anni circulum venerabilis ac egregii viri doctoris Pauli dive ac memorie bone patris de Zathor pronunciati Cracovie in areiopagio nec non pauperum gymnasio per reverendum baccalarium Andream de Gabyn et sunt finiti ipso die Veneris proximo post Ascensionis anno Domini MCCCCLXIX” (12 May, 1469).

<sup>138</sup> BJ 4248, f. 288: “Expliciunt sermones de sanctis, per bone memorie decretorum doctorem canonicum et predicatorem maioris ecclesie Cracoviensis, Paulum de Zathor, **collecti per egregium virum s. theologii professorem, Johannem de Słupcza tanquam suum executorem, cuidam Andree de Gabyn, arcium bacc., ad pronunciandum traditi per eumque inchoati** feria secunda in septuagesima terminatique sabato in octava s. Stanisłai a.d. 1469. Orate pro eis...” [emphasis mine].

<sup>139</sup> The two sermons on Stanislaus are found in Zator’s collection *de sanctis* in the MS. BUWr I Q 354 from the library of Dominicans in Wrocław.

<sup>140</sup> The authors quoted various authorities like Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, Valerius Maximus, Helmandus.

contained besides the collection of Zator's sermons some other sermons by Jan of Słupca, and some various theological, canon law and other materials.<sup>141</sup> An introductory sentence at the beginning of the collection stated that the "sermons on saints for the course of a year were edited" by Paul of Zator and "delivered by him in the Church [probably the cathedral church] in Cracow."<sup>142</sup> The materials were copied by various hands, one of them was Jacobus of Gostynin, a professor of theology. He owned the codex and bequeathed it to the theological and philosophical library of the Collegium Maius of the university in Cracow.<sup>143</sup>

The manuscript of the Cracow Chapter Library 154 may be the oldest example out of the extant copies of sermons on saints by Zator. It contains only one of the two known sermons on St. Stanislaus from the collections by Zator in circulation.<sup>144</sup> Besides that, the scribe recorded notes for another sermon on St. Stanislaus for his feast of translation in this preaching notebook,<sup>145</sup> which is supplemented with fragments of the legend and miracles of St. Stanislaus. It is an outstanding witness to Zator's preaching in the cathedral. The sermons, notes and outlines of Zator's sermons are written by several hands. Polkowski identified some of them as Zator's autographs,<sup>146</sup> while other sermons and legends were put down by various other scribes and perhaps collected by Paul of Zator into a book. Some are sermons, some only schemes, sometimes spaces and pages are left out. Some sermons are attributed to James of Varazze, some to Zator (e.g. attributions in the headings of this type *Bartholomei apostoli Zator*, or a note (f. 8v): *Isti sermones supradicti scilicet de Conceptione Marie sunt domini Pauli professoris sacre theologie et in decretis doctoris in Castro Cracoviensi predicatoris prefulgentissimi*). Others have no attribution. The volume is thematically arranged and provided with a register. The first part is occupied by sermons on mariological feasts, which are followed by sermons *de sanctis* (from f. 89v) interspersed with those on some feasts. The manuscript book appears to have been ordered deliberately according to various *ordines*, or categories of saints. The author mentions six basic orders of saints (in this order): virgins, apostles, confessors, prophets, martyrs, patriarchs.<sup>147</sup> The organisation of the volume appears to follow this rationale at least partially. The quires (booklets), at least a part of them, are thematic. Sometimes there is continuity between the quires – e.g. the quire which contains Zator's sermon (Sermon V)

<sup>141</sup> For more information about the MS., see *Catalogus BJ* 3, 109-110 and the appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>142</sup> BJ 491, f. 41: "Incipiunt sermones de sanctis per circulum anni editi per venerabilem magistrum Paulum de Zathor decretorum doctorem et predicati per eum in Ecclesia Cracoviensi."

<sup>143</sup> See the appendix *List of Manuscripts*. For Gostynin, see Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 201-2.

<sup>144</sup> The sermon (Sermon V) beginning with *Excellentissimus Dei filius*, f. 313v-315v (which is also found in the MSS. BJ 491, 1506 and 4248 and BUWr I Q 354).

<sup>145</sup> Sermon L on the thema *Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus* [Heb 5, 1], MS. Cracow, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej (Archives and Library of Cracow Cathedral Chapter) (hereafter Cracow Chapter Library) 154, f. 348r-352v.

<sup>146</sup> Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej*, 109-110.

<sup>147</sup> MS. Cracow Chapter Library 154, f. 45r: A note after some notes for a sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary: "sex posuit diversas arborum, quod scilicet in celesti curia sunt 6 ordines sanctorum: virgines, confessores, martires, apostoli, propheti, patriarche."

for the feast of St. Stanislaus (placed among the martyrs) starts with a continuation of the materials on St. Florian from the previous quire. The codex might be evidence of an “intermediary” stage of the gathering and organizing of the sermons, either by or under the auspices of Zator himself, or by somebody else, before the actual collection for expositions in cathedral schools was prepared for “publication.”

Jan of Słupca (1408-1488), a university professor and a cathedral preacher in Cracow, represents another generation of clerics who preached about St. Stanislaus.<sup>148</sup> His sermon for the feast of St. Stanislaus on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus*, which he preached in 1466 or earlier, is extant in several manuscripts (Sermon VII).<sup>149</sup> Like Paul of Zator, he came from a burgher family, studied and later taught at the university in Cracow. Besides that he held several ecclesiastical benefices.<sup>150</sup> He also held the office of the rector of the university three times (1452/3, 1476/7). Interestingly, another professor and renowned preacher Jan of Dąbrówka bequeathed his codices to the university and for the use of Słupca. Jan of Słupca too, following what had become a custom by then, bequeathed his rich personal library to the university. His preaching activity is documented by a number of sermons preserved in manuscripts: sermons *de sanctis* (including sermons on St. Stanislaus, Adalbert), *sermones dominicales*, sermons on the Virgin Mary (BJ 1689).<sup>151</sup> Like his teacher Zator, he held the office of the cathedral preacher from April 1472, resigned in 1479 and then again accepted the office in 1485.<sup>152</sup> Walczy maintained that Słupca had enjoyed King Casimir Jagiellon’s favour and had been a courtly preacher as well.<sup>153</sup> The sermon on St. Stanislaus is extant in at least four copies of the collection *de sanctis* that I identified, out of which two can be dated to the 1460s (BJ 1415, BJ 2364). All the copies come roughly from a similar period and were copied by students and alumni of the university of Cracow, who spread the collection. For example, one of the students copied, and several masters and doctors, possessed and further bequeathed the volume BJ 1415 to their colleagues from the university (e.g. Master Bernard of Nysa, Doctor Matthias of Szydłow, student Jacob of Dirszaw/Dzierzaw/Tczew).<sup>154</sup> The scribe Jacob explicitly stated that

<sup>148</sup> For biographical information about the author, see Zofia Siemiatkowska, “Jan ze Słupczy,” in PSB 10, 476-478; Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 164-6; Panuś, *Kaznodziejstwo*, 69-70.

<sup>149</sup> The entire sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>150</sup> The benefices included the Church of St. Florian (1440 collegiate church and a chanter), a provost in Olkusz (after John Cantius resigned from there), a provost in St. Nicholas’ parish (1466-69), from 1475 a canon of the chapter of Cracow, from 1469 an altar benefice in All Saints’ Church in Cracow. Zofia Siemiatkowska, “Jan ze Słupczy,” 476-478.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 476-478. Other MSS. of the sermon collections in Wolny, “Krakowskie środowisko katedralne,” 103.

<sup>152</sup> Wolny, “Krakowskie środowisko katedralne,” 103.

<sup>153</sup> Łukasz Walczy, “Kazanie Jana ze Słupcy o św. Wojciechu – przyczynek do dziejów ideologii państwowej w drugiej połowie XV wieku” (The Sermon on Saint Adalbert by Jan of Słupca – a Contribution to the History of the Ideology of the Polish Kingdom in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century), *Nasza Przeszłość* 77 (1992), 261.

<sup>154</sup> See the manuscripts in the Appendix for details.

Ślupca, professor of theology, had “compiled” the collection.<sup>155</sup> A copy of the collection was found in the library of Cracow Cathedral Chapter, and another one comes from the fund of the library of the Augustinian Regulars Canons in Kraśnik.<sup>156</sup>

The sermon on St. Stanislaus in the manuscript BJ 2364 (f. 276-280) contains the heading *In die sancti Adalberti vel Stanislai*, which indicates the utility of the text for both Polish martyr-bishops. The author supplied legends after some sermons on saints (for example, St. Stanislaus, St. Florian) in the collection. A redaction of the life of St. Stanislaus follows immediately after the sermon in the manuscripts, except for the copy in MS. BJ 2364. The compiler of the collection conceived the saint’s life as an integral part of the materials for preaching on him. Interestingly, the closing words of the hagiographical narrative, identical in all its copies, refer to the legend of St. Stanislaus for the feast of translation:

In order to avoid a long narrative, I omit with how many and how great signs the Lord has made his holy one wonderful [cf. Ps 4,4]; for more, see his translation.<sup>157</sup>

The writer recommended the legend for the translation feast of St. Stanislaus for more details about his miracles. The collection covers the whole cycle of the liturgical year. Yet, no materials (a sermon or a legend) for the feast of the saint’s translation are found in any of the volumes of the identified copies of the collection. However, another collection of sermons on saints attributed to Jan of Ślupca – a collection *de sanctis* for the period of summer and autumn (*Aestivale opus et autumnale de sanctis divi Johannis de Slupcza sacre theologie professoris etc.*) – contains two sermons for the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXIX and XXXIV; in the MS. BJ Acc. 67/54 from the late fifteenth century).<sup>158</sup>

Ślupca was a member of the community of intellectuals and preachers in Cracow. He certainly knew – heard, read, and copied – a number of sermons on St. Stanislaus by his colleagues. I mentioned above that he, being an executor of the testament of Paul of Zator, could have put together a collection of his sermons on saints. Besides that and among others, he possessed in his library a collection of conciliar sermons, which he copied himself, including a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Nicholas of Kozłów delivered at the council of Basel (MS. BJ 1354, Sermon VIII B), to which I return below.

<sup>155</sup> BJ 1415, f. 308v: “Expliciunt Sermones de sanctis, compilati per venerabilem virum maystrum [*alia manu*: Iohannem; *canc.*: Mathiam] de Slubcza, sacre theologie professorem in Studio alme Universitatis Cracoviensis, scripti per me Iacobum de Dirszaw. Et sunt finiti proxima dominica infra Ascensionem Domini [18 V] hora fere XXII, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto.” The content of the collection *de sanctis* can be found in the catalogue description of the MS. BJ 1415 in the forthcoming volume of the *Catalogus BJ*.

<sup>156</sup> Cracow Chapter, MS. 157, f. 65r-67r and Cracow, PAU Library, MS. 1709, f. 145r-151r, respectively.

<sup>157</sup> Cracow PAN/PAU 1709, f. 159r-v, cf. BJ 1415, f. 205r; Cracow Chapter Library 157, f. 70r: “Quot et quantis signis Dominus sanctum suum mirificavit, longitudine superfugiens narrare omitto, alia in translacione eius vide.”

<sup>158</sup> For more about the MS., see the appendix *List of manuscripts*. The sermons from this MS. are edited in Appendix 5.

Another systematic collection containing several sermons for both feasts of St. Stanislaus was the sermonary by Grzegorz of Mysłowice or Zawada (Gregorius de Myslowice alias de Zawada, d. after 1460). This doctor of canon law held an office of archdeacon in Lviv, from which he was expelled during a conflict between the archbishop and the chapter in 1444. Afterwards he taught at the university in Cracow.<sup>159</sup> He composed collections *de tempore* and *de sanctis*. His collection of sermons on saints is extant in the manuscripts BJ 1357 and BJ 1638. He put together the first redaction of his collection after his departure from Lviv. After several years he reworked the sermons, because they had been exceedingly truncated (*nimis truncate*) and insufficient, as he stated in the explicit of the manuscript BJ 1357, which thus contains the revised redaction of the collection, besides other works of the same author:

Although I had worked on the Sermons on Saints several years ago and completed them, now I set my hand to the present work, because I accomplished them in a too curtailed and insufficient form, and I have somewhat supplied for the weaknesses and have augmented the work...<sup>160</sup>

The works were copied by Peter of Kurowo, a student of the university in Cracow, in 1457.<sup>161</sup> He borrowed and gave the volume then to Master Andrew Rogaliński, the perpetual vicar of the cathedral of Poznań, who was addressed as a vice dean, supervisor and benefactor. The volume was sold in 1473 again, and in 1495 the book was found among the codices left behind by Master Andrew of Brodzewo and afterwards kept in the library of the Collegium Maius in Cracow. The volume thus belonged to several persons related with the university in Cracow in the course of the second half of the fifteenth century.

A redaction of the collection in MS. BJ 1638 was copied in the second half of the fifteenth century (dated to 1469 on f. 1) and put together by Master Stanislaus of Gorkij in 1491. The volume belonged to a parish priest, Andrew of Szucha.<sup>162</sup> The volume contains only a collection of sermons on saints. The collection in MS. BJ 1357 included four sermons on St. Stanislaus, two for the martyrdom feast (Sermon LIV and X) and two for the translation feast (Sermon LV and LXVII). The sermons on St. Stanislaus were distributed in a different way in this copy: the two former sermons were copied – one for the martyrdom (Sermon X) and the other one for the translation feast (Sermon LIV).

<sup>159</sup> For his biographical details, see Bożenna Wyrozumska, “Grzegorz Cieniawa z Myslowic, alias de Zawada,” in PSB 9, 84-5. He studied in Cracow, also went to Italy to study canon law in Bologna, but had not completed his studies there. Short parts of the invocations (prologues) and explicits/epilogues to his collections and to his *Passio Iesu Christi* are edited in the forthcoming volume of the *Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9 (and earlier also Wislocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 338).

<sup>160</sup> BJ 1357, p. 768: “quamvis ante modicos annos laboraverim et consumaverim Sermones de sanctis, quia nimis truncate et insufficienter perfeceram, eosdem nunc aequaliter supplendo defectum et augendo scripta manum apposui ad presens opusculum...”

<sup>161</sup> For the possession notes, which are cited in the forthcoming *Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9, see the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>162</sup> For a brief description of the manuscript, see Wislocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 396. For the possession notes, see appendix *List of manuscripts*.

An anonymous collection of sermons (preserved e.g. in MS. BJ 1609), which was disseminated in at least several copies, contained as many as four different sermon texts on St. Stanislaus in liturgical order (3 for the feast of his martyrdom and 1 for the translation). The first sermon on the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus is followed by his legend, and then by two other sermons for the same occasion. In another place in the collection, corresponding to its position in liturgical calendar, a sermon on the translation of St. Stanislaus was located. It was followed by a translation legend. The anonymous collection is extant in several copies at least, with some modifications.<sup>163</sup> It seems to have spread particularly in schools and chapters. One of the copies in the manuscript, a part of which was written in Szczepanów (that is, in the alleged place of birth of St. Stanislaus) and which belonged to the parish church of St. Andrew in Wrocymowicze later, is dated to 1466.<sup>164</sup> The scribe of the collection in the MS. of Sandomierz Library (423) included only one sermon on St. Stanislaus in the position corresponding to his martyrdom feast and it was not followed by a legend. It was probably a more “economical” exemplar of the collection.

Sermons preserved in a preacher’s notebook represent a different type of sermon materials on St. Stanislaus in medieval manuscripts. Saint John Cantius (1390-1473) was another university professor, who died in the odour of sanctity. He was canonised in the eighteenth century.<sup>165</sup> Cantius copied, and possibly also compiled, some sermons on St. Stanislaus for his own use. His library and work have been quite well-researched and can provide some insight into the technique of preaching and preparation for preaching about the Polish first saint – as well as the use of preaching aids.<sup>166</sup> He had an exceptional personal library, which he gathered primarily by copying various works himself, unlike other professors, who frequently preferred to buy manuscripts or commission them from professional scribes.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Sandomierz Seminar Library MS. C423, Kielce Chapter Library MS. 3, Warsaw National Library MS. 3023, and with modifications perhaps in BJ 1646). I could check only the manuscript BJ 1609 as a whole, but on the basis of the catalogue descriptions and secondary references these codices seem to contain identical or at least related collections.

<sup>164</sup> A colophon in the MS. dates a copy of the collection into 1466; BJ 1609, f. 363r: “Et sic est finis huius operis anno 1466 scriptor mente pia deposcit. Ave Maria.” The manuscript BJ 1609 contained besides the collection (1-365) also the passion of Christ and a moral treatise.

<sup>165</sup> Marian Rechowicz, “Jan z Kęt,” in PSB 10, 457; Roman M. Zawadzki, “Mistrz Jan z Kęt i ‘szczęśliwy wiek Krakowa’” (Master John Cantius and the “fortunate era of Cracow”), in *Felix saeculum Cracoviae – krakowscy święci XV wieku. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, 24. kwietnia 1997 roku* (Felix saeculum Cracoviae – Cracow Saints of the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings from a Scientific Session, 24 April, 1997), ed. K. Panuś and K.R.Prokop (Cracow: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1998), 53-70.

<sup>166</sup> The main works dealing with the manuscripts of John Cantius are the studies by Roman M. Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego: studium kodykologiczne* (The Written Heritage of St. John Cantius: A Codicological Study) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PAT, 1995); and *Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum s. Ioannis Cantii qui in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana asservantur*, ed. Romanus Maria Zawadzki (Cracow: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1997). A brief description of the manuscripts of John Cantius and the Polish glosses in them is found in E. Belczarowa, *Głosy polskie w łacińskich kazaniach średniowiecznych*, vol. 2 (“Głosy polskie w rękopisach Jana Kantego”) (Wrocław: Ossolineum – Wydawnictwo PAN, 1983), 5-7, and glosses in the MS. Vat. Lat. 14182, 22-29.

<sup>167</sup> Out of the codices written by John Cantius, 17 manuscripts are kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, and 10 other manuscripts are kept in the Vatican Library, because they were sent to Rome in connection with his canonisation process in 1728. For more about his personal library and his practice of copying, see Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 254-258. For example, Nicolaus of Kozłów possessed as many as around 200

A miscellaneous manuscript, which is kept in the Vatican library nowadays, contains various preaching materials written in the 1430s by Cantius.<sup>168</sup> Cantius had the codex, including more than a hundred various sermons, mostly anonymous (but also by St. Augustine or Franciscan Contractus), bound together from various separate booklets that he had copied or written and repeatedly used in the course of years. The sermons were not arranged as a liturgical cycle, but some quires were thematic. The codex also contains a number of sermons by university teachers and colleagues of John Cantius (Nicolaus/Mikołaj of Kozłow - especially, Jan Elgot, Mikołaj Scultetus of Konradswalde), similar to other manuscripts belonging to the future saint.<sup>169</sup> Cantius himself probably composed some of the sermons, especially those which were written in the form of notes, as a rough copy, or only as schemes, or contain numerous glosses.<sup>170</sup> Cantius often used the manuscript as a working manual – he corrected mistakes, added glosses, both Latin and Polish, in the margin, supplemented fragments quoted in the texts. Even though he put down a number of sermons which had been composed by other authors, he most probably delivered some sermons based on the models that he had copied.<sup>171</sup>

The volume contains two well-developed sermons on St. Stanislaus (Sermons LVIIIA and XXXV). We do not know if Cantius was their author. The structure of one of the sermons, based on a division of the theme *Quasi stella matutina* (“As the morning star,” Sir 50,6), is built on the comparison of Stanislaus to various planets and celestial objects. Another redaction of the same sermon is found in a manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century, which belonged to the Żagań Augustinians.<sup>172</sup> Besides the sermons John Cantius copied a number of fragments and excerpts from various narrative texts (the Golden Legend, Ludolf’s of Saxony *Vita Christi*, and so on), including short fragments about St. Stanislaus.<sup>173</sup> The passages were excerpts from the *Vita*

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codices at least, but he did not copy most of them himself (ibid., 256); for more about the personal libraries of Cracow professors, see W.Szełińska, *Biblioteki profesorów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966), 44-175.

<sup>168</sup> Vat. Lat. 14182; a description of the manuscript, its contents, and so on (also a good description of his technique of copying sermons), is found in Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 163-170. The attribution of the manuscript to Cantius is noted by Bernard of Nysa and Jan Brozek [Zawadzki, 163, fn. 219] – two users of the codex - still in the fifteenth century. Bernard’s expression “Manuale sermonum dominicalium” is also telling – the manuscript was used as a preaching aid.

<sup>169</sup> Zawadzki (*Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 234) estimated that Cantius put down around 600 various sermon texts, including patristic and conciliar sermons, sermons by Cracow professors (including almost 100 texts by Nicolaus of Kozłow), and a number of anonymous sermons, which must include some sermons composed by himself.

<sup>170</sup> Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, esp. 165-6.

<sup>171</sup> Zawadzki (ibid., 233-234) thought that the redaction of the texts, some external features, marginal glosses and some notes supported the hypothesis; for example, the “titles” of sermons based on liturgical occasions written *ex post*, Polish glosses (I add - which is not necessarily a proof of his delivery of the texts!), notes “Non praedicavi” in some other manuscripts of the same character belonging to Cantius, implying that he delivered sermons based on some other models.

<sup>172</sup> MS. BUWr I Q 331, f. 195r-197r; this manuscript contained two other sermons on St. Stanislaus, more precisely, for his translation feast. These sermons are extant in other manuscripts as well; see the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>173</sup> Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 167.



*maior* by Vincent of Kielcza: six first chapters from its second part under the title *Sancti Stanislai miraculum* written on the empty pages in manuscript;<sup>174</sup> and a narrative of events and miracles that happened after the martyr's death based on the respective passages of the *Vita maior*, but freely retold and abridged by Cantius, also in an empty place in the booklet.<sup>175</sup>

The practice of borrowing one's booklets with sermons from somebody else and copying them or have them copied for one's personal use was widespread among the professors and students of the university in Cracow. For example, a scribe of one of the sermons on St. Stanislaus (Sermon II) was most probably also a student of the University of Cracow, who brought his booklets from there to the territory of today's Slovakia.<sup>176</sup> Through the university in Cracow, many clerics got to know the famous examples of model sermons on St. Stanislaus, and heard and read, copied and recorded a number of sermons on him. The alumni and future priests in pastoral office (parish priests, canons, etc.) brought sermonaries from their studies in Cracow. That is also how the models for preaching on St. Stanislaus spread. Already Długosz noted the part played by the university in the increased volume and quality of preaching.<sup>177</sup> The university also facilitated the exchange of manuscripts. Cracow was an important centre of the cult of St. Stanislaus. It is therefore no wonder that many texts on St. Stanislaus, including sermons, originated precisely there. The university milieu provided an important channel of their diffusion.

Another Cracow preacher associated with the university left traces of his preaching activity, including texts concerning St. Stanislaus. A volume (BJ 1635), which probably originated in the university milieu in Cracow, combines an anonymous sermon collection with various sermons and sermon notes, and in the second part a selection of various acts of the Council of Basel. The codex belonged to Jan of Dąbrówka (ca. 1400-1472), who also recorded many of the sermons and outlines himself, and supplied marginal glosses and underlinings of some words and passages, which are interspersed throughout the manuscript. This alumnus and professor of Cracow University, doctor of canon law and theology, is well-known for his commentary on the Chronicle of the Poles by Master Vincent (which contained also a passage concerning the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus and the alleged penitence of King Boleslaus II).<sup>178</sup>

<sup>174</sup> MS. 14182, f. 108v, 108r, 107r (in this order). Zawadzki (*Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 167) identified the passages, cf. *Vita maior*, II, 1-6, 374-378.

<sup>175</sup> MS. 14182, f. 13(r-v) [the contents of the quire in the upper margin on f. 13r]. Zawadzki (*Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 167) identified the fragments as following: *Vita maior* II 20- III 1 (afterdeath events, paraphrased and abridged), and miracles *Vita maior* III 24, 25, 10, 16, 20, 46. The excerpt is supplemented with the dates - enumeration of years that passed since Stanislaus' martyrdom and canonisation, which point to the year 1431: (f. 13v) "Post occisione fluxerunt anni 352" and "Post canonizationem fluxerunt anni 177." For the dating, see Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 168.

<sup>176</sup> Budapest University Library Cod. lat. 75; for more information, see the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>177</sup> The reference to his *Liber beneficiorum* as above in the chapter *Preaching Occasions*, section 2.2.1.4, fn. 195.

<sup>178</sup> Sermons from this MS. are edited in Appendix 5. For his biography and works, see the references above in Chapter 1.1.4., especially for his commentary of Master Vincent's Chronicle. Besides that see Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 158-9; Wielgus, *Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna biblijstka*, 99-101.

The manuscript BJ 1635 contains a sermon on St. Stanislaus on the *thema* from the Hebrews 7,26 (Sermon IV), like the sermon by Peregrinus of Opole, followed immediately by another sermon – or rather very brief sermon notes about the same saint - on the translation of St. Stanislaus on the *thema Enoch translatus est* [Heb 11,5] (Sermon XXIII), written by Dąbrówka. The marginal note *Translatio* was probably added only later (perhaps also by Dąbrówka) and it did not mark the original liturgical circumstance of the delivery. It only marked one of the possible uses of these sermon notes, especially with the *thema* which clearly made it suitable for a translation feast. On the other hand, the beginning sentence of the text clearly marked the liturgical circumstance as the concurrence of the feasts of Ascension and of St. Stanislaus (*Duplex festum tangitur hic, dic, scilicet Ascensionis et beati Stanislai*), which could have been only the feast of *dies natalis* in May. The two feasts coincided (if the reference is correct, and provided that it referred to the actual day of St. Stanislaus on May 8 and not a vigil, an octave, or the like) in the years 1467 and 1472.<sup>179</sup> The dating of the text to 1467 is more probable (as Dąbrówka died in 1472). The *thema* of the sermon (*Enoch translatus*, Heb 11,5), which was a frequent choice of preachers for translation feasts of various saints, may have inspired the glossator to add a rubric signalling the feast of translation. Nevertheless, in this case the preacher seems to have selected the topic of “translation” because of the implications of the Ascension feast, and not because of the commemoration of the translation of the relics of St. Stanislaus on that particular day. The sermon was built on various analogies between Christ and Elias, and Stanislaus and Elias. Another sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon XLI) is found in another place in the manuscript, corresponding to the position of his translation feast in the liturgical calendar.<sup>180</sup> The liturgical circumstance of translation is supported also by the content of the sermon. The theme (*Fac tibi duos cherubim superductiles ex auro purissimo*) anticipated the content and the structure: the preacher depicted St. Stanislaus and St. Wenceslas as the two cherubs. The whole sermon is devoted to both saints, who were the two patrons of the Cracow cathedral, and whose feasts occurred next to each other in the liturgical calendar: September 27 and 28, respectively.

The sermons written by Dąbrówka, which he glossed then, could be his preparations for preaching or his notes taken after he delivered the sermons, as a preacher’s diary. The texts are usually not very developed or fluent, some parts merely suggesting a direction that a preacher could have taken up and developed. At least a part of the collection seems to follow the order of the liturgical year. Another possibility is that he put down sermons by various authors that he heard in the course of a liturgical year in Cracow. The author of some sermons in this collection, perhaps

<sup>179</sup> A situation when there was a one-day difference between the feasts, which occurred in the 1445 and 1456, could be also relevant.

<sup>180</sup> My observation is based on an examination of the manuscript, especially of the context of the sermon within the codex and the neighbouring texts (preceding sermon: Sts. Cosmas and Damian; following sermon: St. Wenceslas).

Dąbrówka himself, must have known the model collection by Peregrinus of Opole. I describe in another place the way in which he was inspired by Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus when putting together his own sermon on the Polish saint, but also some sermons on other saints (St. Adalbert, St. Florian).<sup>181</sup> St. Stanislaus is mentioned also in some sermons on other occasions in the collection, e.g. a sermon *Vidi alterum angelum* on St. Adalbert. A large part of the sermon is built on the analogies between St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus. The author drew on a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus.<sup>182</sup> The interspersed repeated traces of knowledge of Peregrinus, the style of the author, the cross-references (both explicit and implicit) and analogies among sermons on various saints – all these features point to the fact that the notebook contained sermons by one author – and Jan of Dąbrówka could have been the author of the sermons. Dąbrówka could have even used them for his further preaching – he glossed them and highlighted and underlined important parts, and so on.

Another manuscript which belonged to Dąbrówka's library (BJ 2366) contains another collection *de tempore et de sanctis*.<sup>183</sup> The manuscript contains sermons by Dąbrówka, most probably, and/or sermons by other active preachers in Cracow, especially from the university milieu, which he had collected for his further use. Like in the case of the previous manuscript, its palaeographical and codicological characteristics point to its use as a notebook for personal purposes. The author of the notes for a sermon for the Passion Sunday referred to St. Stanislaus. The author compared St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert, the two Polish bishop saints, to Christ.<sup>184</sup> This reference supports the argument that preachers in this milieu, like Dąbrówka, were familiar with the figure of St. Stanislaus and recalled his example when they preached on other occasions as well. The mentions of St. Stanislaus, who seems to have been always readily at hand, in sermons on other occasions reflect his special position in that environment, especially in Cracow.

Authors from a variety of backgrounds composed sermons on St. Stanislaus, ranging from Mendicant friars to cathedral, court and university preachers, and maybe also parish priests. Most of the authors of sermons presented above form quite a coherent group in some respects, although the sermons are preserved in various forms and stages of elaboration. I presented a sample for which I have quite solid information concerning the authorship, circumstances of composition and transmission. Many personalities from Cracow, and especially from the flourishing intellectual milieu of the university in Cracow, are found among the authors of the sermons and whole sermon

<sup>181</sup> For the connections between these sermons, see the chapter on the sermon by Peregrinus, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>182</sup> BJ 1635, f. 80v-83r, the mention of St. Stanislaus is found on f. 81r. The content is analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.2.2, and the sermon is edited in Appendix 5. The author referred to the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus in his sermon on St. Florian, where he used a similar division describing the saint's miracles.

<sup>183</sup> He owned other sermon codices as well, including e.g. Varazze's *quadragessimale*. For an overview of his library, see e.g. Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 61-77.

<sup>184</sup> BJ 2366, f. 621v. For more details concerning the reference, see Chapter 5.1.3.

collections in the fifteenth century. These authors and preachers were active in the concentric circles of the city of Cracow, the university, the cathedral and the court. A number of authors and preachers still remain anonymous and numerous sermons are difficult to set precisely in time and place. The usage of the sermon manuscripts (their provenance, characteristics, and other signs of utilization) shows which sermon texts on St. Stanislaus were spread and were at hand to be used for preaching about St. Stanislaus in various religious communities.

Friars were responsible for most of the preaching duties before the turn of the fifteenth century, when the number of educated clerics increased. Nevertheless, not many mendicant authors of sermons on St. Stanislaus are known by name and have been identified. Peregrinus is an example of a friar, whose work spread not only among Dominican preachers. The copies of various sermons on St. Stanislaus are found in the codices that belonged to the Dominicans, although their authors were not necessarily Dominicans: in the conventual libraries in Raciborz and Lviv, which are nowadays kept in the provincial archives in Cracow (while the library of Cracow Dominicans burnt down)<sup>185</sup> and to the library of the Dominican convent in Wrocław (nowadays in the fund of the Wrocław University Library).<sup>186</sup> In general, the diffusion of sermon texts did not respect the boundaries of religious orders: Dominican libraries possessed manuscripts of the sermons by preachers who were not affiliated with the Dominican Order, like John-Jerome of Prague and Paul of Zator, for example. Many sermon manuscripts were bequeathed to various conventual libraries (of the Dominican Order, the Canons Regular and so on) by clerics and intellectuals who had good relationships with particular convents. The university milieu and the centre in Cracow facilitated an effective diffusion of numerous sermon texts in the fifteenth century.

The Franciscan Observant movement started to flourish in Poland after the visit of John Capistran in 1453 – as many as 25 convents were established during the following fifty years (including the first convent founded at Stradom in Cracow).<sup>187</sup> A number of friars were professors at the university in Cracow. Franciscan Observant friars composed and owned at least three of the codices that included sermons on Saint Stanislaus, dating back to the second half of the fifteenth

<sup>185</sup> Cracow, Archives of the Dominican Province, MS. R XV 16 from Raciborz and MS. L XV 28 from Lviv (containing a sermon by Peregrinus). See also Krystyna Zawadzka, *Biblioteki klasztorne dominikanów na Śląsku (1239-1810)* (Conventual Libraries of the Dominicans in Silesia) (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999), for the library of the convent in Raciborz, see pp. 69-74.

<sup>186</sup> The following fifteenth-century manuscripts containing sermons on St. Stanislaus belonged to the library of the Dominican convent of St. Wenceslas in Wrocław: I F 78 and I F 520 (which belonged to Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg), I F 527, I F 594, I Q 354, I Q 435. For Wrocław, see Alfred Świerk, "Fragmenty piętnastowiecznego katalogu biblioteki wrocławskich dominikanów" (Fragments of a Fifteenth-Century Catalogue of the Library of Wrocław Dominicans), *Śląski Kwartalnik "Sobótka"* 21 (1966): 541-556. For the MS. I F 78, see below in more detail, for other manuscripts, see also the appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>187</sup> For a history of the Franciscan Observant Order in Poland in the second half of the fifteenth century, see especially Małgorzata Manikowska, *Klasztor bernardyński w społeczeństwie polskim 1453-1530* (The Franciscan Observant Convent in Polish Society 1453-1530) (Warsaw: DiG, 2001), 7, 13-100; and an older study by K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, 2 vols. (Lviv: Nakład. Prowincja Polska OO. Bernardynów, 1933).

century. A sizeable composite manuscript book from the late fifteenth century contained five different sermons on St. Stanislaus for both of his feasts and a life (*vita et sermo cum fine*) of St. Stanislaus in twelve chapters composed by a Franciscan Observant friar (mentioned above). The fact that a sermon called St. Bernardino as the *beatissimus pater noster* points to its Franciscan Observant provenance.<sup>188</sup> The codex presents a collection of various preaching materials which were used in the milieu of the Franciscan Observants. Some other manuscripts containing sermons on St. Stanislaus were copied, and possibly even composed, in the Franciscan Observant milieu, for example, in the convent in Kościan in Greater Poland (est. 1456) in the second half of the fifteenth century. Most of them were small portable miscellaneous manuscript books, which the friars could carry around and use in pastoral practice.<sup>189</sup>

The Franciscan Observants, also in Cracow at Stradom, appear to have been very interested in the theory and practice of mnemonics; it was natural, as they were preachers, and some of them were teachers at the university. A treatise on memory and mnemonics by a Franciscan Observant, Jan Szklarek, who was also a professor in Cracow, can shed light on the practice of preaching and constructing of sermons about St. Stanislaus.<sup>190</sup> His work, written in the Franciscan Observant Convent at Stradom in 1503, came out in print in Cracow in 1504, and was most probably meant as a manual for students.<sup>191</sup> In his treatise he certainly relied on his long experience as a preacher and teacher.<sup>192</sup> One fragment of his treatise in particular presents evidence of his preaching skills: a practical example of constructing and remembering a sermon about St. Stanislaus (f. 13-14v in the work).<sup>193</sup> It appeared within a discussion of twelve various *cautelae* (cautions, caution points,

<sup>188</sup> Czartoryski Library MS. 3793 II. The sermon for the translation of St. Bernardino is found on p. 1014. For other information concerning the MS., see the appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>189</sup> MS. Kórnik 1122; MS. Kórnik 50; MS. Kórnik 52; MS. Kórnik 55. See the appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>190</sup> He graduated as a master of arts in 1474, started to teach at the university, and around 1476 entered the Franciscan Observant Order. After 1480 he lived for a few years in Poznań convent. He was elected the provincial in 1493-5, 1499-1501. Szklarek died in Poznań in 1515 in the odour of sanctity. For the author and his works, the studies by Rafał Wójcik, “Domine, memoriale tuum in generationem et generationem...” O krakowskim traktacie *Opusculum de arte memorativa* z 1504 roku” (Concerning the Cracow Treatise *Opusculum de arte memorativa* from 1504), *Studia Warmińskie* 39 (2002): 115-129; for the author and the *Opusculum* esp. 122ff.; and idem, “O mnemotechnicznym przygotowaniu kazania o św. Stanisławie w *Opusculum de arte memorativa* Jana Szklarka” (On the Mnemonic Preparation of a Sermon on St. Stanislaus in the *Opusculum de arte memorativa* by Jan Szklarek), in *Mediewistyka literacka w Polsce* (Literary Medieval Studies in Poland), ed. Teresa Michałowska (Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2003), *Studia Staropolskie* Series Nova 5: 140-157, for his biography 144-145; for the *Opusculum* and an analysis of its content, esp. 146ff.

<sup>191</sup> Jan Szklarek, *Opusculum de arte memorativa* (Cracow: Kasper Hochfeder, 13 September 1504). The *Opusculum* consists of 20 cards of the *quarto* format. The work also contains illustrations, similar to woodcuts, representing the so-called “alphabetum memorativum,” intended as mnemonic aids (it is the oldest ever Polish book illustrated with woodcuts).

<sup>192</sup> Szklarek mentioned in the introduction to the *Opusculum* that he had been preaching for 22 years, although none of his sermons have been preserved. Wójcik, “O mnemotechnicznym,” 145 (from Jan Szklarek, *Opusculum*, f. 1): “cuius [-memoriae] fructum ego expertus sum a vigintiduobus annis, quotidianis more ordinis occupatus sermonibus ad populum, quolibet festo bis.”

<sup>193</sup> A special study is devoted to the example of a sermon on St. Stanislaus: Wójcik, “O mnemotechnicznym,” for an edition of the fragment with the example of St. Stanislaus sermon, see pp. 151-153, followed by a Polish translation on the pp. 153-156. The following information is based on the edition of the *Opusculum* fragment in this study.

guarantees) for memory, on various examples, with the help of which the reader could remember information (from canon law books, from the books of sentences, *quaestiones*, and numbers, names of doctors and evangelists). The author used an example of the narrative about St. Stanislaus when explaining the *septima cautela historiarum, sub qua erit cautela sermonum* – “the seventh guarantee of memory, which concerns historical narratives, including the guarantee for sermons.” He distinguished three ways in which a narrative could be treated: firstly, when we want to remember or memorize it, secondly, when it is to be dilated or exposed, and thirdly, when it is to be preached. When one wants to remember the history of St. Stanislaus, eight various circumstances are to be remembered, which help to reconstruct the basic narrative (*opus, sanctus, pravus, locus, modus, fructus, casus, tipus*), and which can be further expanded and separately explained. The third and most important advice concerned the constructing and remembering of a sermon: Jan recommended dividing the topic into five parts and further dividing each into five subparts. The principal division that he suggested was not based on any thematic verse, as was the case with a typical late medieval *sermo modernus*, but rather on the story about St. Stanislaus and its content (*subiectum viciosum* – Boleslaus, *obiectum graciosum* – Stanislaus, *respectum copiosum, profectum preciosum, defectum lacrimosum huius regni et civitatis ex morte eius*). Then Jan instructed the readers in detail how to remember the particular *membra* of the division by representing them by and associating them with figures, images, alphabetic order and other mnemonic aids, which he had described in the theoretical part of the treatise. The author presented an example of how to construct a sermon at the turn of the sixteenth century. It would not be a typical thematic sermon, but a narrative sermon based on the saint’s life. Szklarek selected a saintly Pole as a model – he described step by step the process of composing a sermon, which would be easy to remember, and supplied a commentary. The work was most probably meant for Polish friars and students (in the milieu of the Franciscan Observants and at the university in Cracow).<sup>194</sup>

A convent of the last mendicant order, the Augustinians (Augustinian Hermits), was established by King Casimir the Great in 1342 in Kazimierz (today part of Cracow) as a filiation of the convent in Prague. The library of the convent of St. Catherine also possessed some sermon manuscripts with sermons on St. Stanislaus.<sup>195</sup> Another preserved sermon on St. Stanislaus is connected with the convent of Augustinian Hermits dedicated to Sts. Wenceslas, Stanislaus and Dorothy (which was later known especially under the patronage of St. Dorothy) in Wrocław.<sup>196</sup> Johannes Scultetii of Reichenbach (OSA, died 1433; Reichenbach/Dzierżoniów, Silesia), who was the lector and prior of the monastery of Augustinian Hermits in Wrocław, delivered a sermon on the

<sup>194</sup> Wójcik, “Domine, memoriale tuum,” 128.

<sup>195</sup> For example, a manuscript with a collection of sermons on saints attributed to Jan of Słupca, BJ Acc. 67/54, and bequeathed to the Augustinian convent of St. Catherine; see above, and the appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>196</sup> The Augustinian convent under this dedication was founded by Emperor Charles IV, see above in the section 2.2.1.1.

feast of St. Stanislaus in Wrocław in 1430 (Sermon XLVI). The sermon is preserved in manuscript form in a particular way, which is rather exceptional within the corpus of sermons on St. Stanislaus: the circumstances of the delivery are known to us thanks to the records in the manuscript. The recorded text is probably a copy of an original *sermo praeuius* or of a *reportatio* – it is entitled in the manuscript as an “excerpt of a sermon on St. Stanislaus delivered in the year 1430.”<sup>197</sup> The scribe denoted the text several pages below in the manuscript as a sermon “against attacking the Bohemian people,” which could have reflected the scribe’s interests and indicated what had motivated him to copy the text for himself.<sup>198</sup> The preacher who used the sermon copy showed perhaps more interest in the sociopolitical and theological aspect of the sermon, connected with the Hussite development, than in the standard preaching about a saint.

The sermon is found in a composite manuscript which belonged to Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg (d. 1474), a professor of the University of Cracow and a preacher from Silesia, a canon of Wrocław and Cracow. Once again, Tempelfeld was a personality connected with the Cracow intellectual centre and the university. After around forty years spent in Cracow, he left the academic centre and moved to Silesia. He was an active preacher: first in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Cracow, the central parish of the city of Cracow, and later a preacher in the Church of St. Elizabeth in Wrocław (from 1454 until 1467), which was also a prestigious preaching office.<sup>199</sup> Szelińska claimed that he had “practiced the preaching activity rather by living word than by pen,” implying that not many of his sermons are preserved in writing, but he had possessed manuscripts of sermons by various authors as preaching aids.<sup>200</sup> The codex consisted of several independent parts, which had been written partially in Brzeg in 1440 and partially at Cracow University in 1461. The manuscript with preaching materials BUWr I F 520 (including also sermons by Mikołaj of Kozłów), which contained sermons on St. Stanislaus, also belonged to Tempelfeld’s personal library. Interestingly, a great part of his personal library, including these two codices, were housed

<sup>197</sup> MS. BUWr I F 78, f. 456v-460v. “Excerptum sermonis de sancto Stanislao facti anno domini 1430.” The part 5 of the codex contained various sermons, including several sermons by Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach; see the appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 472v, at the end of the “notabile”: “Ista est dispositio sermonis memorati, quem frater Johannes Sculteti cavillabatur contra nacionem invehendo Bohemicam.”

<sup>199</sup> Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg was a professor of theology, and he held several ecclesiastical offices – a canonry of St. Florian in Cracow, a canonry and chanter’s office in Wrocław. For his biography and activity, see Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 55-57. His preacher’s office at the Church of the Virgin Mary is noted also in Wolny, “Kaznodziejstwo,” 303, fn. 118. For the Silesian stage of his life, see e.g. a study of Jan Drabina, who wrote several other studies dealing with Tempelfeld’s figure: “Wrocławska kapituła katedralna i jej stosunek do politycznych wydarzeń lat 1453-71” (Wrocław Cathedral Chapter and Its Part in Political Events of the Years 1453-71), *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 2 (1969): 183-204, esp. 185-6 on Tempelfeld’s preaching office.

<sup>200</sup> Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 57.

at the library of the Dominican convent in Wrocław: as many as 11 codices are preserved in the Wrocław University Library until today.<sup>201</sup>

The owner of the copy, Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg, was most probably interested primarily in the “Hussite aspect” of the sermon. His interest was not only academic; he became involved in the Hussite and Bohemian affairs himself. After his settlement in Wrocław he led an active political life and stood at the head of the opposition against the Bohemian party represented by George of Poděbrady, a counsellor and future Bohemian king. As the leading representative of the “preachers’ party” (a group of prelates and preachers) he campaigned especially against George of Poděbrady and was very influential in the city of Wrocław in the eyes of the sources.<sup>202</sup> Scultetus delivered his sermon around 25 years before these events, but the Bohemian question remained topical.

The Augustinian discussed the issue of the Bohemian people and heresy and the relation of Wrocław and of the Poles to them in a large part of the sermon. The preacher placed the problem of heresy spreading from Bohemia into the context of catastrophes and calamities and their spiritual meaning. The sermon was most probably meant for an educated clerical audience, given its content and style. For example, the main division (*divisio materie non thematis*) breaks the sermon into three main parts representing the causes of the Lord’s utterance through the calamity of that period (i.e. the Hussite movement): *causa finalis*, *causa efficiens*, and *causa formalis*.<sup>203</sup> The preacher did not mention St. Stanislaus during most of his sermon. However, when introducing the last part of the sermon (*conclusio*), the author explained that he was going to praise the saint in the final part “so that the co-patron of the church, St. Stanislaus, not be left out or excluded from the sermon (which has been announced for his praise).”<sup>204</sup> Thus, a relatively short final part related the *thema Loquitur*/ “He speaketh” [Jn 16,18, the full verse: “They said therefore: What is this that he saith, A little while? We know not what he speaketh”] with the figure of St. Stanislaus. Importantly, the preacher Johannes identifies St. Stanislaus as a co-patron of the church, in which he delivered his sermon.

<sup>201</sup> The codex I F 78 later belonged to Johannes Medici alias Patzker, a provost, canon and chanter from Wrocław; for the possession note, see *List of manuscripts*. For the personal library of Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg, which consisted mainly of books of theological character, see Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 55-61. For the attribution of the manuscripts, see Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 60 and for further references the *List of manuscripts*. For Tempelfeld’s manuscripts in the library of Wrocław Dominicans, see Alfred Świerk, “Fragmenty piętnastowiecznego katalogu biblioteki wrocławskich dominikanów” (Fragments of a Fifteenth-Century Catalogue of the Library of Wrocław Dominicans), *Śląski Kwartalnik “Sobótka”* 21 (1966), 545 and footnote 24

<sup>202</sup> His activities in Wrocław and the city’s controversy with the Bohemian King are described in Drabina, “Wrocławska kapituła,” 183-204.

<sup>203</sup> MS. BUWr I F 78, f. 462v.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 465v: “Sed ne expers huius sermonis sit atque exclusus istius ecclesie compatronus Sanctus Stanislaus, ad cuius extollenciam intimatus est [sermo – S.K.], et pro finali conclusione.”



Besides the sermon on St. Stanislaus, the manuscript contains an interesting detailed description of the sermon's copy, more precisely – of its external appearance, in a textual fragment entitled a *notabile* in another place in the manuscript book.<sup>205</sup> The fragment reveals more information concerning the circumstances of delivery and recording the sermon. The description informs the reader that the original version of the sermon, from which the scribe of the manuscript most probably copied the text, was an autograph of Friar Johannes Sculteti.<sup>206</sup> The autograph, which was six and a half folios long according to the description, could have been found in a separate booklet, which Johannes himself could use as a preparation for preaching, or he could have recorded the content of his own sermon after the delivery. The *notabile* actually described the external appearance of the original from which the present text was copied, i.e. the preacher's autograph: it consisted of paper sheets folded into four parts (*quaterni*). The writer of the fragment talked about the “disposition” of the sermon; the purpose of the description is puzzling.<sup>207</sup>

A group of sermons on St. Stanislaus is preserved in the manuscripts that belonged to the library of the convent of the Canons Regular in Żagań/Sagan in Silesia, now located in the Wrocław University Library.<sup>208</sup> The manuscript BUWr I Q 331 belonged first to the prepository in Nowogrod Bobrzański. Master Vincent from Żagań donated the manuscript BUWr I F 650 in his Last Will to the convent of Zielona Góra (Grunenberg) in 1448. The local canons were possibly authors of some of the anonymous sermons on St. Stanislaus. The canons of Żagań possessed two codices with sermons by Peregrinus (BUWr I Q 286 and I Q 335). A couple of other manuscripts (Cracow PAU/PAN Library MS. 1707 and MS. 1709) from the sample that I collected belonged to the library of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik founded in 1469 from the Corpus Christi convent in Kazimierz. These manuscripts, just like most of the codices from the conventual library, originated before the foundation of the convent. Nothing certain can be said about their place of origin.<sup>209</sup> The

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., f. 472r-v.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., f. 472r: “Sermo prefatus de sancto Stanislao, in originali quem manu propria scripsit actor eiusdem sermonis frater Johannes Sculteti, continet sex folia et medium cum novem rigis...”

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., f. 472v: “Sicque originalis dictus sermo scriptus per fratrem Johannem Sculteti manu eius propria per eumque collectus continet in universo quingentas et quinque rigas, illis XV rigas marginalibus prime medietatis primi folii computatis illis namque demptis essent tam quingente rige minus decem Folia vere in quibus dictus continetur sermo sunt papirea eius quantitatis **prout arcus papiri quatuor partitur in pecies...** Ista est dispositio sermonis memorati, quo frater Johannes Sculteti cavillabatur contra nacionem invehendo Bohemicam.”

<sup>208</sup> BUWr I F 561 [f. 226r-228r]; I Q 331; I F 605; I F 641; I F 650; I O 121; I Q 286 and I Q 335. For more references, see the *List of manuscripts*. See also Alfred Świerk, *Średniowieczna biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych św. Augustyna w Żaganiu* (The Medieval Library of the Convent of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in Żagań) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965).

<sup>209</sup> For the Kraśnik manuscripts and library, see Ewa Zielińska, “Biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku w drugiej połowie XV w.” (The Library of the Convent of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik in the second half of the fifteenth century), in *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski* (The Convent in the Culture of Medieval Poland), ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz and Marek Derwich (Opole: Wydawnictwo Św. Krzyża, 1995), 105-112, these MSS. mentioned on p. 109; and eadem, *Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku w latach 1469-1563* (Intellectual Culture of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik in the years 1469-1563) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002), pp. 73-115, 125-133; for these MSS., see p. 110, fn. 233, 114, 133. A collection by

library of the Canons Regular at Piasek in Wrocław possessed a miscellaneous manuscript with the collection *Exemplar salutis* by John-Jerome of Prague (including his sermon on St. Stanislaus, MS. BUWr I F 567) and a miscellaneous manuscript containing a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus (MS. BUWr IV Q 177).<sup>210</sup>

### 3.7 Sermon Manuscripts Abroad – A Testimony of Preaching on St. Stanislaus Abroad?

The provenance of most sermons on saints is usually tied to the saint's "native" region, to the centre of his cult. Sermons were delivered on St. Stanislaus also outside Cracow and Poland, which is attested by the provenance of some manuscripts and also by liturgical prescriptions in the respective areas, but Cracow was undoubtedly the most important centre of the cult with regard to preaching as well.

In many cases the location of the sermons on St. Stanislaus found in the manuscripts outside Poland does not mean that sermons on the Polish saint were preached in those places. Some sermons were originally written in another place (in Polish lands or somewhere where the cult existed) and arrived in the manuscripts later. Such was the case with a copy of the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Nicolaus of Kozłow (Sermon VIII) in the Balliol College in Oxford (MS. 165a). The Oxford copy was a specific case though, as the fragmented sermon was copied within a collection of conciliar sermons from the Council of Basel.<sup>211</sup> The manuscripts with sermons on St. Stanislaus, which are kept now in Uppsala, did not originate in Uppsala. They were of Bohemian or German provenance. They could have been copied by a Polish student of the university in Prague and arrived in Uppsala later.<sup>212</sup> The manuscript written by John Cantius got to the Vatican Library during his process of canonisation in the eighteenth century. I have mentioned that the cult of St. Stanislaus existed in the neighbouring countries at places. That is why some sermons on St. Stanislaus originated and spread in the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (the MSS. in Prague, Bratislava, Budapest). The contacts with Cracow and Polish lands through the students of the university played also a significant role in these cases. A sermon from the manuscript in the library

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Peregrinus from the first half of the fifteenth century (nowadays MS. of the Seminary Library in Lublin 14) belonged to the conventual library (*ibid.*, 128).

<sup>210</sup> For more information concerning the MSS., see the *List of manuscripts*. For the convent and their library, see the studies by Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, *Kanonicy regularni na Śląsku: życie konwentów w śląskich klasztorach kanoników regularnych w średniowieczu* (Canons Regular in Silesia: the Conventual Life in Silesian Convents of the Canons Regular in the Middle Ages) (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1999); and eadem, *A czyny ich były liczne i godne pamięci: konwent klasztoru kanoników regularnych NMP na Piasku we Wrocławiu do początku XVI wieku* (And Their Deeds Were Numerous and Memorable: the Convent of the Canons Regular of Blessed Virgin Mary at Piasek in Wrocław until the beginning of the Sixteenth Century) (Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2007).

<sup>211</sup> See also above in this chapter, section 3.6.

<sup>212</sup> See the *List of manuscripts* for more information concerning these manuscripts.

of Sankt Florian (Sermon XVIII) could have been composed in the monastery of the Canons Regular in Sankt Florian, where the liturgical feast of St. Stanislaus was observed, but the fate of the manuscript is not completely clear in this case.<sup>213</sup> The sermon was copied individually by a different scribe at the remaining pages of the codex after a sermon collection of the Dominican Martinus Polonus in the first half of the fourteenth century.

### 3.8 Sermons and Legends [Legends in Sermon Collections]

The relationship between the sermons on saints and hagiographical materials warrants consideration. The preaching *de sanctis* was far from being simply a description of lives and deeds of canonised saints from the pulpit. The preachers offered an interpretative reading of the saints' lives and figures on their feasts. However, they did not necessarily need to dwell much on the retelling of the hagiographical narrative in order to present a message suitable for their feasts. Actually, a number of sermons preached or meant for saints' feasts did not focus on hagiographic or biographic information on the saints. Some hardly mentioned the saint's name or else talked about him only in a very general manner, and preferred the repetition of doctrinal or moral truths to the faithful. One can find such sermons also in the dossier of sermons meant for the feast of St. Stanislaus. The amount of the hagiographical and biographical information that the preachers provided varied.<sup>214</sup>

The sermon was often followed by a recitation of the saint's legend. The popular preaching could even be reduced to the legend only.<sup>215</sup> The respective legends were meant to be read on the feasts of martyrdom and translation of St. Stanislaus.<sup>216</sup> The literary problem of how to use the hagiographical narrative in preaching could be resolved also in another way. Especially from the thirteenth century the preachers would include the narrative fragments within the structure of the *sermo modernus*. The preacher could and was perhaps expected to incorporate some episodes from the saint's life into the sermon's structure, most frequently in the form of *exempla*.<sup>217</sup> Peregrinus of

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<sup>213</sup> Sankt Florian MS XI. 262, f. 245v-246r. Dr Dagmara Wójcik brought my attention to this manuscript. She dealt with the MS. in her doctoral dissertation *Twórczość kaznodziejska dominikanina Marcina Polaka († 1278)* (The Preaching Work of Martinus Polonus, OP), Cracow 2006 (manuscript of her doctoral dissertation in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University - Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego), pp. 86-9; which is being revised and prepared for publication. She examined the original of the manuscript.

<sup>214</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 251. Uhlř's classification is also based into great extent on the varied degree of the employment of hagiographical information within the structure of sermons (see the previous page).

<sup>215</sup> Delcorno, "Agiografia e predicazione," 29-30. Bériou ("Saints et sainteté," 321) mentioned its importance especially with respect to the propagation of the cults of new saints in Italy.

<sup>216</sup> I discussed the uses of the legends of St. Stanislaus for preaching above. In this respect, the incipit of the *Vita minor - Beatus igitur Stanislaus* – in which the word 'igitur' implied a transition from a preceding fragment or text, could be a sign of such use. I discussed this possibility above in the chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>217</sup> Delcorno, "Agiografia e predicazione," 31-2. Delcorno showed some examples of the distribution of hagiographical passages (from the saint's life and miracles especially from the *Legenda aurea*) in the structure of the sermons on St. Peter the Martyr by James of Varazze and other preachers, Aldobrandino da Toscanella, Vincent Ferrer, *Sermones*

Opole did so in his sermon on St. Stanislaus.<sup>218</sup> Naturally, some sermons would include more narrative passages than others, depending on the preacher's style, intention and circumstances.

On the basis of texts extant in manuscripts, especially the model sermons, it is often difficult to determine to what extent preachers included hagiographic information in their speeches based on the respective models. They may not have delivered the sermon in the same form as it was put down in a model collection. However, even if the model sermon avoided using hagiographical *exempla*, the preacher could have supplemented them in the "live" sermon.

The hagiographical material was present in the preachers' manuscripts in various ways. David d'Avray reminded that in the late Middle Ages the preachers ideally utilised two textual aids: a model sermon and a saint's life.<sup>219</sup> They were to be used as complementary resources. Naturally, there were special collections of legends of saints, like *Legenda aurea*, which were conceived as preaching aids. Preachers could have such a collection at hand in another manuscript volume in their conventual or personal library. Preachers frequently referred to a *legenda* or *historia (passionis or translacionis)* for hagiographical information about St. Stanislaus.<sup>220</sup> Some sermons presupposed knowledge of the legend of St. Stanislaus, which explained the particulars that were only hinted at in the sermons.<sup>221</sup> Besides the *Legends* (for the martyrdom and for the translation, respectively), however, preachers used also other sources, such as the *Life of St. Stanislaus* (i.e. the *Vita maior*, which was not composed primarily as an aid for preachers),<sup>222</sup> or referred to the sources like *Chronica Polonorum*.<sup>223</sup> Preachers could often draw also on the oral or non-written tradition concerning the saint, especially in the cult centre. They did sometimes incorporate the information concerning the saint which had not appeared in the written dossier pertaining to the saint before.<sup>224</sup>

The appendix *List of Manuscripts* shows the ways in which various lives and legends were present in the sermon manuscripts, i.e. manuscript sermon collections. The legend or its shortened version (a short summary composed by the preacher himself) often appeared appended to the

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*Discipuli Herolti*, Leonardo da Udine (ibid., 34-41). Further examples in his "La *Legenda aurea* dallo scrittorio al pulpito," 79-101 (e.g. St. Lawrence pp. 80-1, St. George, p. 87ff.). This practice is mentioned by Ferzoco, "Sermon Collections on Saints," 287.

<sup>218</sup> I analysed the technique of Peregrinus in his sermon on St. Stanislaus in detail in the chapter on Peregrinus, esp. section 4.4. I will not speak about this technique in medieval sermons at this place, but some more examples will be presented in the following chapters (5.1-2), when talking about some particular topics.

<sup>219</sup> D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 71.

<sup>220</sup> For discussion and explanation of these terms and the origin of the Legend of St. Stanislaus (the Legend for martyrdom – *Vita minor*, the Legend for translation), see above in Chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>221</sup> Maggioni demonstrated that James of Varazze's sermons presupposed the knowledge of the saint's legend by the same author, on the example of *De sancto Sebastiano*; Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, "Chastity Models in the *Legenda Aurea* and in the *Sermones de Sanctis* of Jacobus de Voragine," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 52 (2008): 19-30, esp. 21-2.

<sup>222</sup> For example, an interesting formulation is found in the Sermon Material LXXVI in the *Passionale Stanislai de Skarbimiria*, MS. Czart 3413, f. 81, when describing the after-death miracles – that the body was reintegrated: "Aliaque plura mira et miracula circa hoc evenerunt, que **in maiori ipsius legenda siue vita cum miraculis** plenius sunt descripta, que causa brevitatis ibidem inquirrenda." [emphasis mine]

<sup>223</sup> See above, Chapter 1.1.4 in the Sermon XXIX in the MS. Kórnik 1122.

<sup>224</sup> I will point to some examples of new and particular motifs during the discussion of some particular themes in sermons below.

sermon on St. Stanislaus in the sermon collections *de sanctis*. The narrative appendix immediately followed the sermon on the saint's feast. There are a number of examples in which a sermon on St. Stanislaus in a sermon collection ends up with a reference to the legend or life of the saintly bishop (*ut patet in eius legenda* or *prout in historia legitur*) and the legend is copied underneath in the manuscript (the examples are listed in the appendix *List of Manuscripts*). These words could have equally introduced the reading of the legend after the sermon in real preaching.<sup>225</sup> An example when a preacher closed the sermon by introducing the legend narrative is found in the MS. BJ 1626 (Sermon XII). The mention of the exile of King Boleslaus and his death at the end of the sermon on St. Stanislaus is followed by a reference to "his legend, which I will tell briefly."<sup>226</sup> However, in this case the scribe did not copy the legend in the manuscript, and its preacher-utilizer would have had to turn to another volume in order to read it. A similar mention is found in a redaction of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon IB), where the preacher closed the introductory part with a promise: "as you will hear in his legend."<sup>227</sup> The scribe copied some fragments of the legend in the margins and a whole legend immediately after another sermon on St. Stanislaus in the same thematic booklet (f. 172r-173v). Interestingly, the second sermon on St. Stanislaus is concluded with almost word for word identical invitation to listen to his legend (f. 172r). The narrative concludes with references to the preacher's other volumes where he could find further hagiographical resources about the saint and with an *exemplum* about the translation of St. Stanislaus.<sup>228</sup>

The legend was sometimes included in the collection instead of a proper sermon, among mostly sermons in the liturgical order.<sup>229</sup> The authors and scribes of some preaching materials deemed it important to propose or put down not a structure of a sermon on St. Stanislaus but a supply of hagiographic or narrative material which pertained to the saint's figure. A special case is found in the dossier of materials on St. Stanislaus: a scribe put down a *materia predicabilis* based on the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole, i.e. the hagiographical material from the latter part of the sermon without the structural frame (Sermon Material IE – a redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus).<sup>230</sup>

<sup>225</sup> For the custom of the recitation of the legend after the sermon, see above in this section.

<sup>226</sup> MS. BJ 1626, f.153r: "totaque domus Boleslai perit ratione interempcionis iniuste beati Stanislai, prout melius patet in **ipsius legenda, quam breviter dicam**: Sanctus Stanislaus etc." See the entire text edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>227</sup> MS. Cracow, PAU Library 1707, f. 167r: "Sic quia eciam animam suam exemplo Domini sui Ihesu Cristi pro ovibus suis posuit. Pro qua eciam sibi celestem hereditatem acquiesivit, **ut audietis in eius legenda.**"

<sup>228</sup> For details, see the *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>229</sup> Nicole Bériou ("Saints et sainteté," 321) spoke about the *vitae* which were entitled as "sermons" in the manuscripts and Michel Zink, "La prédication en langue romane avant 1300" (Paris: Editions Honoré Champion, 1976), 352. Hagiographical narratives about St. Stanislaus are copied among sermons in sermon collections in the following manuscripts: BJ 4246 (for both feasts); BJ 1613; BJ 1550; BJ 1767 and 1768; Wrocław Chapter Library 697 (both feasts).

<sup>230</sup> Sermon Material IE in the Uppsala MS. in the appendix (a fragment of the sermon by Peregrinus).

The lives of St. Stanislaus were also being copied, abridged and reworked for pragmatic purposes connected with preaching in the fifteenth century. The *Vita minor*, i.e. the *Legend for the feast of martyrdom*, although it was shorter than the *Vita maior*, was still rather long; it had a long historical *excursus* with an overview of Polish history. That is why some authors may have sought something more convenient and “instant” and they further abridged, shortened and simplified the hagiographic narrative. In some sermon collections, the sermon was followed by a special abridged variant of the history of St. Stanislaus. John-Jerome of Prague included a short hagiographical narrative after his model sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon IX) in his collection (introduced with the sentence: *ut in historia passionis eius legitur*). Instead of several folios of the legend for the feast of martyrdom (e.g. six and a half folios in a fifteenth-century manuscript, BJ 1550), it comprised not much more than one page of cursive, which was certainly more handy for the users of this model collection. John-Jerome says in his prologue to the collection that he wrote on the gospels that are read for the saints’ feasts, concluding with the history of the saint’s life or his passion.<sup>231</sup> The same hagiographical fragment is appended to a different redaction of John-Jerome’s sermon with some modifications: the legend of Piotrawin is retold in more detail; some Polish words, the translations of some Latin terms are incorporated in the text.<sup>232</sup> When authors deliberately designed and published collections *de sanctis* which contained both structural models in the form of model sermons and hagiographical narratives in the form of abridged legends, they spared the preachers, especially itinerant ones, from having to carry around burdensome books, in the words of Pelbartus of Temesvar. The renowned Franciscan preacher (ca. 1435-1504) provided in his collection *de sanctis* for each saint a *sermo cum legenda* – the sermons on saints were supplemented with shortened legends, which he adapted himself, in the later fifteenth century.<sup>233</sup>

A part of the sermon by the theologian Nicolaus of Kozłow, which he delivered at the Council of Basel (Sermon VIII), was dedicated to the retelling of St. Stanislaus’ life, passion and the miracles which happened immediately after the martyrdom - in the manuscript, and perhaps also

<sup>231</sup> MS. Budapest University Library Cod. Lat. 50, f. 308r: “Sed et verbo tenens omnia ex integro scribam evangelia, que in celibribus sanctorum leguntur festivitatis, concludens historiace et de cuiuslibet sancti vita seu passionem, quatenus cum maiori devocione laudare possumus [corr. possimus] Dominum Deum in sanctis eis.” For more about John-Jerome, see above in this chapter.

<sup>232</sup> Sermon no. XIII, MS. Ossolineum 414, the legend on f. 245r-246v.

<sup>233</sup> He explained in the Prologue: “Legendas quoque abbreviatis inscripsi, quoad ea, quae videntur pulchriora, ut illis in promptu hic habitis, sarcinas placeat librorum evitare.” Accessible at the website *Domus sermonum compilatorium* of the electronic edition of the *Pomerius sermonum de sanctis* by Ildikó Bárczi and collaborators, <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=ph/ph000>, accessed on May 13, 2009. Edit Madas demonstrated his technique on the example of St. Benedict; Edit Madas, “Szent Benedek a középkori magyarországi predikáció- és legendairódalomban” (St. Benedict in Medieval Hungarian Preaching and Legend Literature), in *Mons Sacer, 996-1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve, vol. 3: Könyvkultúra a középkori Pannonhalmán*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátág, 1996), 375. Similarly, in the case of St. Ladislaus *Sermo primus cum legenda*, Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao*, ed. 148-163, descr. 41-3.

in reality.<sup>234</sup> The part of the sermon in the form of a *quaestio*, which I mentioned above, is summed up in three *conclusiones* and with the restatement of the *thema* “I am the good shepherd” and its application to St. Stanislaus. The division is followed by a narrative of the saint’s life, starting with the words: *Tractaturus igitur vitam...* The author of this original version of St. Stanislaus’ legend drew on the thirteenth-century lives, but also on liturgical sources (he quoted liturgical verses at several places) and on later tradition. For example, he mentioned some elements which appeared only in later sources, such as the details concerning the martyrdom – when Stanislaus was hit on his head first,<sup>235</sup> and the legend about the finger (with the episcopal ring!) of St. Stanislaus swallowed by a fish.<sup>236</sup> The fictitious connection of Stanislaus with Thomas Becket through their common studies in Paris is also a novelty.<sup>237</sup> The narrative part in the redaction of Kozłowski’s sermon recorded by Jan of Słupca differs from the saint’s life in the MS. BJ 1614 in the beginning and the end of the narrative; besides that the fictional passage concerning Stanislaus and Thomas Becket and the Piotrawin legend are missing.<sup>238</sup>

Some preachers excerpted fragments of the legend into their notebooks and sermonaries, for their personal practical purposes. An example of such activity is found in the notebook of John Cantius.<sup>239</sup> Another scribe put down fragments from the life and miracles of St. Stanislaus below an outline of a sermon for his translation feast (Sermon L) into the notebook with sermons by Paul of Zator. The scribe left several empty lines as a space for additions after each episode. The miracles are summarised in several sentences only.<sup>240</sup> Some other preachers jotted down exempla or fragments from the saint’s life in the margins of the manuscript around the text of the sermon.<sup>241</sup>

An interesting witness to the technique and practice of the use of saints’ legends for preaching is found in the MS. R I 154 of the Batthyaneum collection in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), Romania.<sup>242</sup> It contains a fifteenth-century collection of sermons and lives of saints (*Sermones cum vitis et legendis sanctorum*), which belonged to the medieval library of Levoča (present-day

<sup>234</sup> For Nicolaus of Kozłow and his sermon, see above in section 3.6. The hagiographical part of the text is found in the MS. BJ 1614, f. 78r-80r.

<sup>235</sup> I discuss this motif above in section 1.1.3. It seems to have first appeared in written sources in the *Vita Tradunt* and then its iconographical representation in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

<sup>236</sup> MS. BJ 1614, f. 79v-80r. I discuss this motif above Chapter 1.1.4, 1.1.5.

<sup>237</sup> MS. BJ 1614, f. 78r. This passage is quoted and discussed below in the Chapter 5.1.

<sup>238</sup> The *Register of Sermons*, no. VIII B, MS. BJ 1354, the narrative part on p. 185-6. The passage begins with the following words: “Vide vitam ipsius in legenda, quomodo in etate iuvenili scolasticis doctrinis inherebat...”

<sup>239</sup> See above in this chapter, 3.6.

<sup>240</sup> MS. Cracow Chapter Library 154, f. 352v (p. 705)-354r (p. 708). For a more detailed characteristic of the MS., see above in this chapter, section 3.6.

<sup>241</sup> For example, in the margins of the sermon by John-Jerome of Prague in the MS. Cracow, Pauline Archives at Skałka B 4; but also in other MSS. like MS. Cracow, Pauline Archives at Skałka B 21. The fragments of liturgical verses from the *historia rhythmica* appeared in the margins next to the sermons on St. Stanislaus in the MS. Cracow PAU Library 1707, MS. BJ Acc. 67/54.

<sup>242</sup> Robert Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manusciporum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae* (Szeged: Bibliotheca Universitatis Szegediensis, 1958), 81-82; Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 2, 192-3 (no. 337); Eva Selecká Mârza, *A Középkori Lőcsei Könyvtár* (Szeged, 1997), no. 83. Accessed at [mek.oszk.hu/03200/03244/03244.doc](http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03244/03244.doc) on March 12, 2009.

Slovakia). The manuscript was written by a student of the Cracow University and brought to Spiš. The scribe and owner of the codex delivered sermons on the basis of the materials that he had recorded – there are notes “*predicavi*” at several places in the manuscript – and such a note is found also after the legend of St. Stanislaus: “1457 *predicavi*.” The scribe introduced the legend as an “abbreviated *materia* and legend of St. Stanislaus”<sup>243</sup> and concluded with a short description:

I wrote [the text] down in an abbreviated and inarticulate style, which did not observe the fine style of the rhetorician who had composed the history, yet, I respected the truth in it.”<sup>244</sup>

The student recorded the legend of St. Stanislaus, which he had heard or read in Cracow. However, he was not interested in the literary and rhetorical subtleties of the *vita* or legend (which could have been a *Vita maior*, *Vita minor*, or another redaction of the life, or even a sermon) – his principal concern was to note down the main facts, which he could, and actually did, use in his preaching later. He made use of the *materia* that he had recorded, when he preached on the topic (maybe somewhere at Spiš) in 1457.

The borderline between the genres of lives and sermons, as they are preserved in some manuscripts in their written form, is not always clear. Some texts have features of both *vita* and *sermo*, they seem to be a mixed genre. One of them is found in the *Passionale de sanctis* (or *Passionale Stanislai de Skarbimiria cum optimis doctrinis popularibus*), dating to 1430 and ascribed by its scribe to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, who was, interestingly, a propagator of the *sola Scriptura* trend. A *historia cum themate*, as the genre is called by the author, on St. Stanislaus consists of two parts: the first part is an introduction (called the *thema*), the second part retells the saint’s life based on the well-known legend and possibly other available written sources or local tradition. This kind of work may have been meant for reading and preaching, if delivered in this form or serving as an aid for preachers.<sup>245</sup> A codex of the Franciscan Observant provenance from the late fifteenth century contains various materials for preaching under the titles like *Circa vitam...* Although the title promises an interesting hybrid genre, the material with a subtitle *Circa vitam sancti Stanislai Thema* is actually a standard *sermo modernus*. Still, the sermon is centred very much on the life of St. Stanislaus, as it employed a number of narrative passages from the saint’s legend, practically at every point of division and subdivision.<sup>246</sup> Master Stanislaus, a Franciscan Observant, compiled a life of Saint Stanislaus, which is called a *vita et sermo* in the manuscript (BJ

<sup>243</sup> “Sequitur abbreviata materia et legenda s. Stanislai...” (f. 171r), quoted after Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 2, 192.

<sup>244</sup> “Breviter enim et stilo confuso conscripsi non inspiciens subtilitatem rethoris, qui hanc historiam conscripsit, veritatem tamen conspexi in ea etc.” (f. 173r), quoted after Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 2, 192.

<sup>245</sup> For more on Stanislaus of Skarbimiria and his works, including the *Passionale*, see above in this chapter, section 3.6. This sermon material is found under no. LXXVI in the *Register of Sermon Texts*, MS. BCzart 3413, 69v-83r.

<sup>246</sup> The sermon is found under no. XXXIII in the *Register of Sermon Texts*, MS. BCzart 3793 II, p. 1002-8 and 1013-14.



4915), on the basis of the *Vita* by Długosz and divided it into twelve chapters around 1483.<sup>247</sup> The work, which is rather lengthy, is similar to a typical *sermo modernus* in that it is structured in points (similar to *distinctiones*). These new hagiographies and redactions of the older *vitae*, some reworked and others abridged, were often considered as insignificant, but they are still substantial testimonies of the cult in this later period. They were, undoubtedly, “functional derivatives,”<sup>248</sup> likely for the use of preaching.

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<sup>247</sup> The work (Sermon Material LXXVII) is preserved in several MSS. – BJ 4915 f. 350r-367r and BCzart 3793 II, p. 1449-1478; it has not been edited. See at the end of Chapter 1.1.5.

<sup>248</sup> The term of Uhlíř (*Literární prameny svatováclavského kultu*, 78-87), who listed also sermons among the derivatives of the basic hagiographical works.

## Chapter 4: The Sermon on St. Stanislaus of Cracow by Peregrinus of Opole and Its Reception

Perhaps the oldest, the most widely known and the most influential sermon on St. Stanislaus was the sermon attributed to Peregrinus of Opole (ca. 1260-1333).<sup>1</sup> Peregrinus was the best-known author of sermons coming from the Polish territory in the Middle Ages, thanks to the diffusion of Peregrinus' sermon collections throughout Europe. The Dominican is known for having composed two model sermon collections, *de tempore* and *de sanctis*, most probably at the turn of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Together with the sermon collections by Martinus Polonus, James of Varazze and Berthold of Ratisbone they belonged to the most successful Dominican model collections from the thirteenth century. The sermonaries of Peregrinus were still popular and widespread throughout the fifteenth century. The sermon on St. Stanislaus was included in the cycle *de sanctis*. This chapter will demonstrate its great significance within the preaching discourse on St. Stanislaus. Thanks to this position it also deserves a more thorough analysis. The text was a point of departure for innumerable preachers and it is well suited to be a point of departure and a reference point for the analysis of the corpus of sermons on St. Stanislaus of Cracow, because not all sermon texts can be scrutinised in equally exhaustive manner here.

First and foremost, one has to keep in mind that it was a model sermon, that is, a sermon meant to be used as a model, an aid for other preachers (even though it may have been composed and also preached in very particular circumstances in some form). As such, it was logically “neutralized” and deprived of any redundant or too particular details. Thus, success of a model sermon text depended on (in addition to the authority of its author) its versatility, its usefulness and easiness to be used, re-used and tailored for various audiences, places and times. What makes this model sermon so significant and valuable is its reception, that is, the fact that many other preachers found it useful for their own preaching on St. Stanislaus. The case study of the sermon on St. Stanislaus will serve as an example of late medieval reception of Peregrinus' model sermons.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> “In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris,” in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584-591 and in Polish translation in Peregryn z Opola, *Kazania «de tempore» i «de sanctis»*, ed. J. Wolny, transl. J. Mrukówna (Kraków–Opole: Papieska Akademia Teologiczna, Wydział Historii Kościoła – Opole, Uniwersytet Opolski, 2001) (hereafter Peregryn, *Kazania*), 463-468.

<sup>2</sup> Most recent information about Peregrinus and his preaching work together with a bibliography is found in the introduction to the edition: Antoni Podsiad, “In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota,” in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, LXXIII-CII. Other language versions of the same text in German and Polish: “Einleitung des Herausgebers,” XLI-LXXII; “Wstęp do edycji” (Introduction to the edition), VII-XXXIX. The references in this chapter are to the Latin version. Cf. also Jerzy Wolny, “Wstęp do przekładu,” (Introduction to translation) in Peregryn, *Kazania*, 25-33 (Polish original in brackets). Recently an outstanding monograph of the preaching work and culture of Peregrinus based on the edition came out, written by a distinguished sermon scholar Hervé Martin, *Pérégrin d’Opole. Un prédicateur dominicain à l’apogée de la chrétienté médiévale* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), including numerous fragments of the sermon translated into French.

<sup>3</sup> As Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz said: “still, we do not know what was their role in the preaching of the Dominicans and other orders.” “Stan i perspektywy badań nad dominikanami w Polsce (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska)” (The State and Perspectives of Research on the Dominicans in Poland – with Focus on Silesia), in *Dzieje dominikanów w*

indicators of reception are preserved manuscript copies, redactions of the sermon, and the traces of Peregrinus' model in sermons by other authors. From the viewpoint of methodology of studying model texts – the more manuscript copies and texts by other authors (however distanced from the original model – even the “maverick” copies) are used, the more can be found out about the way that the text functioned and was received.<sup>4</sup>

One of the indicators of reception, of course, is the diffusion of the text, i.e. the number of its manuscript copies. Out of the 86 codices (containing 80 various sermons and sermon materials about St. Stanislaus, altogether 129 positions – appearances of the sermons on St. Stanislaus) there are as many as 17 copies and four other redactions of Peregrinus' sermon.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it proved to have been the most frequently copied sermon on St. Stanislaus in the Middle Ages. It is to be said that those are certainly not all preserved copies, as many still remain to be discovered in inquiries in libraries and archives in the region of East Central Europe (especially those that do not have modern manuscript catalogues). Like the structure and contents of the collections, medieval scribes treated the sermon texts in various ways: they copied the sermon texts as thoroughly as possible, or deliberately introduced changes. As a result, a number of text variants can be found in the manuscripts: from scribes' mistakes, through small changes introduced by the copyists, to deep changes introduced deliberately and intentionally – depending on the needs of the users of the sermon models, often identical with the scribes.<sup>6</sup> A similar situation can be observed in the transmission and treatment of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus in the Late Middle Ages.

#### 4.1 Peregrinus of Opole and his collections

Even today Peregrinus stands out as the most renowned preacher and one of the most eminent Dominicans from medieval Polish history. Various scholars have praised his work since the

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*Polsce XIII-XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka* (The History of the Dominicans in Poland, From the Thirteenth to Eighteenth Century. Historiography and Historian's Method), ed. H. Gapski, J. Kłoczowski, J. A. Spież (Lublin 2006), 74. A similar statement can be broadened for the preaching beyond the orders.

<sup>4</sup> A great example of the study of diffusion and reception of particular model sermons is the work of d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, which also discusses methodological problems and rules of editing the model sermon and particular sermons from collections, 31-49, especially 32-33.

<sup>5</sup> Out of these copies of the sermon identified in medieval manuscript codices up to date, I know 14 texts from personal inspection – from manuscript, scan or microfilm copy. As for the other manuscripts, I know that they contain the Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus, but my information is limited to the general descriptions in the catalogues of manuscripts or in reference literature. Additional five copies, which I have not been able to examine, are located in Munich. See the *Register of Sermons* in the Appendix.

<sup>6</sup> d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 101-103; and idem, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 31-33, on the topic of standardized text and differences. The differences between a copy, a version and a redaction are discussed by Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 4-6: a redaction, unlike a copy, preserves identical structure and word substance with the original, but contains differences that influence the content of the sermon, i.e. in contrast to the scribes' mistakes or preferences.

late nineteenth century until today.<sup>7</sup> The first part of the chapter summarises the information about Peregrinus of Opole, his sermon collections and their manuscript tradition. It is based mainly on critical assessment of the secondary literature, most of which is accessible in Polish only; thus, it is intended to offer a survey of the state of scholarship and the necessary background for further discussion of Peregrinus' sermon.

His career and sermons are believed to be known the best, as scarce as the solid facts may be. A lot is still to be done in this field. Thus, the preacher and his work still remain enigmatic in many respects. His successful career in the Dominican Order gave him many various opportunities to preach in convents, cities, courts and elsewhere. Contemporary sources do not provide much information about his life.<sup>8</sup> Born probably in Silesian Opole, he entered the Dominican convent in nearby Ratibor (Racibórz), where he also got the basic education. Silesia was divided into four principalities during his lifetime. The contemporary customs suggest that he may have studied also abroad at one of the Dominican *studia generalia*, but more probably he got his education at the local conventual school in Ratibor.<sup>9</sup> Later he became the prior of the Dominican convent in Ratibor (1303 at the latest) and in Wrocław (1305 at the latest). There he could have delivered sermons at the Dominican church to fellow friars, as well as burghers and other inhabitants of the town, the *meliores* and the *mediocres urbis*.<sup>10</sup> His "true territory" was the town and the political and social universe, and not the nature, the country with the animals and plants.<sup>11</sup> He may also have preached at the local princely court in Ratibor, being a confessor of the princely family (1303). He was elected the provincial of the Polish Dominican Province for several times (1305-1312, 1322-27) and

<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive overview of the scholarship and bibliography is found in "In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXIII-LXXIX. The work of Peregrinus attracted the attention of literary scholars and ethnologists at the turn of the twentieth century – e.g. Aleksander Brückner (*Kazania średniowieczne* and *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej I: Kazania i pieśni*) – who browsed the sermons for exempla, curiosities, stories from everyday life and evidence of superstition, etc. In Polish historiography Jerzy Wolny [several studies, especially "Łaciński zbiór kazań Peregryna z Opola i ich związki z tzw. Kazaniami gnieźnieńskimi" (The Latin Collection of Sermons of Peregrinus of Opole and Their Relation with the "Gnesen Sermons"), in *Średniowiecze: Studia o kulturze I* (The Middle Ages: Studies about Culture 1), ed. J. Lewański (Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1961), 180-238] and Jerzy Kłoczowski, especially *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XIII-XIV w.* (Polish Dominicans in Silesia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1956), esp. 244-252; did the most to popularize the Dominican Peregrinus among scholars, who mostly repeat the same information about him in various overviews of medieval authors, Dominicans, and preaching. The modern edition that made the sermon collections widely accessible motivated some studies of the sermons by Peregrinus and his technique of composing sermons, especially the studies of Hervé Martin which are cited below.

<sup>8</sup> For the following biographical information, including the dates, I relied on the introduction to the edition ("In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXIII-LXXIX), if not stated otherwise. The most recent monograph by Martin drew on the factual information in the introduction to the edition, but craftily managed to place the preacher into a broader context of the preaching in Latin Christendom; Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, esp. 13-35 and passim. Despite the white places in his biography, Martin was able to tell a lot about the preacher. See also: Jerzy Wolny, "Peregryn z Opola," in PSB 25, 599; G. Meersseman, "Notice bio-bibliographique sur deux frères precheurs silésiens du XIVe s. nommés Peregrinus," AFP 19 (1949): 266-274.

<sup>9</sup> "In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXXV. Martin (*Pérégrin d'Opole*, 14) argued that his culture corresponded rather to the type of education provided by the local conventual school.

<sup>10</sup> The expression of Martin, "Un médiateur culturel," 137.

<sup>11</sup> This was the conclusion of the comprehensive analysis of the collections by Peregrinus by Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 28, 96.

was named a papal inquisitor for the dioceses of Wrocław and Cracow (there are no sources on his inquisitorial activity but it was perhaps aimed against heretical beguines and beguards in Silesia). In 1312 he resigned from his position of provincial at the general chapter in Carcassonne, returned to Silesia and, among other activities, supported the foundation of the Dominican nunnery in Ratibor. He resigned from his provincial office again in 1327 in Perpignan and the last record of him comes from 1333. Historians have often debated the ethnic origin of Peregrinus. It was a futile discussion. At Raciborz and Silesia, where he was an active preacher, he had a linguistically mixed public of Polish (Slavic) population and German burghers. Nowadays, it remains to say that he belongs “as much to Poland as to Germany, if the distinction is valid”<sup>12</sup> and that he was a “mediator between German and Slavic culture.”<sup>13</sup> He was active at the place of the linguistic crossing of Latin, Polish and German.<sup>14</sup>

Before proceeding to the analysis of his sermon on St. Stanislaus, two issues are to be addressed here briefly: firstly, the origin and nature of Peregrinus’ work; and secondly, the “afterlife” and reception, i. e. the manuscript tradition of the Dominican’s work. The two problems are interconnected and cannot be separated from each other. They both have to do with the function and genre of the preserved sermons attributed to the famous preacher. The preaching practice of Peregrinus was connected with his functions of prior, provincial, papal inquisitor, and confessor. As a result, he could deliver sermons in front of various audiences and at various places: to friars in convent or at a chapter assembly, in a cathedral in the presence of a bishop, in the princely court, to Dominican nuns, and to burghers or other listeners. Then, what exactly are the texts that got down to us in manuscripts? The Latin sermons were most probably compiled in order to be used and were used primarily as models for preaching.<sup>15</sup> Neither autographs, nor authorized copies were preserved, in so far as we know. His collections were not introduced by any prologues elucidating the author’s intentions. Neither the sermon manuscripts that got down to us, nor contemporary historical sources, give any explicit information about the origin of the sermons. Naturally, the sermons from Peregrinus’ collection must have been based on his actual preaching practice, and thus they could have been to a certain extent related to particular historical circumstances. Given the characteristic of model sermons, however, it is difficult to reconstruct the circumstances of the origin or of the first delivery of the sermons. Although we can speculate and try to pin down individual sermons to particular circumstances, audiences, places or periods of Peregrinus’ life; in fact the Dominican

<sup>12</sup> d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 154, footnote 1.

<sup>13</sup> Hervé Martin, “Un médiateur culturel au début du XIVe s.: le prédicateur polonais Pérégrin d’Opole,” in *Les échanges culturels au Moyen Age* (XXXIIe Congrès de la SHMESP, Université du Littoral Côte d’Opale, juin 2001) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), 146.

<sup>14</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d’Opole*, 15.

<sup>15</sup> “In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota,” LXXX-LXXXI. The sermons were not immediate *reportationes* of orally presented sermons. For a definition of the model sermon etc., see chapter *Sermons Overview*, section 3.1.

himself (had he really composed them) could have delivered sermons based on his structural and narrative models several times under various conditions that his rich and successful career offered him.<sup>16</sup>

Some issues could be clarified on the basis of manuscript tradition of collections and individual sermons attributed to Peregrinus. The most recent and comprehensive overview of studies of manuscript and printed tradition of Peregrinus' collections is found in the introduction to the edition of Tatarzyński, although not exhausting.<sup>17</sup> The date and the place of the composition, and the content of the collection (that is also the authenticity and the authorship of sermons contained in the collections), still stay somewhat problematic, and certain questions cannot be answered satisfactorily yet.

Peregrinus compiled his sermonaries, or their first versions, probably before his successful career as a provincial (i.e., before 1305), while he was a friar and prior in Ratibor and in Wrocław. The *terminus post quem* of the collections was believed to be 1297, on the basis of Peregrinus' use of life of St. Hedwig of Silesia and the inclusion of St. Wenceslas' feast into Dominican liturgy.<sup>18</sup> This chain of reasoning, however, has some weak points: firstly, it would have to be established whether these sermons on the two saints were integral parts of the original collections. Moreover, the two collections may need to be treated individually. The *terminus ante quem* is 1305 (or 1304 according to Wolny), i.e. the date of the scribe's finalisation of the collection *de sanctis* in Leipzig manuscript no. 442, perhaps the oldest preserved dated manuscript of Peregrinus' works.<sup>19</sup> Some parts of the texts were reworked later.<sup>20</sup> It is accepted that Peregrinus of Opole compiled his collections in Silesia or in Polish lands where he was active. However, the oldest preserved manuscripts of Peregrinus' *de sanctis* come from outside of Poland. The oldest manuscript, perhaps MS. Leipzig 442, comes from the Cistercian convent in Alzelle in Meisen (*de sanctis* finished in 1305). The manuscripts from Silesia and Poland are of later date only, in general (later fourteenth

<sup>16</sup> See below some possibilities for the sermon on St. Stanislaus. The sermons in the collections represent only a tip of the iceberg – Peregrinus must have preached several thousands sermons during his career. The collections are a sublimation of his preaching practice, “*précipité*” in Martin's words (*Pérégrin d'Opole*, 37).

<sup>17</sup> “In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota,” LXXX-LXXXV (“Wstęp do edycji,” in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, XIII-XXII).

<sup>18</sup> Wolny, “Łaciński zbiór,” 181, 223.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 223. Wolny's argumentation summarised in “In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota,” LXXX-LXXXI (in Polish XIII-XIV). For more details on this manuscript, see below and in the Appendix *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>20</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 38.

and mostly fifteenth century).<sup>21</sup> It does not necessarily mean that the collections were not composed in Silesia or Poland, but the issue is still to be clarified.<sup>22</sup>

The content of the collection *de sanctis* seems to vary a lot from manuscript to manuscript. Two lists of contents of the collections, by Schneyer (1974)<sup>23</sup> and Wolny (1969),<sup>24</sup> are no more than provisional attempts, although very useful. Already the editor of Peregrinus' Latin sermons noticed some deficiencies in the lists of sermons of the collection *de sanctis* put together by Wolny and Schneyer.<sup>25</sup> The list of Schneyer is much too long: 196 *de sanctis*, compared to 63 texts listed by Wolny. The different contents of the fifteenth-century *incunabula* printed in German towns made it even harder to establish the list of contents (especially in Schneyer's repertory).<sup>26</sup> Several historians have announced the need of revision of the list on the basis of a detailed methodical inquiry into the manuscript tradition.<sup>27</sup> Until the transmission of the collections in manuscripts, and in early prints, has been clarified, it is difficult to determine which texts were really composed by Peregrinus of Opole and which sermons made their way into the collections attributed to him later.<sup>28</sup> In general, sermon collections were rather fluid and open; new sermons could be added or omitted when the collection was copied. This was the way in which the sermon collections were transmitted in the Middle Ages, the criterion of utility proved to be much more significant than the authenticity and authorship of particular texts.<sup>29</sup> The collections of Peregrinus were no exception to this tradition.

Already during Peregrinus' lifetime, and even more so after his death, new texts could have been added to the collection and individual sermons could have been reworked and rewritten. If we

<sup>21</sup> The most recent list of MSS. with the collections attributed to Peregrinus kept in Polish libraries is found in Wielgus, *Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna bibliotyka polska*, 147. For the Hungarian Kingdom see also Edit Madas, "Handschriften und Inkunabeln des Peregrinus in Ungarn," in *Die Anfänge des Schrifttums in Oberschlesien bis zum Frühhumanismus*, ed. Gerhard Kosellek (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 169-182. See also Ch. 4.2 below.

<sup>22</sup> Wolny ("Łaciński zbiór kazań," 183, 187) supposed that the collections composed by Peregrinus of Opole had been known in dioceses of Wrocław and Cracow in Poland, and then had spread further abroad. He suggested two paths of dissemination: one through Wrocław, Zagań, Meisen to Saxony; the other one through Ratibor, Prague, Třeboň, Melk, Klosterneuburg, Vorau, St. Florian, Mondsee to Bavaria and Switzerland.

<sup>23</sup> Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, for *de tempore* 548-556, for *de sanctis* 557-574.

<sup>24</sup> *Polonica w średniowiecznych rękopisach bibliotek monachijskich* (The *polonica* in Medieval Manuscripts of the Libraries in Munich), ed. J. Wolny, M. Markowski, Z. Kuksewicz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), for *de tempore* 175-179, *de sanctis* 180-184.

<sup>25</sup> "In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXXI-LXXXII (Polish: XV-XVI), LXXXV (Polish: XXIX).

<sup>26</sup> For the list of *incunabula* prints, see "In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXXV. The sermon on St. Stanislaus did not make it into the *incunabula* of German towns.

<sup>27</sup> E. g. Mieczysław Markowski in a review of the edition published in *Acta Mediaevalia* 12 (1999), 462-6; and Dagmara Wójcik, "O badaniach nad kaznodziejstwem słów kilka (Głos w dyskusji nad stanem i perspektywami badań nad historią dominikanów w Polsce)" (A Few Words on Sermon Studies: A Contribution to the Discussion of the State and Perspectives of the Study of the Dominican History in Poland), in *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII-XVIII wiek.*, 128-130. As an example of well-researched manuscript tradition a similar model sermon collection can serve the work of Dagmara Wójcik, *Twórczość kaznodziejska dominikanina Marcina Polaka († 1278)* (The Preaching Work of Martinus Polonus, OP), Cracow 2006 (manuscript of her doctoral dissertation in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University - Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego).

<sup>28</sup> Hervé Martin (*Pérégrin d'Opole*) approached the *Sermones* (in the form they were edited by Tatarzyński) as the corpus of one author when analysing his style, technique and "cosmovision." This proved to be a largely fruitful approach. The deficiencies in the study of the manuscript transmission should not hinder the studies of the content, provided that its students are well aware of the possible "dangers."

<sup>29</sup> D. d'Avray spoke about the fluidity of model sermon collections in his *Preaching of the Friars*, 99-100.

suppose that there existed an “authentic” (or two authentic: *de tempore, de sanctis*) collection(s) put together by Peregrinus originally, then there is probably a number of sermons that had not originally belonged to the first collection, but were included later. Then there are two types of these “secondary” texts: those which were composed by Peregrinus, only after he gathered the first collection and those written by various other authors, but included in collections under Peregrinus’ title (or together with Peregrinus’ sermons). Markowski’s claim that the dating into the late thirteenth century (or 1297-1304) could be valid only for the base or minimum core of the sermon collection sounds plausible. He maintained that it seemed improbable that the collection would have been closed by then and that Peregrinus would not have written or added any more sermons in further 30 years of his lifetime.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the collection could have been open until the end of his life and was changing already during the life of Peregrinus. Notably, in the following period, the successful career of an inquisitor, provincial and supporter of Dominican nunneries probably broadened the geographical (esp. Cracow) and social scopes of Peregrinus’ preaching activity. The editors put forward a hypothesis explaining the high number of sermons included in the collection, pointing especially to the list of Schneyer (but not actually questioning the authenticity of authorship of those sermons): these sermons might have been preached or rather prepared for preaching by Peregrinus of Opole during several consecutive liturgical years; they noted the highest number of texts for one liturgical occasion for *de tempore* 6, for *de sanctis* 8, from which they conclude that the proposed list might be a conflation of his collections from 3-4 consecutive liturgical years.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the manuscripts preserved (i.e. multiple sermons for a liturgical occasion, and higher number of sermons within certain copies) would constitute the evidence of Peregrinus’ “revised editions”<sup>32</sup> or of his stages of preparation before the actual publication of his work.

Nevertheless, not all the sermons listed by Schneyer (nor those included in the modern edition) were actually composed by Peregrinus. The manuscript sermon collections did not bother with any copyright or acknowledgement of authorship. The sermons by Peregrinus could appear in other collections, as well as the sermons by other authors could appear under his title, when the copyists found it fitting or useful. Czech manuscript expert Uhlř, in keeping with the fluidity of sermon collections, called a group of sermons that became to be transmitted in the collections under the title “Peregrinus” in the course of the time but they were not composed by Peregrinus as “Peregrinian.”<sup>33</sup> As for the group of sermons by other authors than Peregrinus, the sermons listed

<sup>30</sup> The review of the edition by Mieczyslaw Markowski, in *Acta Mediaevalia* [Catholic University Lublin] 12 (1999), 462-466.

<sup>31</sup> “In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota,” LXXXII (Polish: XVI).

<sup>32</sup> Like it was the case with the model sermon collection of Martinus Polonus, OP; see the hypothesis of Dagmara Wójcik, *Twórczość kaznodziejska dominikanina Marcina Polaka*, 225-30.

<sup>33</sup> The expression in Czech language was “peregrinovská.” Z. Uhlř, *Vztahy českého a polského kazatelství ve středověku: prolegomena ve světle českých rukopisných fondů* (The Relations of the Czech and Polish Preaching in the



(esp. by Schneyer) appear in various medieval sermon collections under various preachers' names.<sup>34</sup> Already in the fourteenth century an anonymous author (compiler) had included around 30 sermons by Peregrinus into a collection called *Rustilogus de sanctis*.<sup>35</sup> Another debtor to Peregrinus seems to be Greculus' (or Piper) collection (it depends on its dating, again, whether he used Peregrinus or Peregrinus used him).<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Peregrinus himself took over some sermons from older models, in some cases reworking them: some texts from the edition of Peregrinus' sermon collections have been acknowledged as by Martinus Polonus, OP; his other models were Gerard of Mailly and William Peraldus.<sup>37</sup> Some sermons on saints could be attributed to James of Varazze as the principal author, because Peregrinus as an effective compiler utilized his sermons or their parts and reworked them.<sup>38</sup> Confusingly enough, the *incunabula* prints included a number of texts by other authors.<sup>39</sup> The authorship and the origin of the particular sermons are to be verified.

Before the manuscript tradition of Peregrinus' collections has been researched properly, it remains to conclude that it seems really plausible that Peregrinus put together his or rather some model sermonaries in Silesia in late thirteenth or the turn of the fourteenth century. Having explained above the background and the state of research in the manuscript transmission of Peregrinus' collections, it is impossible to reply convincingly to some of the crucial questions concerning the sermon on St. Stanislaus generally attributed to Peregrinus of Opole. Was it really composed by Peregrinus? Did it belong to the original collection prepared by him? What would be the dating of this particular sermon – at which point of his career did he put this model together? Was it composed and meant for the environment in Silesia, in Cracow, or elsewhere? Nevertheless,

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Middle Ages: the Prolegomena in the Light of the Czech Manuscript Funds), a paper delivered at the conference "Czechy – daleko czy blisko?" (Bohemia – Close or Far?) in Warsaw on January 24, 2005, accessible at the website <http://digit.nkp.cz/mns/index.htm>.

<sup>34</sup> Schneyer himself noted certain ambiguity of authorship, referring to some Peregrinus' sermons under titles *Bartholomaeus*, *Flores de tempore*, Greculus, Hieronymus de Salzburg, *Piper*, *Paratus*. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 574 ("vide etiam sermones huius auctoris apud...").

<sup>35</sup> Wielgus (*Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna bibliotyka polska*, 145) referring to an unspecified place in the studies by Wolny.

<sup>36</sup> Adolph Franz, *Drei deutsche Minoritenprediger aus dem XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), 149.

<sup>37</sup> Editor Tatarzyński ["In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," XCII (Polish: XXVIII)] noted the analogies between some sermons *de tempore* from the collection by Peregrinus and Martinus Polonus: the sermon *In Cena Domini* (no. 24 by Peregrinus acc. to Peregrinus, *Sermones*; and no. 80 by Martinus Polonus acc. to Wójcik); and sermons for *Dominica Prima* and *Tercia Post Pentecosten* (nos. 40, 42 by Peregrinus and nos. 120, 124 by Martinus Polonus). See also Dagmara Wójcik, *Twórczość kaznodziejska dominikanina Marcina Polaka*, 171-3; and speculating on the relation of the two collections, 185. She also added the parallel between Peregrinus' sermon on St. Mary Magdalen (no. 34), which is a combination of the sermons no. 248 and 250 by Martinus Polonus. She also ascribed the authorship of the sermon no. 24 in the edition of Peregrinus' sermons to Martinus Polonus, on the basis of her overview of the manuscripts of Martinus Polonus' collection. She thought that Peregrinus himself could have included the sermon in his collection. Other borrowings of Peregrinus were from Gerard of Mailly and Peraldus; identified by L.-J. Bataillon, "Chronique de doctrines médiévales. Étude et prédication," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 84 (2000), 364-5; accepted by Wójcik, "O badaniach nad kaznodziejstwem słów kilka," 130.

<sup>38</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 41. This method of medieval preachers will be demonstrated below on the example of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus.

<sup>39</sup> "In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXXV (Polish: XXII-XXIII).

the uncertainties do not shake its prominent position among the sermon texts dedicated to St. Stanislaus in the later Middle Ages.

#### 4.2 Manuscripts of the Sermon on St. Stanislaus

The oldest known copy of the sermon is probably in the manuscript Leipzig 442, in which the scribe noted the date of conclusion of the collection *de sanctis* in 1305.<sup>40</sup> The endnote (which is probably pointing to the date when the collection was finished rather than the date when the manuscript was copied) in the oldest known copy of the collection *de sanctis* ascribed to Peregrinus might point to the fact that the sermon on St. Stanislaus was included in the collection as early as 1305, already during the life of Peregrinus and already in a considerably early redaction of the Dominican's model collection. However, only a thorough palaeographical and codicological analysis of this manuscript and of other early manuscripts containing this sermon, and a detailed study of the manuscript transmission of the collection can bring precise answers and confirm or refute this supposition. Most of the copies date back to the fifteenth century only, except for several manuscripts from the second half of the fourteenth century. Czech glosses in the Prague copies most probably point to Bohemian provenance – Peregrinus' sermon was spread in the Czech territories as early as in the fourteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Not all manuscripts are of Dominican provenance (e.g. the Dominicans in Wrocław, Lviv). Some copies belonged to the libraries of the Regular Canons (e.g. Wrocław, Żagań, Kraśnik), or the Cistercians (Henryków, Meissen), or to the Franciscans (Ratibor). Some copies were put together and utilized by parish priests or vicars (e.g. the MS. Kórnik 53 by Jacob, the vicar of Psarskie).<sup>42</sup> The collection ascribed to the Dominican and his sermon on St. Stanislaus was widespread also beyond the Mendicant Orders.

The known copies testify that this sermon on St. Stanislaus was in most cases transmitted in manuscripts within Peregrinus' collection *de sanctis* (not identical contents in all codices), or rather a collection *de sanctis* ascribed to Peregrinus. In these cases the sermon was an integral part of the collection and was copied in the place corresponding to the liturgical order.<sup>43</sup> Several times it was included in miscellaneous sermonaries, together with sermons by other authors, or even with other

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<sup>40</sup> For the dating of the collection *de sanctis* in general on the basis of this manuscript, see above.

<sup>41</sup> The fourteenth-century copies: BUWr I Q 355 from the Cistercian Abbey of Henryków; Prague F 65/2 and F 71.

<sup>42</sup> See the Appendices *Register of Sermons* and *List of Manuscripts* for details.

<sup>43</sup> The placing of the sermon on St. Stanislaus in the *Appendix* to the edition together with other sermons on local and regular saints did not follow its position in the structure of the collection. It was a technical decision based on the selection of a base manuscript for its edition different from the bigger part of the *de sanctis* collection. The sermon on St. Stanislaus (and sermons on other local saints) was not included in many manuscripts *de sanctis*, especially in those of non-Polish provenance and in the *incunabula* ("In Peregrini de Opole Sermones Editoris Nota," LXXXII and LXXXV; Polish: XV, XXIII). This was one of the reasons why the sermon on St. Stanislaus was missing from the list of contents of the collection in Schneyer (not counting here a version of the text reworked for the feast of St. Boniface, which was included in the collection in one manuscript only, see below.).

sermons on St. Stanislaus side by side.<sup>44</sup> In the manuscript BJ 1617, the Peregrinus' collection *de sanctis* is found together with a life of St. Stanislaus.<sup>45</sup> The life (fragmented, truncated), however, was not copied in the neighbourhood of the sermon on St. Stanislaus; it was appended in a separate quire copied by a different scribe at the end of the codex. A fifteenth-century manuscript, nowadays in Gniezno, contains besides the Latin collection of sermons on saints by Peregrinus (70 sermons *de sanctis*, some copied twice), including a sermon on St. Stanislaus, ten sermons in Polish. Wolny demonstrated that these well-known "*Gniezno/Gnesen sermons*" were reworked versions of the sermons by Peregrinus.<sup>46</sup>

Most frequently the sermon was copied in a neat, professional-looking and quite well readable script, which could point to professional scribes. Some codices are written in a less readable cursive and contain more abbreviations (e.g. BUWr IV 177) – in those cases the sermon was probably copied for personal use. A number of manuscript books had a *quarto* format, which allowed the friars to use them as portable preaching aids. Nevertheless, the sermon sometimes appeared in the codices of a larger format, which would rather point to its use at a stable place – like a convent or perhaps a chapter or parish library.

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<sup>44</sup> E.g., a codex from Kórnik Library (Kórnik 53, f. 123v-125v) with an incomplete collection of Peregrinus, in which the scribe copied this sermon together with another sermon on Stanislaus by a different author (the preceding sermon, f. 122v-123v). Similarly, in the manuscript BUWr I F 527 within a collection contained in the codex, entitled *Peregrini Sermones de sanctis*, three sermons on St. Stanislaus are found: the sermon by "Peregrinus" (f. 249), and 2 sermons for the feast of translation of St. Stanislaus (f. 279v, f. 281).

<sup>45</sup> BJ 1617, the sermon on St. Stanislaus on f. 106v-108v.

<sup>46</sup> The Old Polish texts have been researched also from the linguistic point of view. For more on these texts and their connection with the Latin sermons by Peregrinus, see Wolny, "Łaciński zbiór," 180-238; *Kazania gnieźnienskie. Podobizna, transliteracja, transkrypcja* (Gniezno Sermons. Form, Transliteration, Transcription), ed. S. Vrtel-Wierczyński (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1953) – introduction V-XI, and the edition of the Polish glosses of the text on St. Stanislaus, 105-106.

### 4.3 The sermon on St. Stanislaus – the text/content<sup>47</sup>

The following part analyses the text of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus, both its content and its possible connotations. The methodology owes much to the study of model marriage sermons by d'Avray, a model study of model sermons and their reception (it is particularly acknowledged at some places). The sermon can be described in the form of "postill" – "a combination of paraphrase, commentary and analysis." I tried to "fill in the blanks" in order to show possible connotations of the concise model text.<sup>48</sup> The objective was to explain the sermon in several intersecting levels: the representation (its literary value, structure, imagery) and its possible relations and implications to reality, both in the times of Peregrinus and in the times when scribes copied it and used it for their preaching. The analysis illustrates Peregrinus' technique of composition: it attempts to trace his sources in the Western theological and pastoral literature and in local hagiography and show how he treated them creatively.

When saying that I will analyse the text, I mean a "standardised" text. The basis for the analysis was the edited text, but it was also compared with other copies in order to evaluate how much representative the edited text was and also in order to see the differences between copies that could contribute to the story of the sermon's reception. The Latin edition of the sermon on Saint Stanislaus was based on a fifteenth-century copy of Polish provenance (Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne 24) and collated with two other manuscripts only: Gdańsk, Biblioteka Miejska (PAN) 2016 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14570. "Casting the net a little wider" can help demonstrate differences resulting from scribes' mistakes, or those introduced deliberately and intentionally.<sup>49</sup> Their comparison can explain several unclear places in the edited text (unfortunately, this copy of St. Stanislaus' sermon was one of the worse ones), as well as shed light on the manuscript transmission of this particular sermon text.

#### 4.3.1 Thema and *divisio thematis*

The *thema* was a characteristic element of the medieval *sermo modernus*, and a decisive factor for the structure and content of the sermon.<sup>50</sup> Peregrinus chose a verse from the Epistle to Hebrews *Talis enim decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7,26] ("For it was fitting that we should have such a high priest, holy, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens")

<sup>47</sup> I quote from Peregrinus' sermon from the edited text, where possible, as this is the text generally accessible to the public. When necessary, I helped myself with quotations from manuscript copies in order to supplement or substitute the wording of the edited text.

<sup>48</sup> d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 50-51.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>50</sup> For more on the *thema* and its definitin, see Ch. 3.3.

as the *thema* of his sermon. It was probably taken from the epistle from the mass formulary for the common of a confessor, although we do not have any evidence so far that this particular epistle was used for the feast of St. Stanislaus.<sup>51</sup> The appropriateness of the topic implied in the verse was perhaps the reason why Peregrinus chose this *thema*. So far nothing indicates that Peregrinus would have drawn on another sermon on this *thema* as his model, although such a possibility cannot be ruled out. Hypothetically, Humbert of Romans' sermon scheme for the consecration of bishop could have inspired Peregrinus.<sup>52</sup> Statistically, the *thema* from the Epistle to the Hebrews proved not to have been used frequently for sermons. It was not employed for a wide range of liturgical contexts. Besides St. Stanislaus, some sermons on St. Gregory, St. Martin, the commune of a confessor (*sermo communis de uno confessore*) etc., used this verse as the *thema*.<sup>53</sup> Still, it was statistically one of the most frequent verses for sermons on Saint Stanislaus, mainly thanks to the widespread sermon and influence of Peregrinus. The choice of this *thema* already marked the emphasis that the author was to put on dignity and utility of the office of a "high priest", i.e. the bishop. A bishop was to be fruitful to the faithful with his moral qualities and sacramental powers in his life, and with his supernatural powers and intercession even after his death. Medieval commentators of this Biblical passage discussed issues like Old Testamental and New Testamental priesthood and Christ as the model of priest.<sup>54</sup>

On the basis of the *thema*, the sermon was divided into two main parts that were further developed: firstly, the dignity of Stanislaus' being a *pontifex* and secondly, his sanctity, which was proved by many miracles. However, in 13 out of 14 manuscripts that I have examined, the writer – perhaps Peregrinus himself – proposed a threefold division of the text at the beginning, although the

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 1.2 for the liturgy, and the section 3.4 for the *themata* of sermons. Neither Schenk nor Dziwisz named this passage among the epistles in the mass formularies and breviary offices for either feast of St. Stanislaus in their works *Kult liturgiczny*, 57, 68; and *Kult św. Stanisława*, 44, 49. Another epistle from the New Testament was used more frequently for St. Stanislaus: *Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus* (Heb 5, 1-6); Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 77. The only indication so far that the passage was read on the feast of St. Stanislaus could be a reference to the quotation from the Hebrews as the "today's epistle" in a sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon no. LXXV) in the MS. BUWr I F 520, f. 328r: "Et bene ergo de sancto hoc **epistola hodierna** Hebreis VII [26]: *Talis decebat...*"

<sup>52</sup> The model contained several elements that appeared in Peregrinus' sermon on Stanislaus, although the structure and the overall emphasis and distribution is different: it mentions the dignity of bishop, and also the sanctity as a prerequisite for the office (thus, in a different sense than Peregrinus), it also quotes the verse from the Hebrews 7,26, he mentions also the episcopal vestments, in symbolical meanings as weapons. "In solemnī consecracione episcopi," in *Sermones beati Umberti Burgundi* (Venetiis: Apud Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1603), 29. Peregrinus could have had his Order's former general's work at hand.

<sup>53</sup> J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vols. 1-11. A query in the indices (vol. 11, 368) produced the following results: 9 (8 not counting Peregrinus' sermon) sermons on this liturgical *thema* (passim in all volumes). These were the sermons e.g. by Bertholdus of Ratisbone – *De uno confessore*, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž – *De sancto Gregorio*, Peter Berengarii OP – *De sancto Martino*, Peter Roger – *De sancto Nicolao*. Another Schneyer's repertory – for the years 1350-1500 listed 6 sermons on the *thema*, out of which two were probably only copies of Peregrinus; sermon attributed to other authors, Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1350 bis 1500*. (Two more sermons on this *thema* are found for example in the MS. BJ 1357 – on St. Nicholas, p. 372-374; and on St. Gregory, p. 483-487. For more about a sermon on St. Stanislaus contained in this manuscript, see below.)

<sup>54</sup> For example, in *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 114, col. 656; Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, *Super Epistolas S. Pauli lectura*, vol. 2: *Super Epistolam ad Hebraeos lectura*, ed. R. Cai (8<sup>a</sup> ed.: Marietti, Taurini-Romae, 1953), 335-506.

sermon (its known copies) never developed the third part, which most probably caused problems for medieval copyists, and continues to puzzle present researchers.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the suggestion for the third part is not identical in all the cases where it appeared: in most manuscripts the third point is *felicitas sive mansio* (“eternal happiness,” or “happiness or a place in heaven”),<sup>56</sup> in one case it is *excellencia* (“excellence,” “superiority”).<sup>57</sup> For the time being, one can only speculate which variant of the *divisio thematis* (which of the two threefold variations or possibly a twofold division) was the original one and which were the corrupted, or adjusted, versions. The threefold division would be in general considered as a more complete and perfect one, in keeping with the rules of the *artes praedicandi*. Peregrinus frequently favoured the threefold division in sermons.<sup>58</sup> However, the structural inaccuracies are not peculiar to this model sermon.<sup>59</sup> The unclear structure of the sermon on St. Stanislaus is perhaps another evidence of Father Bataillon’s observation about Peregrinus’ style: “... un style très familier, qui ne s’embarasse guère de règles des *Artes praedicandi*. Les parties de ses sermons ne sont ni symétriques ni égales.”<sup>60</sup> The deficiencies in text organisation might be signs that Peregrinus prepared the sermon for “publication” in a model collection, or possibly for its first redaction, rather hastily.<sup>61</sup> Hypothetically, the sermon could be unfinished and he could have intervened in the *divisio thematis* himself later. The significance of the inaccuracy should not, however, be overrated; such an imprecision could be in any case corrected in a “live” sermon. I will return to the issue of the *divisio thematis* and discuss it from the viewpoint of content after the description and analysis of the content of the sermon.

<sup>55</sup> The twofold division in the beginning of the sermon (“in hiis verbis **duo** dicuntur”) only in the manuscript Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Ojców Dominikanów w Krakowie, MS. L XV 28, f. 114v; and also in the edition. I do not know if the editor preferred this division on the grounds of the collated manuscripts (Gdańsk, Biblioteka Miejska PAN 2016 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14570), which I have not examined. The base manuscript of the edition, MS. Gniezno 24, first indicated a threefold *divisio*, but it did not name the third point already in the beginning of the sermon: “In istis verbis **tria** dicuntur de sancto Stanislao. **Primo** eius dignitas, quia *pontifex* dicitur. **Secundo** sua sanctitas, cum dicitur: *innocens, sanctus, excelsior celis factus*...” (information and quote on the basis of a photograph of a manuscript folio in the edition Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 585-586). The omission of the third point in the statement of the *divisio thematis* could have been caused by the scribe’s will to correct the text, when he noticed that the sermon had not developed the third part of the *divisio*, although he was not meticulous enough as to correct the expression “tria” for “duo” in the introductory sentence.

<sup>56</sup> Referring implicitly to the biblical verses Jn 14,2; 14,23.

<sup>57</sup> MS. Prague F 65/2, f. 46r-48r.

<sup>58</sup> The structural division into three was standard according to the *artes praedicandi*; Bataillon, “Approaches,” 29. Martin (*Pérégrin d’Opole*, 169), remarking that threefold divisions had been typically present in the Western Middle Ages, noted that “En bon occidental, Pérégrin aime les développements ternaires.”

<sup>59</sup> Out of many, an example of a promised fourfold structure not fulfilled is found in a sermon on the *thema Nupcie facte sunt* by Pierre of Rheims, OP, edited and analysed by d’Avray, *Marriage Sermons*, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Chronique de doctrines médiévales. Étude et prédication,” *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 84 (2000), 364-5.

<sup>61</sup> Analogically, for example, d’Avray’s hypothesis in the case of the sermon by Pierre of Rheims, *Marriage Sermons*, 59.

## 4.3.2 Part 1 – dignitas

### 4.3.2.1 Bishop's dignity – an *exemplum* recounting a vision

The first part of the model text was devoted to the discussion of the bishop's dignity, building upon the word *pontifex* from the thematic verse: it consists of several subparts, which are interconnected and form a whole: an *exemplum* recounting an apparition of Stanislaus, the enumeration of episcopal vestments and their moral symbolic meaning, which flows continuously into a description of Stanislaus' martyrdom. These varied fragments are linked by a common purpose of describing the saint's episcopal dignity. It is a carefully and deliberately constructed argument.

At the outset the author urged the audience that they should ask the bishop to bless them because it belonged to his office.<sup>62</sup> It was immediately followed by an *exemplum* – an account of the saint's apparition from the *Vita maior* – in order to illustrate the case better to the audience.<sup>63</sup> Peregrinus retold the miracle freely and somewhat shortened and simplified the account for the uses of the model text. A man had a vision in which he saw the saint in episcopal garments, who was surrounded by people and blessed them.<sup>64</sup> According to the author they were those who would be saved thanks to him. The apparition urged the man to go to confession to the Dominican convent of the Holy Trinity and also to inform the confessor about the miracle so that he could tell it to the bishop and the others. The miracle was connected with the Dominican Church in Cracow. Manuscript copies did not question the role of the Dominicans and their Cracow church.<sup>65</sup> One can imagine how powerful the story must have been if it was recalled in a sermon preached in the Church of the Holy Trinity itself. The *exemplum* represented the Dominican friars as both confessors (to whom one should go) and the guardians of the cult of St. Stanislaus. Vincent of Kielcza had an important role in creating this ideological relation. Vincent was the confessor, who was sitting opposite the tomb of St. Hyacinth (Jacek) and hearing the confession,<sup>66</sup> and also the author of the miracle account that appeared in the *Vita maior* and served as a model for Peregrinus. It took place after 1257 only, as the account mentioned the tomb of St. Hyacinth. Thus, it belonged

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<sup>62</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584, lin. 9-10: "... quia hoc est ad officium pontificis, ut populum benedicat."

<sup>63</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584 and 587; lin. 8-21; *Vita maior*, 432-434.

<sup>64</sup> Manuscript copies differed on the location of the apparition, the provenance of the man: see below in the section 4.6 *Differences between Manuscript Copies of Peregrinus' Sermon*.

<sup>65</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584, verses 19-20: "vade ad fratres ad claustrum S. Trinitatis." All manuscripts equally mentioned the Holy Trinity Church and the Dominicans: "vade ad fratres de Sancta Trinitate" (most often in the copies) and in the manuscript BUWr I F 527, f. 249: "vade ad Craco, ad fratres predicatorum." The only exception was the manuscript Kórnik 53, f. 124, which related only: "vade."

<sup>66</sup> The account in the *Vita maior* (II, 54, 432-434), unlike Peregrinus' sermon, specified the place near the tomb of St. Hyacinth and the name of the confessor: "Tu autem in Cracoviam ad ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis vade et fratri Vincencio predicatori peccata tua confitere... Invenies autem eum iuxta ecclesiam ad columpnam contra fratris Iackonis sepulchrum sedentem et confessiones audientem."

to the group of post-canonisation depositions, which were not included in the *miracula* protocol for the uses of canonisation process, but appeared in the *Vita maior*. In many cases, such as in the case of this deposition, the Dominican author of the life knew the miracles from his own experience – he was an eye-witness or interviewed the witnesses.<sup>67</sup> The account chosen by Peregrinus strengthened the Dominican implications of the cult of St. Stanislaus, selecting a miracle explicitly connected with the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity in Cracow.

The *exemplum* maintained that the bishop's main role in the community was to bless his people and lead them to salvation through the sacraments, during his lifetime and even after his death. The author of the miracle account craftily connected the public scene of a procession with the private space of every Christian's confession and salvation. Thus, in some respects this *exemplum* illustrated how efficient the public devotional happenings, like those connected with the cult of the saintly bishop, e.g. processions, could be for individual conversion and salvation. Both the miracle depositions and after them the *Vita maior* included several similar accounts of apparition of St. Stanislaus in the *pontificalia*, mainly dating back into the period of the elevation of the saint's relics preceding the canonisation efforts.<sup>68</sup> The fact that the bishop-saint appeared customarily in his pontifical vestments, surrounded by other clerics, celebrating holy mass or blessing (or during other activity pertaining to clerics or bishops), served naturally as a clear identification of an unknown person appearing as a bishop. Thus, the insistence of Peregrinus' text on Stanislaus' being a bishop wearing pontifical vestments served as the natural and simple iconographical identification of the saint.<sup>69</sup>

In some manuscripts the account of the apparition is followed (immediately before the passage *Circa primum nota quod...*) by words *Rogemus etc.* ("Let us pray"), indicating an invitation to prayer. The *Rogemus* did not appear in the edited text.<sup>70</sup> These words usually ended a part of medieval sermon called a *prothema*.<sup>71</sup> They could signal an intention to include a certain equivalent of *prothema* into Peregrinus' sermon. At this point it is impossible to say if it was a part of the original sermon. In such case, the whole beginning fragment of the sermon describing the apparition

<sup>67</sup> For more about the miracle account, its dating and about the role of Vincent of Kielcza in the miracle accounts, see Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 68. The miracle collections of the *Miracula* and the *Vita maior* are described in Ch. 1.1.2.

<sup>68</sup> Several miracles in the *Vita maior* recounted that the persons had seen St. Stanislaus: Part II, no. 21, 389; no. 22, 389; Part III, no. 1, 393; no. 2, 394; no. 3, 395; no. 6, 398.

<sup>69</sup> Some visual representations of St. Stanislaus depicted him simply as a bishop in pontifical vestments, see Chapter 1.3.

<sup>70</sup> The word *Rogemus* appeared in the following manuscripts (sometimes in variations): BUWr I F 527, f. 249; BUWr I Q 280, f. 181v; BUWr IV Q 177, f. 170r ("Rogemus igitur Deo."); BJ 1617, f. 106v; Uppsala C 201, f. 197r; Praha F 71, f. 207r. In the manuscript Cracow PAU/PAN 1707 (f. 168r; Sermon IB) the urge is formulated in a more developed sentence: "Idcirco rogemus beatum Stanislaum episcopum, ut nobis prestat suam sanctam benedictionem, ut a gaudiis celorum numquam separabimur."

<sup>71</sup> For a definition of *prothema*, and its presence in the sermons on St. Stanislaus, see Ch. 3.3.



of St. Stanislaus would function as a prothematic part in the sermon's structure.<sup>72</sup> From the viewpoint of content it would be a rather untypical *prothema*, although possessing a formal characteristic of the *prothema* – an invitation to prayer during a sermon.

#### 4.3.2.2 *The bishop's dignity and virtues – vestimenta*

Building upon the motif of St. Stanislaus in *pontificalia* from the apparition account, Peregrinus further explicated that the dignity of episcopal office was demonstrated by his clothing (*circa primum nota, quod dignitas sancti Stanislai in eius ornatu apparet*). Before he enumerated the bishop's garments together with their symbolic, he summarized the bishop's duties. Importantly, here he distinguished the bishop's office from the priestly office. Peregrinus glorified the high esteem of the episcopal office (a *pontifex*) as a vicariate of Christ.<sup>73</sup> At the time when the sermon was composed, the term was used mainly and more extensively for the Pope as the expression of papal supremacy, but continued to be used for other clerics at places.<sup>74</sup> The bishop's dignity was shown also in his duty and prerogative to consecrate the chrism: *Magna enim dignitas est esse episcopum, qui habet chrisma consecrare, unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi*.<sup>75</sup> This passage in the edited text, however, looks incomplete, as it named only one out of several duties and prerogatives of bishop – the consecration of the chrism. It is more probable that the author originally named more duties. The manuscript used for the edition probably left out several words from the description of bishop's duties. The wording, reconstructed on the basis of other copies, mentioned also the consecration of priests, an important power of bishops, and the absolution of sins. It read as follows:

*Magna enim dignitas est esse episcopum qui habet **consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Christi, absolvere a peccatis, consecrare crisma, unde ununtur pueri et infirmi**.*<sup>76</sup>  
[the omitted passage is marked in bold].

<sup>72</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584 and 587; lin. 8-21.

<sup>73</sup> The expression *vicarius Christi* appears in all examined manuscripts: "in terris positus Christi vicarius fuit."

<sup>74</sup> The reference to bishops and priests (as well as sovereigns) is acknowledged already in patristic texts, then extensively for bishops in Carolingian era, transmitted later through Pseudo-Isidorian texts. Bernard of Clairvaux used the term referring to both the Pope and still continued to use it in its generic sense for bishops, abbots and simple priests; similarly by some decretists (sometimes even used against the supremacy of the Pope in argumentation). Innocent III still used the term in its generic sense, although limiting the vicariate of priests by expression "communiter in quibusdam." In the thirteenth century, some decretists still continued to refer to bishops ("quilibet episcopus est vicarius Christi"), while the theologians tended to reserve the term for the Pope. If referring to bishops and priests, they would introduce a limitation, e.g. Albert the Great used "vicarius Christi perfectus" for the Pope, or theologians of John XXII "immediatus vicarius Christi" compared to "alii prelati et episcopi... vice Christi mediante auctoritate Romani pontificis." Michele Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi: Storia del titolo papale* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1952), 75-6, 96, 107, 110, 118, 134, 193. See also *The New Cambridge Medieval History 4, c. 1024-c. 1198*, Part 1, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), chapter I.S. Robinson: "The Institutions of the Church, 1073-1216," 369-370, which draws on Maccarrone.

<sup>75</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587. The same version is also in the manuscript Kórník 53, f. 124.

<sup>76</sup> The fragment reconstructed on the basis of these manuscripts is marked in bold. The text is quoted after the manuscript Praha F 65/2, f. 46. All other manuscripts had the longer text: BUWr I F 527, f. 249; BUWr I Q 280, f.

During the transmission of the text in the branch of copies with wording *consecrare crisma* a scribe probably left out the fragment in between the two *consecrare* due to an eye-skip and loss of concentration. It was a usual description of bishop's prerogatives found in medieval texts of authors such as Durandus, but also Lombard, and so on. Interestingly, a group of the copies of the sermon on St. Stanislaus enumerated also the consecration of virgins (*consecrare virgines*) in the list.<sup>77</sup> It might have been added because the scribe meant to use the model for preaching to the nuns, or simply because he found it missing when compared with other texts with similar inventory. Similar but still richer enumeration of duties and prerogatives of episcopal office appeared also in Peregrinus' sermon on St. Nicholas, where he named, additionally to the consecrating of priests and chrism and the absolving from sins, also the consecrating of the virgins (i. e. the nuns) and the blessing of the people.<sup>78</sup> In the light of these texts we can add to the list of bishop's duties in this Peregrinus' sermon on Stanislaus also the blessing of the people, as the urge to ask the bishop for blessing because it was his office (*quia hoc est ad officium pontificis, ut populum benedicat*) appeared at the outset of the sermon before the apparition account.

Then Peregrinus turned to the enumeration of particular vestments and virtues connected with them (*ornatus etiam episcopi dignitatem eius exprimit per hoc...*). Each part of bishop's clothing symbolised Stanislaus' virtues. One of them was the *camisia* (linen shirt), which held in the clothing (*vestes*). In this way the linen cloth demonstrated Stanislaus' way of life: his fasting, keeping vigils, praying, and chastity. Then the humeral veil (*humerales*), which represented his desire for divine gifts. The alb, wide and long, symbolised his piety that was so broad that it extended over his whole diocese. At this point, Peregrinus named Stanislaus' deeds of mercy, signs of his active Christian life, the same as those in the *vitae*, even using the same words.<sup>79</sup> Then the belt (*cingulum*) encircled his chastity. The maniple (*manipulare*) on his hand symbolised his innocent hands, pure of any evil action. The stole represented his being temperate and disciplined in speech and action. Then the upper clothing – the chasuble, or ornate (*casula*) – the vestment worn when celebrating the Mass, with two shields (*clypei*) symbolised every Christian's fight for the Faith and every prelate's fight for justice and his Church.<sup>80</sup>

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181v; I Q 355, f. 121v; BJ 1617, f. 107; Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, Fond Metrop. Kap. F 71, f. 207, Uppsala C 201, f. 197, which, however, had the wording “*crisma consecrare*” – i. e. with reversed word order.

<sup>77</sup> BUWr I Q 286, I Q 335.

<sup>78</sup> “In festo sancti Nicolai confessoris,” in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 311: “... episcopus, cuius est officium: consecrare virgines et Sponso caelesti desponsare; consecrare chrisma, quo confirmatur parvuli et adulti; oleum, quo ununtur infirmi; consecrare sacerdotes, qui Corpus Christi conficiunt; **benedicere populum** et absolvere a peccatis.”

<sup>79</sup> “Omnes pauperes, viduas, orphanos, et leprosos, et alios in corde suo tamquam in libro scriptos habuit, quibus necessaria singulis annis ministrabat; mensa etiam communis erat eius omnibus hospitibus et clericis et viris religiosis.” Cf. *Vita maior*, 372.

<sup>80</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587. Here I paraphrase the text according to the edited text. However, there were modifications in the manuscript copies, on which I will pick up later when explaining this particular passage and its significance, see below.

Peregrinus stressed the virtues, that is, the internal qualities of a prelate (or a priest), rather than the outer signs of his office. The external appearance of the priestly garments served here only as a means to point at the inner characteristics and moral qualities of a good priest. In fact, the vestments that Peregrinus mentioned were not specific to bishop's attire; they rather belonged to a priest or a cleric in general. It is interesting that he did not name special insignia of episcopal dignity, such as mitre (*mitra*), ring (*anulus*), or crozier (*baculus*). For example, it would have been so fitting to mention the episcopal ring of St. Stanislaus, which brought about so many miracles.<sup>81</sup> Peregrinus was not very accurate in distinguishing the priestly and episcopal office and attributes in this text; at several places the two merged.

The sequence of enumeration of episcopal duties and then of particular episcopal vestments with their moral symbolism customarily appeared in liturgical works. The description of priestly and episcopal vestments in the same moral spirit had quite rich tradition in several types of medieval texts by the late thirteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Various clerical vestments were often assigned symbolical meanings, usually symbolising the moral virtues of their wearers.<sup>83</sup> Importantly, detailed and complicated descriptions of episcopal and priestly vestments and their symbolic are found (and Peregrinus could have found them) among others in Rabanus Maurus,<sup>84</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis,<sup>85</sup> in the *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* by Johannes Beleth (ca. 1160),<sup>86</sup> in the *Summa mitrale* by Sicard of Cremona (before 1195)<sup>87</sup> and in the *Rationale divinatorum officium* by William Durandus (before 1291).<sup>88</sup> They listed more types of vestments, differentiated between

<sup>81</sup> Before the relics were elevated and thus their power made accessible to the faithful, the ring was the medium by which miracles were accomplished: "Quare non attendis, quanta et qualia miracula fiunt per anulum suum? Si per ipsius anulum fiunt tanta, quanta fierent per ossa eius, si levarentur de terra." *Vita maior* III 4, 395-396 (cf. *Miracula*, Art. 35, 311). The ring appears quite often as a means of bringing about the miraculous deed. Usually the mechanism was: drink the water in which the ring was put – "aqua de anulo" – or have a cleric use the ring to consecrate the person – which usually only noblemen were granted. The miraculous power of the ring in general mentioned in paragraph *Item de anuli virtute* in the *Vita maior*, 390. Particular cases can be found in the *Miracula*, Art. 13, 296; Art. 15, 297; Art. 16, 298; Art. 17, 298; Art. 24, 303; Art. 27, 305-306; Art. 33, 310; Art. 39, 313; Art. 43, 316.

<sup>82</sup> One of the earliest authors to have assigned liturgical vestments with symbolical and mystical meanings is said to be Amalarius of Metz (Symphosius Amalarius) in his work *De officiis ecclesiasticis* [PL 105, col. 815]. For the development and overview of symbolism of priestly vestments, see the part "Symbolik, Farbe, und Segnung der liturgischen Gewänder" in the book by Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient. Nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), 701-727; for the development from Amalarius, see coll. 703-707.

<sup>83</sup> A different type of clothes' symbolism is found in a sermon by James of Varazze, where he compared the attributes of a *pontifex* to Christ's wounds. "De eodem [Dominica in Passione Domini] Sermo II," in Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. G. P. Maggioni (Firenze: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), 351, lin. 54-62.

<sup>84</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, PL 107, coll. 306-309.

<sup>85</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentarium*, PL 172, col. 763.

<sup>86</sup> Johannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. H. Douteil, CCCM 41A, chapters 32-33: *De officio altaris, De confessione sacerdotis ante missam*.

<sup>87</sup> Sicardus Cremonensis, *De Mitrali Seu Tractatus De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Summa*, "Liber Secundus De institutione, vestibus et habitu ministrorum ecclesiae," PL 213, coll. 57-90, especially ch.5-7 *De vestibus sanctis* coll. 72-84, and ch. 8 *De induendis ministris*, coll. 84-90.

<sup>88</sup> He mentioned altogether 15 vestments, 6 common to priests and bishops, 9 special episcopal garments. Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Book 3: *De indumentis seu Ornamentis Sacerdotum atque Pontificum et aliorum ministrorum*, ed. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140A, 176-181 and then a chapter devoted to each of

them and also between clerical orders more precisely, and supplied a whole catalogue of symbolical meanings, e.g. three virtues for one garment. The prayers in sacramentals and missals used while the priests dressed up for the mass employed analogical moralising symbolism.<sup>89</sup> The texts enumerated the elements of priestly dress in the order in which they would have been being put on, e.g. in the priest's preparation for a mass or during the ceremony of priestly or episcopal ordination. The formulations like *induitur* in Peregrinus' sermon (likewise in the liturgical texts that served as his inspiration) reminds of and implies the putting on of the respective garments.

The fourth book of widespread *Sentences* by Peter Lombard also included a trace of this kind of discussion.<sup>90</sup> Then, its numerous commentaries often expanded the discussion, e.g. Aquinas' *Commentary* listed pieces of clothing and their moral symbolism.<sup>91</sup> In general, Peregrinus' passage resembled the mentioned texts. The texts themselves are similar to each other. The list of vestments in Peregrinus' sermon resembled the most the one given by Durandus in one place of his *Rationale*. The difference is Peregrinus' *arta camisia* instead of Durandus' *sandalia*. Besides that, they differed in ascribing virtues to particular vestments. However, it is not fully possible to find an explicit source of this Peregrinus' distinction. Peregrinus did not copy any of his possible sources too closely and he was original in significant details in this sermon passage.

In the context of the symbolism of liturgical vestments it is important to mention the knightly metaphoric of priestly dress inspired by the sixth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.<sup>92</sup> Liturgists, like e.g. Honorius Augustodunensis, Johannes Belet, and after them Durandus and also Dominican Humbert of Romans,<sup>93</sup> compared the putting on of the liturgical clothes to putting on an armour, because a *pontifex: tanquam advocatus et pugil cum hoste pugnaturus antiquo vestibus sacris, quasi armis induitur*. In this symbolic exposition by Durandus,

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the vestments (hereafter Durandus, *Rationale*). In various places of the chapter Durandus gave different numbers of elements of priest's and bishop's attire: 6 (excluding *sandalia*) vestments common to priest and bishop, elsewhere he enumerated 9 exclusive episcopal garments (par. 18); in still another fragment he wrote that episcopal attire consisted of 8 elements, excluding gloves and shoes (par. 9). The eight elements more or less corresponded to common episcopal and priestly clothes.

<sup>89</sup> Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, 706-7 and passim in the overview of particular priestly and episcopal vestments on the pages 710-19 and 719-27, respectively.

<sup>90</sup> Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri IV*, Liber 4, dist. 24: "De ordinibus ecclesiasticis" (PL 192, col. 904) named only symbolic meaning of stole: priests "accipiunt stolam, quae utrumque tenet latus, quia debent esse muniti armis justitiae contra adversa et prospera..."

<sup>91</sup> Aquinas enumerated 9 episcopal insignia, additionally to those priestly ones. Thomae de Aquino, *Commentum in quartum librum Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, dist. 24, q. 3, art. 3, corpus, in *Opera Omnia*, v. 7/2 (Parmae: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1858).

<sup>92</sup> Eph 6,11-18: *Induite vos armaturam Dei etc.* Apostle Paul spoke about having on the breastplate of justice (*induti lorica m iustitiae*) and the shield of faith (*scutum fidei*) in the passage. This type of symbolism of priestly vestments is called by J. Braun "allegorical;" Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, 705-6. For more and broader meanings of this military symbolism, see Andreas Wang, *Der 'Miles Christianus' im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition. Ein Beitrag zur Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit* (Hamburg-Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1975).

<sup>93</sup> Humbert of Romans [*Sermones beati Umberti Burgundi* (Venetiis: Apud Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1603), 29] expanded on the moral symbolism of bishop's vestments and also on the knightly symbolism in his scheme of a sermon *In solemnī consecratione episcopi*.

the seventh garment, the chasuble, is to be worn as a shield – *casula quasi clypeo tegitur*.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Peregrinus used the same knightly imagery to explain the symbolical meaning of the chasuble, although being original to some extent as well:

*Deinde vero [episcopus – SK] casula induitur et facit ex ea duos clipeos: unum ante se et alium retro, per quos duplex signatur pugna, quam iuste debet et potest exercere quilibet Christianus: primus clipeus significat pugnam, qua pugnare debemus per fidem, sed secundus clipeus significat pugnam, qua debet quilibet praelatus pro iusticia et ecclesia sua pugnare. Et hanc habuit beatus Stanislaus contra regem Boleslaum, qui fuit tantus tyrannus...*<sup>95</sup>

Peregrinus' original contribution was the evocation of two shields, which is really what the ornate visually resembled; although it is rather inapplicable in practice – such double-sided military equipment would rather resemble an armour (*lorica*). In a manner similar to the shield, the priest would put on the chasuble, the upper clothing worn during the mass, only when he had all the other parts on. The “double-shielded” chasuble represented the twofold fight that the prelate should exercise: firstly, for the faith and secondly, for the justice and the Church.<sup>96</sup> The manuscript copies differed on the description of the two types of fight.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, the two causes that the prelate ought to labour for are reminiscent of the causes of martyrdom in medieval debates. The differentiation of the causes of martyrdom (including *pro fide, pro iusticia et ecclesia*), sometime a polemic issue, found echo in some later sermons on St. Stanislaus as well.<sup>98</sup> What seems to be an original contribution of Peregrinus in the field of the moral symbolism of priestly and episcopal vestments is that he applied it in such a rich form to a saint in a sermon. The earlier sources mentioned above utilized the symbolism in the context of priests and bishops in general – and in rather general hortatory manner (or exemplifying with Christ's virtues or passion). The Dominican

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<sup>94</sup> Durandus, *Rationale*, c. 1, par. 4. He also said: “Hec itaque armatura est premissa, septiplex vestis sacerdotalis, significativa septemplicis virtutis sacerdotis, et representativa vestium Christi, quibus indutus fuit tempore passionis, prout infra dicatur.” The analogy of the attributes of priest with instruments of Christ's passion and his wounds is also developed in the sermon by Voragine mentioned above – but this kind of symbolism did not appear in Peregrinus.

<sup>95</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587.

<sup>96</sup> The chasuble would have usually stood for the charity, which covered all the other virtues represented by other pieces, in the works of medieval liturgists. In the prayers for the putting on of the priestly vestments before the mass the chasuble had various significations: the justice and holiness of the priests; the Grace of the Holy Spirit; the breastplate of the faith and the helmet of the hope; the sweet and light yoke of Christ. In the mystical symbolism the liturgists interpreted the chasuble as Christ's clothes: the front part representing the Old Testament and the back half representing the New Testament, which together made up the unity of the Church. In the late Middle Ages, it signified most frequently Christ's purple garment at the Pilate's court. Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, 718-9. The interpretation of the chasuble as the mystical symbol of the purple garment connected with Christ's passion would thus here refer not only to the sacrifice that happens at the altar during the mass, but also to the sacrifice of St. Stanislaus in his martyrdom – which Peregrinus described here as the twofold fight.

<sup>97</sup> Most manuscript copies do not differentiate between those who are to fight the two types of struggle (i.e. every Christian and every prelate) – they inferred that both were actually required from a prelate. After all, it was logically a prelate who was to wear the ornate, not “every Christian” (not even one side of it). The wording of the edited text seems only as a secondary modification and not a more correct one; the base manuscript for the edition probably modified the original wording, implying that all Christians should fight for the faith. A copy that developed this motif even more will be mentioned below (Cracow PAN/PAU MS. 1707).

<sup>98</sup> See below Ch. 5.1.

preacher, however, exemplified each “vestimental” virtue with a quality or event from the saint’s *Life*. I have not traced such application for any other saint.

Peregrinus could have chosen the division with vestments, each representing a particular virtue, also for mnemonic reasons. One possibility was the “graphic” character of this part of the sermon – the virtues of Stanislaus could have been visualised with the help of an image of the bishop in pontifical vestments, possibly on an altarpiece panel or stained-glass window – to which the preacher could have pointed for the audience.<sup>99</sup> However, the division could have been even more useful for the clerics. Firstly, the preachers themselves could thus better recall what they had wanted to preach. Secondly, their clerical audience could thus more effectively recall the morale of the sermon they had listened to. They would have the exemplar of St. Stanislaus and his virtues in their memory whenever they would utter the prayers for dressing up before the mass or whenever they visualise the priestly attire. The metaphor with priestly attire would certainly be closer and more effective for the clerics.<sup>100</sup>

The mention of the two shields did not have solely interpretative significance, but it also created a smooth narrative transition between the two structural parts of the sermon: it immediately preceded and introduced the narrative of Stanislaus’ conflict with King Boleslaus and his martyrdom. This fact also demonstrates that the author carefully premeditated the structure of the model sermon.

#### 4.3.2.3 Description of the conflict and the martyrdom – bishop’s dignity in test

The conflict and the saint’s martyrdom also demonstrated the saint’s dignity. Here was the point to mention Stanislaus’ conflict with the king, who took away all provision from the poor and decapitated the nobles.<sup>101</sup> This passage describing King Boleslaus as a *tyrannus* seems to have been one of the typical traces of Peregrinus’ sermon on Stanislaus.<sup>102</sup> The account of the king’s rule was based on the information from several places of the *Vita maior*. While the word “tyrant” was used in the *Vita maior* in the description of the bishop’s murder and in the connotation *gladium*

<sup>99</sup> For the iconography and relations, see Ch. 1.3, referring to Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae*, 124-7.

<sup>100</sup> Zathay (“Nowe źródło,” 367-368), who edited a sermon which had taken over the pattern from Peregrinus (Sermon XXIX), maintained that the passage could have been used for educating lower clergy – but it is not clear if he meant for learning them what priests wore or to remind them of the virtues which they should have. Additionally, he compared the literary form of this passage resembled Slavic folk songs - carols, which similarly enumerated various parts of the lord’s, the housewife’s and girl’s dress. This is probably less relevant than the clear analogy with the ordination ceremony or dressing up before the mass.

<sup>101</sup> “...fuit tantus tyrannus, quod ubicumque transiebat in terra sua et stationem secundum modum polonicum faciebat, annonas pauperum, [prata – in some MSS.] et omnia quae habebant, violenter auferebat et [septa – in some MSS.] domus eorum destruebat et **saepes** comburebat, nobiles terrae sine causa decollabat. Canes plus quam homines diligebat et catulos nutriendo dedit mulieribus, pueros earum abiciendo.” Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587, lin. 51-57. Variant “septa” appeared in the copies BJ 1617, BUWr I Q 286, I Q 335, I F 527, Cracow PAN/PAU 1707. In these manuscripts, and also in BUWr I Q 280, the word “prata” was added.

<sup>102</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587, lin. 51ff. It is then also easily identifiable in other texts as a borrowing from Peregrinus, see below.

*tyrannidis*,<sup>103</sup> Peregrinus used the formulation in a new context, namely when concisely relating the king's treatment of his knights and subjects. His account of Boleslaus' rule was very succinct and Peregrinus made use of every word in order to capture as many king's *mala facinora* as possible. His account was a shortcut in a way. Already Banaszkiwicz analysed Peregrinus' fragment and also noticed that he somewhat changed the stylistic of his hagiographical model. In order to demonstrate that King Boleslaus was directed only by his will and caprice, he merged a series of various king's excesses into a logical whole and gave them a new meaning.<sup>104</sup> The gist of the passage was taken over from one place in the *vita*.<sup>105</sup>

| Peregrinus  | <i>Vita maior</i> (similar <i>Vita minor</i> )   |
|---|--|
| <p><i>Ubi cumque <u>transiebat</u> in terra sua et stacionem secundum modum polonicum <u>faciebat</u>,</i></p> <p><i>annonas <b>pauperum</b>, [prata] et omnia que habebant violenter <u>auferebat</u> et domus eorum <u>destruebat</u> et sepes <u>comburebat</u>,</i></p> <p><i><b>nobiles</b> terre sine causa [et iudicio] <u>decollabat</u>.</i></p> | <p><i>... inter alia <u>execrabile genus rapine</u>...</i></p> <p><i>Cum enim ad sua colloquia pertractanda consueverat convenire,</i></p> <p><i>prata et annonas hominum <u>depascebant</u>, septa domorum <u>comburebant</u>,</i></p> <p><i>quod ipse et sui primores et nunc ipsorum <u>sequaces dicunt</u> esse ius terre commune in preiudicium universalis iusticie.</i></p> |

Peregrinus emphasised that the king treated badly all his subjects, both the poor and the noblemen. This is presented perhaps as a dichotomy; the two are marked in bold in the text of Peregrinus in the table above [emphasis mine]. As compared to the fragments of the *Vita* that were his sources, the sermon has some possibly significant silences. In the *Vita* the knights and the king's retinue were present in the tyrannical actions of Boleslaus. They are perhaps the *execrabile genus rapine*, which is also implied by the plural used in the passage [marked by underscore]. In the sermon text they are not presented as accomplices of the king in his bad deeds, except for the *satellites* who were sent to take the bishop away from the church. It could be interpreted as an indication of Peregrinus' sympathy or support of the group of the nobility and the contemporary secular lords.<sup>106</sup> The

<sup>103</sup> *Vita maior*, 387 (after Master Vincent's *Chronica*) and 386, respectively. The word *tyrannus* appeared also in the liturgy – in the breviary formulary prose (*historia rhythmica*), see Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 92 and 95.

<sup>104</sup> Banaszkiwicz, "Czarna i biała legenda," esp. 353-369.

<sup>105</sup> *Vita maior*, 371: "Abhominabatur quippe vir iustus inter alia execrabile genus rapine. Cum enim ad sua colloquia pertractanda consueverant convenire, **prata et annonas hominum depascebant, septa domorum comburebant**, quod ipse et sui primores et nunc ipsorum sequaces dicunt esse ius terre commune in preiudicium universalis iusticie."

<sup>106</sup> Uhlř maintained that Peregrinus' sermon on St. Wenceslas promoted a new type of legitimisation – the legitimisation of the nobility as a group (*nobiles et divites*), as opposed to his earlier legends and lives, which insisted on the dynastic or state aspects of the cult; Uhlř, *Prameny*, 22.

noblemen are presented rather as victims, who were unlawfully punished *sine causa (et iudicio)*.<sup>107</sup> All the blame is directed towards the historical figure of Boleslaus II, the murderer of the saintly bishop (marked by the use of the singular, underlined in the citation), which could be possibly reinterpreted to a contemporary Boleslaus-like figure. The motif of the execution of the nobles was probably taken from the description of his punishment of the noblemen who left the king's troops in order to discipline their unfaithful wives in Poland, as well as the following lines were (the story which was first described by Master Vincent in his *Chronica Polonorum*). Although one has to be careful about overrating the detailed verbal evidence in model sermons because they could easily have been altered, these changes may have been of significance; especially when one takes into consideration that the text by Peregrinus often served not only as a structural model for preaching, but also as a source of hagiographical information, as some later texts testify (as will be demonstrated below).

Another interesting passage, *canes plus quam homines diligebat*, here in a seemingly “innocent” context referring to the cruel punishment of the noble women (*et catulos nutriendo dedit mulieribus, pueros earum abiciendo*), based on another place of the *Vita*.<sup>108</sup> The same verbal formulation is found in the *Vita maior*, although in a different context, in the account of the legendary rejection of granting a crown to the Poles by the Pope.<sup>109</sup> Already Peregrinus could have connected several motifs and layers here. This motif of the king's fondness of dogs got different connotations later. This development is not documented in the analysed copies of the sermon, but it is present in some later sermons, which were built on the motif taken over from the model of Peregrinus.<sup>110</sup>

Peregrinus described the king as a tyrant because of his general treatment of his subjects, both the poor and the noblemen, not explicitly because of his behaviour towards St. Stanislaus. When the king oppressed his subjects, in general and specifically the noblemen and the poor, the bishop stood on their side and fought *pro iusticia*. When the king and some knights conflicted with the bishop and the Church, Stanislaus battled *pro ecclesia*. His twofold fight was represented by the shields of the ornate described above. Stanislaus admonished King Boleslaus and showed his

<sup>107</sup> Some manuscript copies add “et iudicio,” implying perhaps that (in their contemporary period, maybe in the fifteenth century?) a cause was not sufficient for the king's execution of a nobleman, but a formal judgement was needed.

<sup>108</sup> See also chapter 1.1.2. The dependance of this respective passage on the *Vita maior* was not noted in the sermon edition apparatus.

<sup>109</sup> *Vita maior*, II/27, 393: “hec, inquit, gens... **magis diligit canes quam homines.**” The same formulation is found in the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*: “generacio... [delectabitur in] **plus canes quam homines...** also plus iniquitatem quam iusticiam, ... plus tyrannidem quam caritatem;” *Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*, 31-32. For the relation of the *Chronicle* and the *Life* and the legend about the crown, see Ch. 1.1.2, and fn. 105.

<sup>110</sup> Zathay (“Nowe źródło, 374-375) believed that Peregrinus had for this passage the same unidentified source as the authors of the sermon he edited (Sermon no. XXIX in the MS. Kórnik 1122) and of another one (Sermon no. XI in the MS. Kórnik 53), an intermediary transmitter of the information from the *Vita*. I am rather inclined to the hypothesis that Peregrinus was the source of information for these other sermon texts mentioned, more below.



episcopal dignity in his martyrdom as well. The description of Stanislaus' martyrdom was also taken from the *Vita maior* (the *Vita minor* is very close too, depending on the *Vita maior* probably).<sup>111</sup>

King Boleslaus' behaviour exemplified unlawful power of a monarch, or a secular dignitary, which could and should have been opposed by the Church representatives. Undoubtedly, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century there were several situations when the Church dignitaries clashed with the secular power in Polish countries.<sup>112</sup> Peregrinus did most probably remember the situation in Wrocław in the 1280s. The disagreement of Thomas II, Bishop of Wrocław, with Henry IV, Prince of Wrocław, lasted from 1282 till 1288.<sup>113</sup> The argument was a complex of "legal, economic and ideological (and even national/ethnic) aspects," which started in the early 1280s after Prince Henry had taken the alms, which were collected for the warfare against the Tartars and deposited in churches of Wrocław, before a consent of Bishop Thomas. The dispute went so far that in 1284 the bishop excommunicated the duke; this was followed by the bishop's exile (from 1285 in Ratibor!) and the duke's repressions against the bishop's supporters in Wrocław. Peregrinus must have remembered the long and retaining disruption of relationships between the regional secular and spiritual powers, although he probably compiled his model collection some 10-15 years later than the dispute between Bishop Thomas and Prince Henry. Moreover, Bishop Thomas found exile at the court of the duke of Ratibor. Peregrinus was connected with the Dominican convents in Wrocław and Ratibor.<sup>114</sup> During the conflict the Dominicans got engaged in the turbulent events on the side of the bishop, although they were reluctant to take a position against the duke at the outset.<sup>115</sup> From 1284, the Dominicans of Wrocław belonged to the zealest supporters of Bishop

<sup>111</sup> *Vita maior*, 387; *Vita minor*, 281.

<sup>112</sup> A series of conflicts between bishops and dukes over jurisdiction, revenues, and tithes occurred already before the middle of the thirteenth century. For the conflicts especially in Silesia, together with a wider context, see Piotr Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, ca. 1100-1250* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1993); and idem, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland* (New York-London: Holmes and Meier, 1992). The story of Piotrawin, which will be treated below, is also a reminiscence of this situation.

<sup>113</sup> More information on the conflict can be found in the book by Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, especially 181-185. The main sources of information about the conflict were the letters of Bishop Thomas of Wrocław to various persons in Poland and abroad. An account of the conflict is also found in the book by Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem. Biskup krakowski Jan zwany Muskatą* (Bloody Wolf with Crozier. Jan Muskata, Bishop of Cracow) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2001), 30 ff.; and J. Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1968), 46.

<sup>114</sup> According to fifteenth-century sources, "frater Ratiboriensis" (where he entered the Order) and "prior Wratislaviensis" (without any precise dates, but before 1305, when he became the provincial for the first time); see Meersseman, "Notice," 266-268; Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, "Konwent w Opolu na tle działalności dominikanów śląskich", in *Dominikanie Gdańsk – Polska – Europa. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej ... z okazji 775-lecia powstania klasztoru św. Mikołaja w Gdańsku (9-10 maja 2002)* (Dominicans: Gdańsk – Poland – Europe. Collected volume from the international conference on the occasion of the 775th anniversary of the foundation of the convent of St. Nicholas in Gdańsk, May 9-10, 2002), ed. Dariusz A. Dekanski, Andrzej Gołębniak and Marek Grubka (Gdańsk-Pelplin: Bernardinum, 2003), 127.

<sup>115</sup> Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, 182-183.

Thomas,<sup>116</sup> and they were forced to leave the Duchy of Wrocław a year later and stayed in exile till 1287.<sup>117</sup> The duke's repressions against the supporters of the bishop and of the Dominicans, as described in the correspondence of Bishop Thomas, resemble the unlawful sovereign from Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus: Duke Henry allegedly discouraged people from frequenting the Dominican church and from helping the friars *sub pena vite et bonorum omnium*, and even had one woman burned for not obeying his threats.<sup>118</sup> As Wolny noted, Peregrinus could have preached on St. Thomas Becket in Ratibor castle chapel in front of the princely court in the 1290s, when the memory of the conflict of Thomas II, Bishop of Wrocław with Henry IV, the Prince of Wrocław, was still fresh; their disagreement lasted from 1282 till 1288.<sup>119</sup> The analogy of ideas between the two sermons (emphasis on the dignity of a bishop and a priest, bishop's martyrdom as a result of the conflict with secular tyrant) could mean that Peregrinus had analogical historical circumstances in mind when composing the sermon on St. Stanislaus. Thus, Peregrinus would have sought to emphasise episcopal dignity above the secular authority.<sup>120</sup>

The situation when Peregrinus preached actively did not lack conflicts between the representatives of secular and ecclesiastical powers either (similarly the later period when preachers could also pick up on this topic). For example, Pawel of Przemankowo, Bishop of Cracow with Duke Leszek the Black. In the 1290s Jan Muskata, Bishop of Cracow, opposed Wladislaus Łokietek, although this conflict was perceived and represented in historical sources in a different way (the Dominicans in Cracow and in Silesia supported the illfamed bishop).<sup>121</sup> In the fifteenth century some preachers also found it important to allude to the conflicts between the secular and ecclesiastical powers.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Bishop Thomas praised them several times in his letter, e.g., in his letter to the provincial, when he encouraged the Dominican friars to hold on because "melius est [pro] veritate pati supplicium quam pro adulacione beneficium reportare." Quoted after Kłoczowski from *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, 183.

<sup>117</sup> For the role of the convent in Opole, where the expelled friars were possible accepted, and the mediation of the Duke of Opole, see Pobóg-Lenartowicz, "Konwent w Opolu," 122-124.

<sup>118</sup> Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy*, 184, quoted the correspondence.

<sup>119</sup> Wolny, "Peregryn," 28-29. The foundation of St. Thomas' collegiate church in Ratibor is also connected with these events, cf. note 23. Wolny saw the allusion to the conflict in the call for return of clerics from exile at the beginning of the sermon. St. Thomas himself spent many years in exile in the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny and at Sens. Peregrinus explicitly claimed the supremacy of spiritual power over secular power: "He had a power higher than all the princes and kings of this world." See Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 344: "**Maioris igitur potestatis fuit quam omnes principes vel reges huius mundi**, qui praeponuntur super corpus et non super animam, sed sacerdotes utrumque, quia "quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, etc. [Mt 16,19]" (emphasis mine). Bishop Thomas himself also left Wrocław in 1285 and found exile at Prince Mieszko's court in Ratibor and also in Cracow.

<sup>120</sup> I discuss this possibility in a paper: "Preaching on Martyr Bishops in the Later Middle Ages: Saint Stanislaus of Kraków and Saint Thomas Becket," in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania. Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795*, ed. Richard Unger and Jakub Basista (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 67-85.

<sup>121</sup> Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem*, 149-152. Hypothetically, Peregrinus could have wanted to make the same point as in the context of the conflict of Bishop Thomas with Prince Henry. Although, it would have been a paradox to hold Muskata's side in a sermon on St. Stanislaus, as Muskata was by no means a fervent devotee of the saintly bishop, given his political connections, and the cult of St. Stanislaus decreased under his episcopate at the expense of others.

<sup>122</sup> More will be discussed in later chapters (Ch. 5.1).

### 4.3.3 Part 2 – Sanctitas

Peregrinus divided the second section of the sermon into several parts, enumerating various phenomena that tested and demonstrated the bishop's sanctity: God, heaven, the earth, water, fire, death and various diseases. For each of these phenomena, Peregrinus included an *exemplum* – a miracle account from the *Vita maior* of Stanislaus.<sup>123</sup> Although the basic division – the enumeration remained the same, manuscript copies differed slightly. The *terra* (earth) was omitted in the introductory division list in some manuscripts.<sup>124</sup> It was actually not developed on its own in the text, it was rather merged with other phenomena. Alternatively, in some copies the label *terra* substituted the title “death” for the *exemplum* about Piotrawin, as explained below. Some copies of the sermon on St. Stanislaus ended abruptly earlier from unclear reasons – either due to a material damage of the scribe's model or due to a deliberate intervention of the scribe.<sup>125</sup>

#### *Deus, Celum* [*Vita maior* II/20, 388]

These fragments described the events that happened immediately after the death of the bishop: the miraculous restoration of his body cut to pieces, the eagles protecting the parts of the body, and the light radiating from the saintly body still ten years after the burial. The narrative on these first two points was based on the passage of the *Vita maior* that immediately followed the description of St. Stanislaus' martyrdom. Peregrinus included the events in the same continuous sequence in his sermon. The light radiating from the tomb and birds guarding the dead body as evidence of the martyr's sanctity were widespread hagiographical *topoi*.<sup>126</sup> In order to place the saintly bishop even more strongly into this tradition, the author of the sermon supplemented the miraculous demonstrations taken over from the *vita* with biblical quotations and in the case of the emanating light briefly evoked an analogy with the *exemplum* about the head of St. Paul.<sup>127</sup> Peregrinus did not expand on the analogy between the restoration of the saint's body and the renovation of the Polish Kingdom, which was an important connotation of this miracle for those who knew the *Vita*.<sup>128</sup> It

<sup>123</sup> “Quod autem fuit sanctus, hoc probat ipse Deus, caelum, terra, aqua, ignis, mors et omnis infirmitas, quam ipse curavit.” Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 588.

<sup>124</sup> MSS. BUWr I Q 355, f. 121-123v; BJ 1617, f. 107v, Prague F 71, f. 207; Prague F 65/2; BUWr I F 527; Cracow PAU/PAN 1707.

<sup>125</sup> The manuscript BUWr I F 527 (f. 249) ended with the point “death” (*mors*), i. e. the miracle of resurrection of knight Peter, and it lacked the point “various diseases” (*diversae infirmitates*), although it enumerated in the beginning division. The sermon in the manuscript BUWr I Q 280 (f. 181) ended with the point “various diseases” at the miracle of healing the cardinal with the description of the canonisation ceremony as its final point, but it did not include the miracle accounts of healing of the blind and of resurrecting the horse.

<sup>126</sup> See Chapter 1.1.1.

<sup>127</sup> See Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 588, verses 73-89. For a probably further amplification of the comparison with St. Paul's head's story in a copy/ a redaction of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus, see below.

<sup>128</sup> On the idea of renovation of the Polish Kingdom, the simile and its significance, see Chapter 1.1.2.

was not Peregrinus' focus in this place. Still, preachers could develop this simile in the "live" sermon if they wished.

**Aqua** [*V. maior* III/49, 426-427 – *Frater Vincencius de navis periclitacione in mari*]<sup>129</sup>

Interestingly, Peregrinus recounted the history of the miraculous saving of pilgrims in the sea based on the *Vita maior* with a mistake. In all sermon copies Friar Vincent – evidently the person identical with the author of the *Vita* – appeared as one of the pilgrim beneficiaries of the miracle: *cum frater Vincentius Ordinis Praedicatorum cum aliis fide dignis nobilibus Romam pergeret...*<sup>130</sup> The miracle account was introduced in the *Vita maior* as follows:

*[Frater Vincencius de navis periclitacione in mari.] Comes Ianussius vir nobilis... et Petrus frater meus, filius fratri Henrici ... testimonio retulerunt michi rem, quam refero...*<sup>131</sup>

According to this account, Vincent of Kielcza was by no means present when the miracle occurred, as he clearly stated that he put down the miracle on the grounds of a testimony of several persons. One of the beneficiaries, who also gave the deposition and testified to the miracle, was "his brother." Peregrinus (or his intermediary source) probably confused and misinterpreted the appearance of Friar Vincent's name in the heading of the account in some *Vita* manuscripts (the title is marked with the square brackets; the heading appeared also in the *Vita* edition) and assigned a wrong Dominican with a role in the story. The miracle presented the "new" saint invoked by the Polish pilgrims as a powerful and effective intercessor even in competition with other saints, among them St. Nicholas, who had been addressed by other boat-passengers.

**Ignis** [*V. maior* III/52, 430-431 – *De quodam nobili de flammis liberato*]<sup>132</sup>

Peregrinus selected another miracle account related in the *Vita maior* (but not in the *Miracula*) that happened in the canonisation/post-canonisation period. Andrew, a nobleman who went to fight the Prussians as a crusader, was miraculously delivered from a burning Prussian curia after he had invoked St. Stanislaus. The wording of the invocation was probably Peregrinus' addition.<sup>133</sup>

**Mors** [*V. maior* II/1-6, 374-378, Cf. *V. minor* 11-16]

The account of the resurrection of the knight Peter, the so-called legend of Piotrawin, was one of the best-known miracles of St. Stanislaus: the knight, who sold his hereditary village to the bishop,

<sup>129</sup> For more about the dating of the miracle and its position in the *Vita*, see Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 68 and Witkowska, "The thirteenth-century Miracula," 159.

<sup>130</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 588, lin. 90-92ff. Peregrinus' mistaken formulation was taken over also by the authors of other sermons who included this *exemplum*, see below. [Budapest University Library Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450v; Kórnik MS. 1122 (J. Zathay, *Nowe źródło*, s. 377); BJ 1609, f. 310r-v; Bratislava Chapter Library MS. 64, f. 327v.]

<sup>131</sup> *Vita maior*, III/49, 426-7.

<sup>132</sup> Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 68.

<sup>133</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 589, lin. 106-107: "O beate Stanislae, adiuva me."

was raised from the dead in order to give testimony before the king's court.<sup>134</sup> It again captured the bishop as the defender of the justice and the Church; that is, the bishop acted exactly as Peregrinus mentioned before – he defended the *iusticia et ecclesia* with the “double shield of his ornate.” It was the only miracle that St. Stanislaus accomplished during his life quoted by Peregrinus.

### *Diverse infirmitates*

a/ the healing of Cardinal Reginald [Peregrinus, *Sermones*, lin. 137-157, *V. maior* III/55, 434-436]<sup>135</sup>

The healing of Cardinal Reginald of Ostia, later Pope Alexander IV, was the *finale miraculum*, which the Cardinal requested when he opposed the canonisation petitioned by the Polish envoys. As a punishment for his reluctance to accept the new saint, he suddenly fell ill; the saintly bishop appeared to him and healed him from his disease. As a result, nothing else prevented the solemn canonisation. The account of the ceremony was attached to the miracle account in the sermon.

b/ a blind priest regains sight [Peregrinus, *Sermones*, lin. 158-163, *V. maior* III/29, 412-414 – *De quodam ceco sacerdote illuminato*]

In this *exemplum* based on the *Vita maior*, St. Stanislaus appeared to a blind priest and asked him to offer two *denarios* for his sepulchre. The priest, who did not have any money, miraculously found the requested amount in his purse, sent it to St. Stanislaus' tomb and regained his sight. This miracle could have been included already in an older protocol of miracle testimonies, as it most probably dated back to the time before the canonisation, although it did not appear in the preserved *Miracula*.<sup>136</sup>

c/ a horse restored to life [*V. maior* III/51, 428-430 – *De equo mortuo resuscitato et pelle induto*]

The *Vita maior* dated the miracle to the period shortly after the canonisation, or probably more specifically to May 1254, when the canonisation was festively celebrated in Cracow (*terminus a quo*).<sup>137</sup> The pilgrims' horse that died on their way to Cracow and even subsequently flayed, was restored to life.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> See above in Chapter 1.1.2. The saintly bishop together with Peter rising from the tomb was also one of the most important iconographic representations of St. Stanislaus; see Chapter 1.3.

<sup>135</sup> Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 68. Vincent of Kielcza could draw on the letter of Cardinal John of Gaeta to Bishop Prandota mentioning difficulties in the canonisation process (KDKK 1, no. 37, 46-48). For these, see Ch. 1.1.2.

<sup>136</sup> For more on the dating of the miracle and the possible source for the *Vita maior* of Vincent of Kielcza, see Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 69. She maintained that the miracle could have been either present in the protocol of the first investigation committee, which has not survived, or in the first part of the preserved *Miracula* protocol that is missing due to a damage on the manuscript roll with depositions.

<sup>137</sup> Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie*, 68.

<sup>138</sup> The manuscripts differ here on the identification of the pilgrim. The edition inclined to the interpretation “suburbita” – an inhabitant of the suburb (Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 590, lin. 164), the wording used also in the copy in the MS. Kórnik

Peregrinus used this typology of miracles to structure the section of his sermon. It was his original contribution to a certain extent and it remained considerably original in the context of the preaching discourse on St. Stanislaus. His source – Vincent of Kielcza – used primarily a chronological (postmortem miracles: pre-canonisation, canonisation) and thematic order for miracles (according to various diseases, apparitions, resurrections, saving from drowning, etc.) in the *Vita maior*.<sup>139</sup> Peregrinus could have been inspired by certain fragments of the *Vita maior*. The standard idea that the miracles accomplished prove and demonstrate a person's sanctity was expanded there: God demonstrated the "martyr's glory" and the *magnalia* of his sanctity by numerous miracles.<sup>140</sup> This motif was developed into a special typology by rhetoric figures of gradation used as the conclusion of a couple of miracle accounts:

*per martirem suum Stanislaum non solum in celo et in terra, sed in aquis et mari operatur mirabilia*

after the miracle that happened in the sea<sup>141</sup> and

*Sic beatus Stanislaus pontifex et martir gloriosus in celo et in terra et in igne et in aqua omnibus se invocantibus in veritate est adiutor in opportunitatibus, in tribulacione*

after the account of delivery of Andrew from fire.<sup>142</sup> Jan Długosz, the author of the fifteenth-century life of St. Stanislaus, also deemed this rhetorical formulation worthy enough to take it over and expand it into a more convoluted and all-embracing figure.<sup>143</sup>

The structure resembled a division according to four elements, which was often used in medieval literature and theology. The author did not name the *aer*, and added some other

53, f. 125v. The translator (Peregryn, *Kazania*, 467 and fn. 188) of the sermon noticed the problematic wording and helped herself with the wording of the *Vita maior* (III/51, 428), which spoke about a man called Urban from Serbia ("quendam Urbanum hominem de Surbia"), i.e. the region around Lużyca (Lusitz). In most cases, the copies chose the variants "sorbita" (probably a variant of "Surbita") (Prague F 65/2; Prague F 71, Uppsala C 201; BUWr I Q 355) or "scorbita" (its confused version) (I Q 286, f. 200v; I Q 335, f 170r). The manuscript BJ 1617 preferred the expression "quidam homo artifex" (f. 108r).

<sup>139</sup> Witkowska, "The thirteenth-century Miracula," 157-158; and eadem, *Miracula malopolskie*, 92-95. This was the order that was advised and required to take also in the protocol for the canonisation process. As for St. Stanislaus, the canonisation bull in a usual way alluded to a thematic typology of miracles, and a similar list appeared in the liturgical hymns on St. Stanislaus. Canonisation bull [KDKK 1, no. 38, 50]: "mortuis vita, lumen cecis, auditus surdis, verbum mutis, claudis gressus, epilepticis cerebri robur, et demoniacis immundis ab eis eiectis spiritibus corporum requies ad eius invocacionem nominis celesti..."

<sup>140</sup> "Ex eo igitur Deus ad gloriam sui martiris cepit declarare multis miraculis" (*Vita maior* II/21, 389); "...similibus signis et apparicionum portentis cepit Deus ostendere magnalia sue sanctitatis" (Ibid. III/2, 394).

<sup>141</sup> *Vita maior*, 427.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 431.

<sup>143</sup> Długossius, *Vita sanctissimi Stanislai*, part 2/chapter 6, 122: "... pro compertoque tunc habitum est, quod Sanctus Dei Stanislaus Martyr, potenti sua intercessione et merito, non in terris solum, sed in undis atque in pelago, non in una tantummodo Polonorum gente et natione, sed in universis mundi nationibus et climatibus, suam clementiam suaque suffragia mortalibus se invocantibus monstravisset. Beneficiorum quoque Martyris etiam ipsa iumentorum et brutorum corpora expertia non sunt, quod insequens declarabit prodigium." Another passage, ibid., 125: "magnificabaturque ab universis Dei in Martyre suo Stanislao potentia, per cuius suffragia et merita, tam naufragiorum quam incendiorum a fidelibus suis averterentur pericula; et sanctus ipse magnus in coelo, magnus in terra, magnus in undis, magnus in flammis, semper et ubique habitus fuerit clarus, mirificus, potens et insignis."

phenomena – God, the death, various diseases; and the earth was also problematic in some copies. The author did not simply take over and apply the typology from a ready-made model into the sermon on St. Stanislaus. A typological division of miracles like this was easier to remember than some randomly selected stories; the division could have an important mnemonic function.<sup>144</sup> That is why similar divisions proved successful and relatively popular. Analogical *divisiones* with various modifications appeared rather frequently in sermons on saints by Peregrinus and also by James of Varazze. Besides the *Vita* by Vincent of Kielcza, Peregrinus could have been inspired by the classification of miracles included in some of the sermons by James of Varazze, e.g. a sermon on St. Peter of Verona, the first Dominican martyr. One point of the complex structure discussed that all elements testified St. Peter the Martyr's sanctity: the fire, the air, the water and the earth "recognized" his sanctity, alluding briefly to miraculous events that occurred after the Dominican's death. In addition to the four elements, also the *medii*, i.e. the creatures in between the angels and the elements in the hierarchy gave a testimony of his sanctity.<sup>145</sup> Peregrinus used a similar typology, although in a different context (i.e. claiming that St. Peter "had power over...") and with some other changes (including different miracles, adding *mors* and omitting *aer*), in his sermon on St. Peter the Martyr, based on Varazze's sermon on this saint.<sup>146</sup> Similar schemes with certain modifications were found in other sermons in the collection by James of Varazze (e.g. on St. James the Apostle, St. Bartholomew, on the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, St. Martin, St. Stephen the Martyr, St. Nicholas) and by Peregrinus (e. g. in the sermons on St. Stephen the Protomartyr, St. John the Evangelist, partially also St. Thomas Becket, St. Matthew, St. Martin, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist).<sup>147</sup> In some cases the miracles were classified according to the four elements, in other cases the four phenomena were enriched by further points; in still other cases the authors used a different division of the witnesses of one's sanctity, not according to four elements. In all these examples the division was based on the conception that the sanctity (*sanctitas*) demonstrated itself by miracles, or

<sup>144</sup> I am grateful to Ottó Gecser for reminding me of this function.

<sup>145</sup> "De sancto Petro martyre Sermo II": "Secundo habuit testimonium suae sanctitatis ab omnibus elementis. Ejus sanctitatem **ignis** cognovit, quando lampades accendit. Cognovit **aer**, quando obscuritas in claritatem versa est. Cognovit **aqua**, quando mare tranquillitatem accepit, et quando tactu suarum reliquiarum aqua consecrata multas infirmitates fugavit. Cognovit **terra**, quae suo sanguine rubricata infirmis subvenit. Tertio testimonium habuit a mediis, id est ab omnibus, qui sunt medii inter creaturas superiores, id est Angelos, et infimas, id est, ipsa elementa. Et hoc in multis beneficiis sanitarum, quae ejus meritis acceperunt." Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones aurei de praecipuis sanctorum festis et laudibus deiparae Virginis*, ed. Rudolphus Clutius, vol. 2 (Augustae Vindelicorum et Cracoviae: Apud Christophorum Bartl, 1760), 162 [emphasis mine]. The sermon is analysed in Delcorno, "Agiografia e predicazione," 36-37.

<sup>146</sup> "In festo beati Petri primi martyris", in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 581-3: "Christus secundum divinitatem potest facere quod vult, sic beatus Petrus per eum omnia potest facere quae vult, nam ipse est **potens super omnem creaturam...** **terra** dedit pluviam... Item **potestatem habuit in mari** tempestatem eius sedando. ... Item **potestatem habuit super ignem...** Item **potestatem habuit super mortem**, quia multos suscitavit... Et multis aliis miraculis coruscavit." [emphasis mine]. The fragment was evidently constructed on an analogy with Christ.

<sup>147</sup> E. g. in "In festo sancti Stephani protomartyris" (Ibid., 332), "In festo sancti Ioannis Evangelistae" (Ibid., 339). After the model "*sanctitatem eius protestata est*" in: "In festo sancti Thomae Cantuariensis" (Ibid., 345) and "In festo sancti Matthaei" (Ibid., 386).

even that it was tested and proved by miracles, or, in other words, that the sanctity provided the holy person with the power (*potestas*) over various phenomena and enabled him to work miracles. The idea that miracles accomplished through a person during his or her life or after death proved and demonstrated the person's sanctity was a standard view. The idea that the natural phenomena (the fire, the water, etc.) tested the sanctity is reminiscent of the ordeal, in which the remains of a putative saint were put to test by fire in order to examine his sanctity.<sup>148</sup> In a somewhat different form, the necessity of miracles (performed *in vita* or *post mortem*) as the evidence of sanctity, carefully examined in judicial procedure, remained one of the conditions of successful canonisation when the official papal canonisation process took form in the course of the thirteenth century.<sup>149</sup>

The part of the sermon that anticipated the discussion of the sanctity (*sanctitas*) was devoted particularly to the supernatural ways in which various phenomena demonstrated the sanctity of St. Stanislaus, that is, to the miracles. Peregrinus regarded the sanctity in this case as the state achieved by St. Stanislaus after his death (the *premium* in the typical preaching jargon), rather than his saintly and virtuous life during his lifetime (the *meritum*). In the period when Stanislaus was canonised and also when Peregrinus wrote this sermon, both *virtus morum* and *virtus signorum* were essential in order to acknowledge somebody as a saint. The *sanctitas* in this meaning comprised both virtuous life and miracles.<sup>150</sup> The importance of the former was increasing in the Late Middle Ages, while miracles remained a necessary condition, although being considered only as *a posteriori* sign, the manifestation of the person's sanctity, and "a consequence of Christian perfection on the saint's part."<sup>151</sup> Peregrinus, together with other medieval preachers, did not claim that the miracles constituted the sanctity of Stanislaus, he said that the various phenomena tested and the miracles which occurred proved his sanctity. The Dominican Martinus Polonus was more scrupulous about the terminology (more theologically) in one of his sermons on St. Dominic on the thema *Non potest civitas abscondi* [Mt 5,14]. He divided his sermon into three parts: the first – *vie meritum* dealing with the virtuous life of St. Dominic; the second – *patrie premium* dealing with the reward of the saint in heaven; and the third – *utriusque signum*, in which he dealt with the miracles, which were the sign of the both preceding points (*signum ... est ex miraculorum patefactione*).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>148</sup> For more on the topic of the ordeal of relics by fire, see Thomas Head, "The Genesis of the Ordeal of Relics by Fire in Ottonian Germany: An Alternative Form of 'Canonisation'," in *Procés de canonisation*, 19-37.

<sup>149</sup> See above Ch. 1.1.2 for the canonisation of St. Stanislaus. For the role of miracles as a proof of sanctity, see for example Vauchez, *Sainthood*, passim; Gábor Klaniczay, "Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Processes (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary)," in *Procés de canonisation*, 117-148; Michael Goodich, "Reason or Revelation? The Criteria for the Proof and Credibility of Miracles in Canonization Processes," in *Procés de canonisation*, 181-197.

<sup>150</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*; Kleinberg, *Prophets*, 8.

<sup>151</sup> S. Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 362. See also Klaniczay, "Proving Sanctity," esp. 117-118. Vauchez, *Spirituality*, 147, 150 and idem, *Sainthood*.

<sup>152</sup> Quoted from the sermon of Martinus Polonus, OP on St. Dominic, *Non potest civitas abscondi*, after Dagmara Wójcik, *Wybrane kazania de sanctis Marcina Polaka z Opawy: Analiza strukturalna i ideowa* (Selected Sermons *de sanctis* by Martinus Polonus of Opawa: Structural and Topical Analysis), M.A. thesis (Uniwersytet Jagielloński:



Preachers had a great freedom as to design the structure of their sermons and choose the particular topics that they would address and the ways of handling the topics. In this case it depended on the meaning of the word *sanctitas* that they chose to expand on.<sup>153</sup> Some authors of sermons on saints would and did rather focus on the virtuous life – the *sanctitas vite* or the *meritum* – under the heading *sanctitas*. Peregrinus did talk about the virtues of St. Stanislaus in the preceding part of the sermon under the heading *dignitas*. It seems as if the two or possibly three points introduced in the *divisio thematis* overlapped with each other. This could have been due to a hasty and imprecise redaction of the model sermon. However, the author might have constructed the sermon deliberately like that for stylistic reasons – in order to make the passages between the individual parts smooth. It can also be connected with the problem of the missing development of the third *membrum* of the division and it could help explain it. The first and the second *membrum* of the sermon overlapped and merged in a way. The episcopal dignity was the topic of the first section, but it spoke also about the virtues of St. Stanislaus, corresponding to the bishop's vestments. The moral excellence described there would fit well under the heading *sanctitas*, especially when it corresponded to the words “*sanctus, innocens, etc.*” in the *divisio thematis* from the Hebrews. Likewise, the second and the third one could have similarly merged. The manuscript copies suggested the topic of the *felicitas sive mansio* or *excellencia* for the third part of the sermon. Actually, the possible content of the third part could have hypothetically been very close to the perception of the sanctity demonstrated by miracles in the second section; it depended only on the author's interpretation. Thus, Peregrinus actually did partially describe the *felicitas* of St. Stanislaus (which was to correspond to the words “*excelsior celis factus*” of the thematic verse) when he spoke about the bishop's canonisation and miracles.

Returning back to the second part of Peregrinus' sermon, it remains to discuss why he had chosen those particular *exempla* recounting the miracles accomplished by St. Stanislaus. Surely, they fulfilled the main criterion – they fitted well into the structure that he conceived of in the subdivision of this part of his sermon. Still, the miracle collections listed a number of cases of persons saved by St. Stanislaus from drowning, several persons raised from the dead, and a huge number of instances of healing. The *exempla* included under the headings *aqua* and *ignis* were precisely the miracle accounts from the *Vita* that were concluded by the gradation that could have inspired Peregrinus. The resurrection of Peter was notoriously known and almost a must when mentioning supernatural powers of the saintly bishop. In general, the author selected mostly the

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Instytut Historii, 2000) in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, 28-29, and ed. 104: “*Meritum autem ipsius et premium patuit ex miraculorum coruscatione.*”

<sup>153</sup> In addition to the works of Vauchez and others quoted above, for the sanctity from the point of view of specific terminology and lexicography, see J. Hamesse, “The Image of Sanctity in Medieval Preaching as a Means of Sanctification,” in *Models of Holiness*, 127-140.

miracles that happened either immediately after Stanislaus' martyrdom (headings *Deus, celum*) and miracles from the period of canonisation or shortly afterwards (headings *aqua, ignis*, and the healing of the cardinal and the resurrection of the horse from under the heading *diverse infirmitates*).<sup>154</sup> The catalogue of healing miracles in the *Vita maior* offered a wide choice, out of which Peregrinus selected only three. Most of the *miracula* exempla that Peregrinus recounted were based on the Part III (*victorie triumphum*) of the *Vita maior*. The preserved roll of *Miracula*, interestingly, did not include any of them: they either originated only later than the protocol - during the canonisation investigation or after the canonisation; or they were lost with the damaged fragment of the protocol. Surely, had they even been included in a source like a *miracula* protocol, Peregrinus would probably not have used such a text of juridical genre as the source of *exempla*. The *Vita maior*, more hagiographic and narrative in its nature, was certainly a more practical aid for a preacher.<sup>155</sup> Peregrinus, a Dominican friar, used and further transmitted the miracle accounts that had been collected and literarily elaborated by another Dominican friar, Vincent of Kielcza.

The two different genres – the *Miracula* and the *Vita* of St. Stanislaus – presented the miracle accounts in different ways, which sprang from their different functions.<sup>156</sup> The preacher had yet different objectives in mind. Like the hagiographer, the preacher did not bother to present the listener in his *exempla* with legal testimonies and verifiable details of persons and circumstances of the miracles.<sup>157</sup> In this genre it was not important into such extent. More intensely than the literary lives, the preacher's account of a miracle in the form of the *exemplum* was to be morally aimed and persuasive in order to fulfil its function in the sermon's structure.<sup>158</sup> Peregrinus recounted the most important factual information only and sometimes he added more dramatisation and dialogues. First and foremost, in making use of the miracle accounts the preacher aimed to demonstrate the wide spectrum and the great efficacy of the saint's intercessory powers to his public.

<sup>154</sup> These miracles appeared even physically close to each other in the *Vita maior*, Part III: chapters 49, 51, 52, 55.

<sup>155</sup> For a preacher a legend would certainly be even more practical. However, in this case, not all the *exempla* recounted by Peregrinus would have been found in the legends for the feasts of St. Stanislaus included in the legendaries, or *Legenda aurea*. More on Peregrinus' use of Stanislaus hagiography in general below.

<sup>156</sup> It has been demonstrated especially by Witkowska in her studies *Miracula malopolskie* and "The Thirteenth-century *Miracula*" described earlier. For more about the different genres devoted to miracles, see Gábor Klaniczay, "The Construction of the Miracles of Saints in the Age of Medieval Canonization Processes" (unpublished paper, courtesy of the author), p. 10-11; and Michael Goodich, "Filiation and Form in Late Medieval Miracle Story," *Hagiographica* 3 (1976): 306-322, esp. 306-307; reprinted in his *Lives and Miracles of the Saints. Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2004).

<sup>157</sup> The miracles were conceived here as the testimony of Stanislaus' sanctity, even if not supported with legal testimony. Still, the idea of a certain material testimony to a miracle or to the sanctity appeared in some examples. In the account of canonisation, the preacher reminded, following the *Vita maior*, that the flag with the saint's image remained in the church "in testimonium suae santitatis" (Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 590, lin. 156-157). Similarly, in the last *exemplum*, the signs where the horse skin had been cut when flayed, "pro testimonio remanserunt." The edition preferred the reading "testamento" here, but some manuscripts suggested "testimonio," perhaps more correct in this context (Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 591, lin. 175-176).

<sup>158</sup> For more about the *exemplum*, especially of the hagiographic type, and its function in the sermon, see Carlo Delcorno, "Introduzione: Per una storia della letteratura 'esemplare'," in *Exemplum e letteratura*, 8; see also other studies in the volume.

#### 4.4 Peregrinus' use of hagiography

The model sermon by Peregrinus was very much centred on the person of the saint. It was rich in narrative passages based on the hagiographic works about St. Stanislaus. By no means is it a rule for all preaching *de sanctis*, which can be seen on the example of some later sermon texts on St. Stanislaus.<sup>159</sup> Peregrinus is generally known to have used *exempla* extensively, and he did so also in sermons on other saints. He did not compose most of the histories that he used himself, but found them in other preaching aids – he was “more of a man of the library than the adherent of the field.”<sup>160</sup> He used the preaching aids, the pastoral works, hagiographical collections and lives of the local saints. Some sermons on saints by him are “montages” of extracts from the *Legenda aurea* or from the lives of the Slavic saints.<sup>161</sup>

Peregrinus explicitly referred to the legend of St. Stanislaus at the end of the sermon (*sicut patet in legenda sua*) and in several places during the sermon (*unde legitur de eo*). The first part of the sermon contained several hagiographical fragments: the apparition of the saintly bishop blessing the people; a shorter citation when speaking about the bishop's virtues; and the passage describing the bishop's conflict with the king and his martyrdom. The second part was wholly constructed on the miracle accounts. Peregrinus incorporated hagiographic passages based on the *Vita maior* as *exempla* in the structure of his *sermo modernus*. It was not simple copying of the hagiographic material. Such creative usage of material demanded the “capacity to interpret the hagiographical elements according to original criteria” in order to construct the image of the saint and the sermon's message.<sup>162</sup> The Dominican was an “experienced abbreviator” and an “able narrator,” and he knew how to draw moral example in a simple and economic way.<sup>163</sup> Hervé Martin pointed out that Peregrinus in his sermon on St. Adalbert had not quoted the passages from the legends in their original order and word by word, but used them in a way suitable for his objectives.<sup>164</sup> It is also true for his sermon on St. Stanislaus. Peregrinus treated his source material creatively, to some extent, in order to make it suit his objectives and the function of this text as a preaching aid. Not only did Peregrinus shorten the respective hagiographical passages in the *exempla*, but he also merged some

<sup>159</sup> For the relation between preaching and hagiography concerning St. Stanislaus, see also Section 3.8.

<sup>160</sup> See chapter “Le narrateur” in the monograph Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 65-85, a list of some identified sources of his *exempla*, mostly Dominican collections on pp. 67-8. The citation *ibid.*, 68 [translation mine].

<sup>161</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 40. He compared the process of composing a sermon to the work of masons.

<sup>162</sup> Delcorno, “Agiografia e predicazione,” 32 [translation of the citation mine]. Delcorno's study further analyses the redistribution of hagiographical material within sermon structure on the examples of various sermons on St. Peter the Martyr and St. Francis of Assisi.

<sup>163</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 60, 72-3.

<sup>164</sup> For an analysis of the sermon on St. Adalbert see Hervé Martin, “Le prédicateur polonais Pérégrin d'Opole (vers 1260-vers 1330) évoque la figure de saint Adalbert,” in *Mélanges Delmaire – L'Eglise et la société entre Seine et Rhin (V<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, “Revue du Nord” 86, no. 356-357 (2004), 709-717; and Idem, “Un médiateur culturel,” 149.

passages together by a shortcut, giving them a slightly new significance and a new function in the narrative, like in the case of the king's wrongdoing. There is still a possibility that Peregrinus took the hagiographical material from a ready-made model, i.e. the information from the *Vita maior* was taken through an intermediary source, which had introduced all the modifications, which Peregrinus simply copied. This hypothesis is, however, less feasible than the idea that Peregrinus adapted the hagiographic material himself. This chapter demonstrates below that later preachers took over some of his modifications.

In contributing to the hagiographical image of St. Stanislaus, the Dominican preacher continued the work of his older confrère, Vincent of Kielcza. Peregrinus had his *Vita* of the saintly bishop at hand as an aid when composing the model sermon. Vincent returned to his native Silesia as a friar and perhaps a prior of Ratibor convent.<sup>165</sup> It is noteworthy that Klimecka located the creation of the Polish redaction of the *Golden Legend* and also of the *Legend of St. Stanislaus (Vita minor)* as possibly its integral part into the Dominican milieu, perhaps in Silesia. Peregrinus was active in the same environment, perhaps in the same convent as Friar Vincent, in Ratibor. Klimecka claimed that the collection of sermons on saints by Peregrinus attested the earliest use of the *Legenda aurea* in Poland.<sup>166</sup>

One would expect a preacher to have used the handy legends included in the legend collections in order to prepare his sermons. Peregrinus, however, seems to have used rather the *Vita* than the *Legend* in his sermon on St. Stanislaus. Still, the content and the text of the two lives are frequently akin. Another reason was that most of the *exempla* which Peregrinus used were only from the canonisation or post-canonisation period, so they were not included in what has been called the *Vita minor* (or the *Legend*, but most accurately the *Legend for martyrdom*). However, they could have been found in the collections of legends, if we take into consideration the recent studies concerning the function and the transmission of these hagiographic texts. It has to be noted, that Peregrinus could have used the part of the *Vita maior* included in the *Legenda aurea*, which should perhaps be called accordingly the *Legend for translation*.<sup>167</sup>

#### 4.5 Peregrinus and St. Stanislaus: a Summary

The position of the sermon on St. Stanislaus and of other sermons on local saints (St. Adalbert, St. Hedwig) within the collection *de sanctis* emerges somewhat problematic in the studies of the collections by Peregrinus. The sermons on some saints did not appear on the list of contents

<sup>165</sup> For the personality of Vincent of Kielcza and his composition of the *Vita of St. Stanislaus*, see the section 1.1.2.

<sup>166</sup> Klimecka, *Legenda*, 38. For the origin of the *Vita minor* of St. Stanislaus and for the arguments of Klimecka and other historians, see the section 1.1.2.

<sup>167</sup> For an explanation of this term – the *Legend for translation*, as well as the terms *Legend* and *Vita* of St. Stanislaus, see Chapter 1.1.2.

by Schneyer (St. Stanislaus, St. Hedwig, together with St. Dominic and St. Francis), but they appeared on the list by Wolny. It has to be noted that they did not appear in a number of manuscripts, mostly those of non-Polish provenance, and in the *incunabula* from the German towns. They have been edited separately in the “Appendix” to the edition of the two collections by Peregrinus.<sup>168</sup> In the light of what has been said above, before the manuscript transmission has been researched, it is not clear if these sermons belonged to the original collection. However, if we take into consideration the affiliation of Peregrinus of Opole with the Dominican Order, the regional interests and liturgical implications, it is quite probable that he preached on these saints and included sermons for their feasts in his collection, or in a redaction of the model collection at least. Peregrinus, as a Dominican and a Silesian, must have come into contact with the cult of St. Stanislaus. The saint was a co-patron of his home Dominican convent in Ratibor.

The figure of St. Stanislaus appeared in another sermon in the collection *de sanctis*. In the sermon on St. Adalbert on the thema “And I saw another mighty angel” (*Vidi alterum angelum*) [Ap 10,1] Peregrinus explained that the two saints were the two protectors of the Church: St. Stanislaus was the first angel, and St. Adalbert was the *alter angelus*. He reversed the chronological order of the saints’ lives.<sup>169</sup> Martin maintained that the reversed order was a statement of the Dominican’s preference for St. Stanislaus, and thus perhaps for Cracow at the expense of St. Adalbert and Gniezno.<sup>170</sup> Another important remark is that Peregrinus acted “en dominicain et, plus precisement, en fils du couvent de Ratibor, qui avait pour patrons les saints Jacques, Dominique et Stanislas.”<sup>171</sup> Some scribes, however, introduced changes in this place: for example, a copy of the sermon

<sup>168</sup> The editors decided to edit separately those texts that were not found in the manuscripts taken as the bases for their edition (i.e. Prague VII E 12 and Vatican Palat. Lat. 465). This group was edited on the basis of other manuscripts. Interestingly enough, the sermons on the regional saints (Wojciech-Adalbert, Stanislaus, Wenceslas, Hedwig of Silesia) and Mendicant saints (Peter the Martyr, St. Dominic and his translation, St. Francis) appeared in the “Appendix.” Peregrinus, *Sermones*, the explanation of the edition principles “De editione sermonum qui in Appendice leguntur,” XCV-IC; the sermons are edited in the “Appendix” on pp. 559-629.

<sup>169</sup> “In festo sancti Adalberti episcopi et martyris,” in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 573, lin. 15-19: “Primus angelus fuit sanctus Stanislaus, alter sanctus Adalbertus. Isti enim duo angeli, qui velabant arcam Domini suis alis, sic ipsi sua protectione, suo auxilio, suis precibus protegent et velant arcam Domini, id est Ecclesiam.” While Peregrinus spoke about two angels, the Book of Revelation described seven angels, and the “alter angelus” from the *thema* was actually the seventh one. The Vulgata Clementina has got “alium angelum.”

<sup>170</sup> Martin, “Le prédicateur polonais Pérégrin d’Opole (vers 1260-vers 1330) évoque la figure de saint Adalbert,” 717. The somewhat revised article appeared also in his monograph *Pérégrin d’Opole*, 47-53; this reference 53. Another observation, which did not appear in the revised version, was a hypothesis that the reversed order was a manifestation of Peregrinus’ support for the Bohemian Wenceslas II, who became the king of Poland, at least nominally, after having taken over Cracow. This hypothesis would not work in this connection, though. The Bohemian period in Cracow seems to have been rather a period of decreased cult of St. Stanislaus, at the expense of St. Wenceslas.

<sup>171</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d’Opole*, 53. However, another reason for assigning St. Stanislaus with the first place before St. Adalbert could have been literary and structural: if Peregrinus wanted to use the verse from the Apocalypse for St. Adalbert, the Bohemian would have to remain *alter*. On the other hand, the author could have conceived of this *thema* on purpose, in order to present his preferences. Still, the preacher could compose a sermon on this *thema* without speaking about two angels necessarily; e.g. Sermon no. LXXI mentioned only St. Stanislaus, who was compared to the angel (as *alter angelus*).

substituted St. George for St. Stanislaus.<sup>172</sup> The preacher recalled St. George perhaps because the local church where he preached was dedicated to him, or because the feasts of St. Adalbert and St. George were celebrated on the two successive days or even on the same day.<sup>173</sup> Peregrinus used an analogical image of the two angels in other sermons as well: in a sermon on St. Peter the Martyr,<sup>174</sup> and St. Francis of Assisi.<sup>175</sup>

In some reworked sermons based on Peregrinus' text the writers expand more on the motif of the two cherub-like protectors. The manuscript BJ 1635 contained sermon notes on the thema *Vidi alterum angelum* on St. Adalbert. Although the *thema* is identical with the sermon on Adalbert by Peregrinus, the sermon is different. However, the author used some material from the model of Peregrinus, such as the denotation of Sts. Adalbert and Stanislaus as the two angels. He constructed a longer passage on this motif.<sup>176</sup> Interestingly, there are some sermons on St. Stanislaus on this *thema* too.<sup>177</sup> A sermon on St. Stanislaus also from the MS. BJ 1635 (Sermon XLI), which was built on a theme similar in content - *Fac tibi duos cherubin superductiles ex auro purissimo* – described St. Stanislaus and St. Wenceslas, the two patrons of the cathedral in Cracow, as the two cherubs.<sup>178</sup>

The sermon on St. Stanislaus had some common elements and motifs with sermons on other saints from the collection of Peregrinus. The extensive use of *exempla* and especially the miracles (from the *Legenda aurea* and elsewhere) is one of the characteristics of the Dominican's style and culture. The Biblical quotations are not very numerous, and complicated theological questions are virtually not present, unlike in some later sermons on St. Stanislaus. Analogous listings of bishop's duties and similar classifications of miracles appeared also in some other sermons in the collection.<sup>179</sup> It could be an argument in support of Peregrinus' authorship of all these sermons.

<sup>172</sup> The copy (the *incipit*, the division and the *explicit* are identical with Peregrinus' sermon on St. Adalbert) in the MS. BUWr I Q 286, f. 182r-184r: "sic isti duo angeli Georgius sanctus et [Ad – S.K.]Albertus" [sic!].

<sup>173</sup> The feast of St. Adalbert (*natalis*) was celebrated on April 23, and the feast of St. George on April 24 in Polish dioceses and in Prague diocese and on April 23 in Olomouc and Wrocław diocese; Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," 288-9. The concurrence of the two feasts caused problems, for a discussion of the celebration of the feast of St. Adalbert, see Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha*, 41-52. Another version of the pair of angels, now typically Bohemian – St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert – is found in the Old Czech redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus. The collection is described below in Section 4.7.2, *An Old Czech Redaction of the Sermon on St. Stanislaus*.

<sup>174</sup> Sts. Dominic and Peter the Martyr as the two angels; Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 578-9, lin. 23-27 (on a different thema Ez 28,12-13).

<sup>175</sup> Sts. Dominic and Francis in a sermon on the same thema *Vidi alterum angelum*, but with a different structure. Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 610, lin. 11-15. I owe the observation concerning the analogical motif to Martin, *Pérégrin d'Opole*, 142-4.

<sup>176</sup> BJ 1635, f. 79v-81r. The sermon is edited in Appendix 5. For the content of this sermon pertaining to St. Stanislaus, see below, Ch. 5.2.2. The scribe made use of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus as well in another place in the manuscript, see below in the section *Peregrinus' sermon as a model for other sermons*, and Chapter 3.6, where also a characteristics of the MS. BJ 1635.

<sup>177</sup> See Sermons LXX and LXXI in the *Register of Sermons*. Sermon LXXI on St. Stanislaus from the second half of the fourteenth century at latest could be a more distant redaction of the sermon on St. Adalbert by Peregrinus: the main division is analogical, to certain extent also the content of the particular parts, the *exempla* are substituted with the miracles and fragments of the *Life* of St. Stanislaus, and the statement about two angels is left out.

<sup>178</sup> The sermon is edited in Appendix 5. See Chapter 3 and Ch. 5.2.2.

<sup>179</sup> I referred to the analogies in other sermons by Peregrinus during the analysis of the sermon text above.

Interestingly, the model sermons on St. Stanislaus and St. Thomas Becket, both martyr bishops, have some analogies in structure and content.<sup>180</sup> Their author had a certain idea concerning the topics that he should deal with in a sermon on a bishop, or more particularly on a martyr-bishop: both sermons discuss the dignity of episcopal office and the bishop's sanctity demonstrated by miracles, although within a somewhat different sermon structure;<sup>181</sup> both mention the infuriated kings and the bishops' martyrdom.

According to the sermon by Peregrinus St. Stanislaus was a good bishop to his faithful during his life and remained to be their effective protector after his death. This dichotomy of the *premium – meritum*, this life and afterlife, and in a way between the *imitanda* and the *admiranda* was a characteristic feature of the preaching on saints in general. Peregrinus focused on the figure of the saint as a positive example of the prelate and a powerful intercessor. Both these patterns were to appear in sermons of later authors as well. The first part of the sermon described the dignity coming from the episcopal office but also from Stanislaus' virtuous life. The image of Stanislaus as a model, whom every prelate should emulate, which had not been fully developed by Peregrinus, became one of the dominant themes of the sermons on St. Stanislaus in the later period, as the following chapter will demonstrate. Unlike some later preachers, the Dominican did not speak about bad prelates; this topic was probably reserved for clerical audiences and could have been expanded in a "live" sermon. In the extant text, the negative counterpart was reserved for King Boleslaus, as was traditional. The wicked king, however, was in Peregrinus' structure presented as a circumstance only, under which the saintly bishop's virtue was demonstrated. The Boleslaus of Peregrinus was schematised – an embodiment of the evil, in a way. Peregrinus did not make use of the possibilities that the *Vita* and the *Legend* (and the hagiographical tradition elsewhere) offered: he did not elaborate on the topic of Boleslaus' metamorphosis from a glorious king to an obstinate sinner, refusing the bishop's call to conversion; he did not mention either the "white" or the "black" version of Boleslaus's end.<sup>182</sup> Zdanek, an expert of the Dominican culture in Cracow, expected that the didactic and moralising motif of the crime and the punishment or alternatively an example of conversion could have been very good preaching topics, especially for the Mendicants, who emphasised the new interiorised religiosity.<sup>183</sup> He noticed that this was not the case in Peregrinus' sermon, but regretted that he could not verify his assumption on other sermons. It was actually not

<sup>180</sup> The sermon "In festo sancti Thomae archiepiscopi Cantuariensis" on the thema *Sacerdos magnus, qui unctus est oleo, moriatur* ("Until the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil," Numbers 35,25) is edited in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 344-347. For possible allusions and circumstances of this sermon's composition as conceived by Wolny, see above.

<sup>181</sup> The basic structure of the sermon on St. Thomas in the *divisio thematis*: 1. eius status: 1.1. magne dignitatis (*sacerdos*), 1.2 magne potestatis (*magnus*), 1.3. magne sanctitatis (*unctus est oleo – sanctitas protestata est...*); 2. eius passio (*moriatur*).

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Banaszkievicz, "Czarna i biała legenda."

<sup>183</sup> Zdanek, *Kultura intelektualna*, 268-279.

customarily developed in later sermons either – the saintly bishop was the focus of the preachers. Peregrinus emphasised the supernatural intercessory powers of Stanislaus as a saint, but also his power to care for and help to the faithful, which was entrusted to him as a holder of episcopal office. Later preachers also used to speak about the miraculous powers of St. Stanislaus. The saint was presented not only as a personal intercessor, but also as a local and regional patron saint.

#### 4.6 Differences between the Copies of the Sermon

Another section will summarise the information on the manuscript copies of Peregrinus' sermon. It is a supplement to the differences already presented during the sermon analysis and a concise summary of description of manuscript copies provided in the *List of Manuscripts* attached. In general, the copies of the sermon by Peregrinus did not distance from the standardised text. In some places the scribes introduced slight changes or made mistakes. In some manuscripts the sermon ended earlier, either due to the scribe's intention to shorten the text or because the scribe's model was truncated or fragmented. In those few cases the sermon did not include all miracles accounts. The variants of the *divisio thematis* belong to the deliberate and intentional changes introduced by copyists (see the *Table of Differences* at the end of the chapter). Another example is the urge to prayer suggesting a *prothema* that appears in some manuscripts and does not appear in others. An example of the scribe's mistake due to an eye-skip occurred in some manuscripts in the passage describing the bishop's duties and prerogatives.<sup>184</sup> A few more evident eye-skips were traced in some copies, e.g. MS. BUWr I F 527 in the passage explaining the double fight of the bishop or in MS. BUWr I Q 355 the scribe also left out the explanation of the significance of one of the shields. The copies also differ in the spelling of some proper names (e.g. in the name of the location of the apparition of St. Stanislaus<sup>185</sup>) or in the spelling of some other words, grammatical forms, and so on.

The copies contain occasionally vernacular glosses, for example the Prague manuscript.<sup>186</sup> The sermon in the fifteenth-century Gniezno manuscript contains many Polish glosses: numerous interlinear glosses which are translations of the Latin words, and also a continuous text in Polish at

<sup>184</sup> For details about the variants of the division, see section 4.3.1; for the bishop's duties, see section 4.3.2.2.

<sup>185</sup> The variants concerning the suggestion of a *prothema* are discussed in another place. As for the variations in the name of the location, the edition read: *quidam bonus homo in Cracovia* (Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584); but other manuscripts instead of 'Cracovia' supplied the variant of the name from the *Vita maior* (MPH 4, 432: *Slawcow*, or alternatively *Slacovia* noted in a footnote): *Slaconia*, *Slavconia*, *Slacovia*, *Slaukouice* (BUWr I Q 355, f. 121v; BUWr I F 527, f. 249; Uppsala C 201, f. 197; BUWr I Q 280, f. 181v; Kórník 53, f. 124). The scribe of the sermon in the manuscript Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, Fond Metrop. Kap. F 65/2, f. 46 wrote an interesting variant with a Czech gloss: *quidam bonus homo existens in Sclavonia, id est w slowianskey zemy*. Another version in the MS. BJ 1617, f. 106v: *quidam bonus homo existens in nacionis*.

<sup>186</sup> MS. Prague, F 65/2, f. 46r-48r.



the beginning of the sermon in the lower margin.<sup>187</sup> It is well possible that the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus was translated into vernacular, like some sermons of his sermons in the same manuscript, although its Polish translation has not been preserved in any known manuscript.<sup>188</sup> The written evidence shows that the sermon on Stanislaus was adapted into Old Czech. It is not a simple translation of the Latin model to the vernacular, but a redaction which was put down in Czech (Sermon ID in the *Register of Sermons*).<sup>189</sup> No matter if the copies contain vernacular glosses or not and no matter if any vernacular translation of the Latin model is extant, Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus was certainly used as a model for preaching in the vernacular in some form.

The present state of scholarship and the analysis of a group of copies do not allow for the specification of the precise genealogy of manuscript tradition (a *stemma codicum*) of the sermon on St. Stanislaus, let alone the genealogy of the whole collection *de sanctis*. The materials that I gathered permit to utter some introductory remarks on the topic of ways of diffusion of the model text. In their light it is possible to conclude that the text, except for the listed differences and some minor variants, spread mainly in a standardised form, which is close to the text of modern edition. Future deepened studies of the manuscript transmission of the sermon by Peregrinus will shed more light on these problems.

#### 4.7 Special redactions of Peregrinus' sermon: two case studies

##### 4.7.1 MS. Cracow PAU/PAN 1707 (Sermon IB)

The copies of Peregrinus' sermon described above did not in general distance much from the standardised sermon text. A more individualist attitude towards the model was thus most probably saved for the "live" sermon. Nevertheless, some other examples show how freely medieval preachers could and did treat the model prepared by Peregrinus. Moreover, the modifications hint at

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<sup>187</sup> The copy was the base manuscript for the edition, I have not seen the original, but the edition of the glosses in the manuscript in *Kazania gnieźnienskie*, 105-6 and the reproductions of some folios in the edition include Polish glosses, see Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 585-586.

<sup>188</sup> For translations of the sermons by Peregrinus from Latin to the vernaculars, see Jerzy Wolny, "Przekłady łacińskich kazań Peregryna z Opola" (Translations of Latin Sermons by Peregrinus of Opole). In *Benedyktynska praca. Studia historyczne ofiarowane o. Pawłowi Szanieckiemu OSB w 80-rocznice urodzin (Benedictine Work. Studies dedicated to Father Pawel Szaniecki OSB at his 80th Birthday)*, ed. Jan Andrzej Spież and Zbigniew Wielgosz (Cracow: Tyniec. Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 1997), 141-148. For example, there was a Croatian translation/redaction in cyrillic (*ibid.*, 147) of some sermons from the collection *de sanctis* as well, which is nowadays extant in two manuscripts, which are probably copies of an older MS. dating to second half of the fifteenth century: Zagreb, Arhivum Academiae Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), sign. IV a 99, fol. 1r-103 and Gorizia, Bibliotheca Seminario Theologico Centrale, Glagolitico MS. Nr 90 from the first half of the sixteenth century; J. Vrana, "Hrvatski glagoljski blagdanar" (Croatian Cyrillic Sermonary), *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 285 (1951): 95-179.

<sup>189</sup> Władysław Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne w języku łacińskim i czeskim z początku XV w. podług kodeksu biblioteki hr. Tarnowskich w Dzikowie" (Dominical and Festive Sermons in Latin and Czech Language from the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century in the Codex of the Tarnowski Library in Dzikow), in *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego PAU* 3 (1875): 256-342, the edition 329-335. See below for a detailed analysis.

the possible ways in which the written model could be transformed into a “live” sermon. Martin uses an interesting metaphor to describe how the model sermons were to be adapted for delivery: the text was like a frozen food which required to be adjusted before serving - defrosted and supplied with a garnish.<sup>190</sup> Before analysing the texts which distanced into a great extent from Peregrinus’ model (in terms of structure), two intermediate examples (in between a copy and a new text with borrowings from Peregrinus in a way) will be analysed – two case studies. In general, sometimes it is difficult to say if it is still the same text or not. The copy of Peregrinus’ sermon on St. Stanislaus from the manuscript Cracow PAU/PAN 1707, and also the text translated into Czech, which is described below, can be considered as its special redactions. The standardised text, as described above (and edited), served as a backbone, to which some new elements were added.

The mid-fifteenth century codex, which is found nowadays in Cracow, comes from the convent of Regular Canons in Kraśnik;<sup>191</sup> some sermons could have been meant for an audience of canons or young students. The codex was bound together from a number of sextern quires, some of which seem to have functioned separately. A quire (marked as “p” in the codex, beginning with f. 167r) was devoted to sermon materials on St. Stanislaus. It contains two sermons on St. Stanislaus: a redaction of Peregrinus’ sermon and another sermon on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* (Sermon XV), and some hagiographical fragments on the saint useful for preachers.<sup>192</sup> The manuscript contained materials by various authors mainly for preaching *de sanctis*. It was used as a preaching-aid – a model collection and a notebook (cross-references and other tools like indexing, page numbering, etc. also testify to this kind of use). The scribe did not simply copy the model text constructed by Peregrinus, but he also tailored it to his own needs, for example, by adding an introductory part in the mode of *prothema*.<sup>193</sup> The passage is built largely on biblical quotations and their explanations, all concentrated around the motif of good and bad servant. The prothematic passage rounded up with a statement personifying the ideal of good Lord’s servant in St. Stanislaus:

Bishop Stanislaus was not like that, but he was a faithful servant and attendant of his lord here in the earth in his office by his exemplary life. Thus, because he actually gave

<sup>190</sup> Martin, *Pérégrin d’Opole*, 40.

<sup>191</sup> For the basic information on the manuscript and reference to the catalogue description, see the *List of Manuscripts*.

<sup>192</sup> A sermon on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* begins immediately after Peregrinus’ sermon on the f. 171r in the same quire. Another sermon on St. Stanislaus, this time for the feast of his translation, on the *thema Vidi alterum angelum* (Sermon LXX) is found in another place in the manuscript on the f. 262r-263v.

<sup>193</sup> Although there is no precise biblical verse as a *prothema*, it could have been the verses Lk 12,47-48, which seems to be the basis for further discussion until the point when the *thema* from the Hebrews is quoted again and the text proper of the sermon begins [“... Idcirco merito incepti verba proposita: *Talis decebat...*”]. For the incipit and the explicit of the prothematic passage, see the *Register of Sermons*. Similar introductions in the mode of *prothemata* appear in numerous sermons in the manuscript, from which one can suppose that it was a structural feature that pertained to the preacher-scribe’s style.

his life for his sheep after the exemplar of his Lord Jesus Christ; for which he achieved the heavenly inheritance, as you are going to hear in his legend.<sup>194</sup>

The conclusion did not culminate in an urge for common prayer, like a *prothema* usually would, but it actually introduced the reading of the saint's legend.<sup>195</sup>

Besides that the preacher made several additions in the places that he considered unclear or insufficiently developed within the model text, in terms of literary and rhetoric structure and in terms of content. For example, he added the *exemplum* about the head of St. Paul emanating light, coming from the *Legenda aurea*, which added prestige and legitimacy to the luminous phenomena which appeared above the body of St. Stanislaus. It was clearly a shortened version of the account from the legend collection by James of Varazze.<sup>196</sup> Peregrinus included a similar *exemplum* of the miracle describing the luminous phenomena above St. Paul's head in his sermon on the Commemoration of St. Paul the Apostle.<sup>197</sup> The miracle of the invention of St. Paul's head had one more analogy with the legend of St. Stanislaus: the regained head miraculously adjoined the body of the apostle, like the limbs of the Polish saint restored into a whole. Nevertheless, written sermons did not recall this parallel.

The writer of the redaction also amended and prolonged the part describing the canonisation ceremony.<sup>198</sup> He added several rhetoric figures or invocations throughout the sermon text. For example, the *exemplum* of the apparition of St. Stanislaus that usually ended in the copies with the word *Rogemus* finished here with a more developed sentence of appeal:

Therefore let us pray to Bishop Blessed Stanislaus so that he stands behind us with his holy benediction in order that we never part ourselves from the delights of the Heaven.<sup>199</sup>

The focus on the intercessory powers of the saint is visible also in a slight modification of another passage:

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<sup>194</sup> MS. Cracow PAN/PAU 1707, f. 167v: "Talis non fuit beatus Episcopus Stanislaus, sed fuit fidelis servitor et dispensator domini sui hic in terris in officio sua exemplari vita. Sic, quia eciam animam suam exemplo Domini sui Iesu Christi pro ovibus suis posuit. Pro qua eciam sibi celestem hereditatem acquiesivit, ut audietis in eius legenda."

<sup>195</sup> In contrast, a passage with an *exemplum* of St. Stanislaus' apparition in Peregrinus' sermon did not possess other features of a *prothema*, but finished with an urge to prayer, which was one of the features of *prothema*.

<sup>196</sup> Cracow PAN/PAU, MS. 1707, f. 169r. The *exemplum*, which was referring to the Epistle of St. Dionisius as its source, is found in the Legend of St. Paul the Apostle in the *Legenda aurea* collection, see "De sancto Paulo apostolo," in *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 582-3. The analogy with St. Paul's head was briefly mentioned in some sermon copies, like in the edition Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 588, lin. 87-89: "[... ideo caelum lumine suo sibi testimonium sanctitatis exhibuit.] In hoc similis fuit beato Paulo egregio doctori, cuius caput radii solis caelestis illuminabant, de quo Dn [12, 3]: *Docti fulgebunt quasi sol in conspectu Dei.*"

<sup>197</sup> Sermon "In commemoratione S. Pauli Apostoli" on thema *Dedi te in lucem gentium* [Is 49,6] in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 455-6, lin. 87-102.

<sup>198</sup> Cracow PAN/PAU, MS. 1707, f. 170v.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 168r: "Idcirco rogemus beatum Stanislaum episcopum, ut nobis prestat suam sanctam benedictionem, ut a gaudiis celorum numquam separabimur."

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|---|---|
| Peregrinus, <i>Sermones</i> , 584, lin. 8-10  | Cracow PAU/PAN 1707, f. 167v  |
| <i>Quia igitur pontifex est, ideo debemus ab eo petere benedictionem, quia et hoc est ad officium pontificis, ut populum benedicat, quod ipse libenter fecit.</i> | <i>Ex quo ergo beatus Stanislaus fuit pontifex, idcirco debemus ab eo petere benedictionem, quia hoc est officium pontificis, ut populum benedicat, quod libenter facit, si saltem ab ipso desideramus.</i> |

In most copies the past tense implied that the saintly bishop “willingly blessed” the faithful during his life, which belonged to his office of bishop. The shift of the verb into the present tense in this copy meant a slight shift of meaning at the same time: besides maintaining that blessing is a bishop’s prerogative the text emphasised that the saint was still blessing the faithful, even after his death, “if we only ask him to do so.”

Another amplification of the text is found in the passage describing the twofold fight symbolised by a double shield of priestly ornate.

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| Peregrinus, <i>Sermones</i> , 587, lin. 45-52  | Cracow PAU/PAN 1707, f. 170r-v  |
| <i>Deinde vero casula induitur et facit ex ea duos clipeos: unum ante se et alium retro, per quos duplex signatur pugna, quam iuste debet et potest exercere quilibet Christianus: primus clipeus significat pugnam, qua pugnare debemus per fidem, sed secundus clipeus significat pugnam, qua debet quilibet praelatus pro iustitia et ecclesia sua pugnare. Et hanc habuit beatus Stanislaus contra regem Boleslaum, qui fuit tantus tyrannus...</i> <sup>200</sup> | <i>Postea hoc induitur casula, que disposita est ad modum duorum clipeorum, unus habens ante, alium retro, per quod significatur pugna duplex, quam quilibet bonus pastor debet habere et iuste se in istis exercere. Primo, clipeus significatur pugnam, quam debet habere pro fide: ubicumque scit in Episcopatu suo infideles, id est, hereticos, contra hos debet et tenetur pugna, ut eos reducat ad gremium Sancte Matris Ecclesie. Secundus clipeus significat pugnam, quam debet habere pro iusticia ecclesie, sic quod illam scilicet defendat et eam teneat circa iustitiam instituciones. Et talem pugnam habuit beatus Stanislaus contra iniquum et sevum regem Boleslaum, qui tantus extitit tyrannus...</i> |

The general fight for the faith was further explicated in the Cracow manuscript as the fight for the conversion of the heretics in the bishop’s own diocese, referring to the fifteenth-century realia, when the sermon of Peregrinus was copied and reworked into this manuscript.

The *exempla* of miracles of St. Stanislaus in this redaction of the sermon were also supplemented with rhetorical sentences. For example, after the miracle of the saving of the pilgrims in the sea, the author concluded: “Behold, dear son, with what great merit saintly bishop Stanislaus

<sup>200</sup> Here the text is quoted after the edition. For minor variations in this passage in manuscript copies, see above in this chapter, section 4.3.2.2.

excelled here in the earth in God's eyes."<sup>201</sup> Similarly, the miracle of Piotrawin, which happened in Stanislaus' lifetime, was followed by a rhetoric statement:

Examine, dear sons, in what way, with what merit, blessed bishop Stanislaus excelled in the eyes of God here, until he lived with us and with other mortal humans in the earth. Who would doubt with what merit he would be elevated and glorious before God now?<sup>202</sup>

The preacher maintained that when St. Stanislaus had accomplished miracles during his lifetime already, nobody should doubt the numerous miracles that happened after his death when he was glorified by God. He referred to the various miracles that St. Stanislaus accomplished: he cured many diseases, not only of people, but also of the animals.<sup>203</sup> The sermon ended with the description of the canonisation, followed by a statement *iam non plus* and a general constatation that the saint accomplished many miracles. The last sentence referred to the miracle account "about the dead horse," which was to be found in an unspecified alphabetic register.<sup>204</sup> When compared to the sermon by Peregrinus, the last two miracle accounts were missing. The upper margins of these pages in the manuscript were filled fragments of the life of St. Stanislaus. The sermon manuscript demonstrates the ways in which medieval preachers could treat the model material – collect it, copy and rework, and then organize it within a booklet or a volume. The features like rhetorical bridges between the parts of the sermon hint at some modifications that the preacher could make for the delivery.

#### 4.7.2 An Old-Czech Redaction of the Sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus (Sermon ID)

A medieval manuscript of unknown provenance which was kept in the Library of the Tarnowski family before the Second World War contained a redaction of the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus in Czech language (f. 210r-211r).<sup>205</sup> The sermon was not an automatic translation of the Latin original, but rather a free translation and a redaction with some modifications. The manuscript got lost during the WWII when the funds of the private aristocratic collection were partially destroyed and partially dispersed in various libraries (a part in Ossolineum, but also in BJ).<sup>206</sup> The codex has either been destroyed or is nowadays kept in an unknown location.

<sup>201</sup> Cracow PAU/PAN 1707, f. 169v: "Ecce, care filii, quanti magni meriti extitit sanctus Episcopus Stanislaus apud Deum in terris hic."

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 170r: "Considerate, karissimi filii, qua re, quanti meriti extitit beatus Episcopus Stanislaus apud Deum hic, adhuc in terris [...] nobiscum cum aliis mortalibus hominibus vixit. Quis dubitet, quanti nunc meriti sit exaltatus et gloriosus apud Deum?"

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., f. 170r: "Et sic sanctitati sue testimonium dederunt diverse infirmitates, quas ipse curavit, divino medicamine, non solum in hominibus, immo et iumentis, ut audietis."

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., f. 170v: "Vide de equo mortuo vide in alphabetum a.b.c.d.e. etc."

<sup>205</sup> Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," 256-342, the sermon is edited on pp. 329-335 (no. 82).

<sup>206</sup> Michał Marczak, *Biblioteka Tarnowskich w Dzikowie* (The Library of Tarnowski Family in Dzikow) (Cracow: nakł. Biblioteki Dzikowskiej, 1921). A study devoted to the history of the funds during the WWII, its librarian's efforts to save the funds and their destiny afterwards by Adam F. Baran, *Bibliotekarz z Dzikowa: dr Michał Marczak (1886-1945)* (A Librarian from Dzikow: dr Michał Marczak (1886-1945) (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996).

Fortunately, Polish historian Wisłocki managed to describe the manuscript and also edit some Czech sermons including the sermon on St. Stanislaus in the nineteenth century. Although it does not have the quality of a modern catalogue entry, it provides a rather detailed and reliable description of the manuscript. The manuscript originated in the first half of the fifteenth century, around 1420. It contained a Latin sermon collection *de tempore* (f. 2-123, 221-229) and a collection *de sanctis* (f. 124-221) in Czech language. The bulk of the manuscript was most probably the joint work of three scribes around 1420.<sup>207</sup> Wisłocki maintained that they had copied the sermons (as a homogeneous collection) from an original, which was of an older date.<sup>208</sup> Wisłocki argued from the content and order of the collection *de sanctis et festis* (which he thought followed the order of a real liturgical year) that the collection, i.e. the original and the model for the scribes of this manuscript, had been compiled in the diocese of Olomouc either in 1390 or 1401.<sup>209</sup> However, his argumentation has got some weak points. The composer of the collection, both its Latin and Czech part, was probably a Czech, like Wisłocki argued. In the light of the conclusion of Wolny who demonstrated the analogies of some sermons with Peregrinus, the author seems to have been rather a compiler. At least a part of the sermons were not his original compositions, but based on the collection by Peregrinus. It is not possible to identify or check the authorship of all sermons (neither the sermons for Sundays in Latin) because Wisłocki did not supply the *themata*, *incipits* and *explicitis* for most of the sermons. Only the sermons in Czech that he edited as an appendix can be confronted with the texts of the Latin sermons attributed to Peregrinus: the sermon on St. Stanislaus, St. Adalbert, St. Wenceslas were clearly based on the models by Peregrinus.<sup>210</sup> Probably not all sermons *de sanctis* in Czech language are translations of the texts from the collection by Peregrinus: for example, Peregrinus' collection did not contain a sermon on St. Procopius.

Wisłocki claimed that there was nothing new in the sermon on St. Stanislaus, by which he probably meant the hagiographic information.<sup>211</sup> However, as compared to the Latin original by Peregrinus, some slight innovations had been introduced. The sermon was at several places retold freely. The main division is threefold in the beginning of the sermon like in most copies, and the third point is not covered in the text. The third *membrum* is "his eternal reward: that he has got

<sup>207</sup> The fourth scribe copied four sermons on St. Ladislaus and a sermon on Sts. Cosmas and Damian on the vacant pages in the codex some time later - Wisłocki maintained that a part of the manuscript was put down by the a Slovak, an inhabitant of the north-western part of the Hungarian Kingdom (on the basis of some references as *nobis Ungaris*, etc., see *ibid.*, p. 281), where Czech functioned as written language of the vernacular. Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," esp. 281; and took over by Wolny, "Przekłady łacińskich kazań Peregryna z Opola," 146.

<sup>208</sup> The parts written by various scribes listed by Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," 261-283. The sermon on St. Stanislaus copied by scribe C.

<sup>209</sup> Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," 282-290.

<sup>210</sup> I compared the texts edited by Wisłocki with the texts of Peregrinus edited by Tatarzyński. Wolny reached the same conclusion in his "Łaciński zbiór," 183. Cf. Wolny, "Przekłady łacińskich kazań Peregryna z Opola," 146, where he adds also a sermon on St. Hedwig – I could not verify that (it might be his mistake).

<sup>211</sup> Wisłocki, "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne," 307-8.

abundance above all heavens” (*geho odplata wyeczna, ze gma przybytek nade wssyemy nebessy*), which corresponds with the *felicitas sive mansio* in the Latin copies.<sup>212</sup> Although the redactor included all miracle accounts after the Latin original, the details of the exempla are missing overall. The preacher probably left them out because he did not consider them important; he retold only the gist of the story which was necessary for understanding the message. For example, the *exemplum* of the apparition of St. Stanislaus does not contain the information about the provenance of the man – it is only “a righteous man” (*geden sprawedlywy czlowyek*). The preacher did not even tell the whole *exemplum*, and left out the part which urged the man and through him the others to go to confession. Thus, he slightly changed its original morale. What is important here is that the saint is “blessing his servants, who give him honour and praise” (*Swaty Stanyslaw z yehna swe sluzebnyky, kterzy gemu czynye czyest a chwalu*).<sup>213</sup> Thus, the preacher encourages the hearers that it is worthwhile to praise Stanislaus and turn to him.

Although the preacher mentioned that the attire symbolized the bishop’s virtues, he did not go on to describe particular parts of the priestly attire one by one and attach respective virtues to them. In a very simplified way the preacher only named four virtues of the saint (asceticism – *welyke utrpenye*, generosity/charity – *szczedrost*, humility – *pokora*, effort - *snaznost*), which were clearly based on the enumeration of vestments in the original sermon, but without any symbolical explanations, only with short explanations from the saint’s life.<sup>214</sup> One can only speculate about the reasons that led the preacher to leave out the mnemonic aid of vestments’ symbolism. Did he consider it uninteresting because he wanted to preach to an audience of lay people who were not familiar enough with the intricacies of clerical attire?<sup>215</sup> In this way, the first part of the sermon devoted to the dignity of Bishop Stanislaus underwent changes.

The bad deeds of the “Cracow king” Boleslaus (*Krakowssky kral Boleslaw*) are also described freely.<sup>216</sup> The number three recurred several times during the narrative: the bishop admonished the king three times, the king’s henchmen went around the altar in order to find Stanislaus three times, the king fell and got up three times when he was running to the church in order to kill the bishop.<sup>217</sup> The Old-Czech redaction introduced the gradation and dramatization reminding of folk tales, which was not present in the Latin sermon apart from the motif of the

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 330. I quote the transcription and ortography used by Wisłocki, as the MS. is lost.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>215</sup> I discuss the connections above in the section 4.3.2.2.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 331: “Kdyz swaty Stanyslaw byesse biskupem w Krakowye, a Krakowssky kral Boleslaw sye wyedyessye, a mnoho zleho czynyesse protyw bohu y protyw lydem, kdyz gyl po zemy, ty wzdy spasl chudym lydem luky a osenye, az zyal gym obyle. A nazaytrzye wstana, kazal gym spalaty gych domy, a kazal gye stynaty bez wyny, a wladykam zbozie braty, a gye z zemye wypowyedaty. A psy wyeczye mylowal nez lydy, a kdez zwyedyel zenu wu omladczych, kazal gye dyetye zawrczy, a dwye styenecz kazal gygye gyemy prssmy krmyty, knyzy a zakowstwo hubyl a z zemye gye honyl.”

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 331.

henchmen falling three times before the bishop, which had appeared already in the *Vita*. This passage was also modified: instead of falling back the *satellites* (*panossye*) enter the church and go around the altar three times, but they cannot see the bishop (*trzykrat oltarz obgydechu a swateho Stanyslawa ne uzrzyechu*).<sup>218</sup> The redaction repeated the mistake of several copies of the sermon by Peregrinus in the second part of the sermon, which mentioned Friar Vincent as one of the beneficiaries of the miracle that happened on the sea on the journey to Rome.<sup>219</sup> The sermon ends up with the miracle of restoring the horse to life, as was standard with the sermon by Peregrinus.

The manuscript reveals another piece of evidence concerning St. Stanislaus and the preacher's attitude towards him: it is a significant silence in one of the sermons. Other Czech adaptations of Peregrinus include a sermon on St. Adalbert. The readers will recall that Peregrinus had named St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert (in this order) as the two angels, while the Czech preacher showed different preferences:

The first angel of the Czech land was Saint Wenceslas and the second was St. Adalbert; the two of them enlightened the Czech land, defended and governed it.<sup>220</sup>

Naturally, a preacher in the Czech lands, like anywhere else, would recall the saints who were significant in the respective region, and leave the Polish martyr out.

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<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 332: “Kdyz geden mnych Wynczencziy gedyesse do Rzyma...” For more about the miracle account and the differences between the copies, as well as other sermons which inspired by the sermon by Peregrinus, see above.

<sup>220</sup> Wisłocki, “Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne,” 305-7; the edition 325-9. The citation on p. 326: “Prwny angel Czesskey zemye bil swaty Waczlaw a druhy s. Woytyech, tasta dwa Czessku zemy osswietila, obranye gye a opravgy\* gy.”



#### 4.8 Peregrinus' sermon as a model for other sermons

The last subchapter presents the traces of borrowings from Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus in newly constructed sermons (which could perhaps be called the "maverick" copies, distanced from the standardised text into great extent).<sup>221</sup> Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus was included in a model sermon collection. The manuscript copies reveal that it was widely spread still in the fifteenth century. We can suppose that preachers must have used it a lot. But the copies are not the only indicator of its reception. Not only was the sermon of Peregrinus copied a lot and widespread, it was also mined for preaching material, both in terms of structure and in terms of content, in keeping with the general tendencies in medieval preaching. Some preachers knew the text of Peregrinus, took inspiration from it, but rewrote the sermon and adjusted it to their own needs. The connections with the model are only loose in some cases. There are a considerable number of fifteenth-century sermon texts that prove the widespread knowledge of Peregrinus' sermon on Saint Stanislaus and its enormous influence on preachers still after a hundred or even almost two hundred years. How is the reception of the sermon by Peregrinus visible in other sermons on St. Stanislaus? Some features, structural and contentual, indicate that the authors-preachers knew the sermon ascribed to Peregrinus and incorporated some elements that Peregrinus used in his model sermon into their new works. I will show some examples which demonstrate in what ways the authors of other sermons utilized this text prepared by Peregrinus in order to compose new sermons.

Some preachers took inspiration from the main structural division of the sermon, but even more frequently, they used only some parts which they found useful: e.g. Peregrinus' division on the symbolic exposition of pontifical vestments became quite popular in later texts, and also Peregrinus' part on the miracles and their typology. These elements seem to have been rather original, i.e. they were built upon some models, be it Western authorities or local hagiographical tradition, but the Dominican author managed to give his own original input into them. Thanks to their originality these motifs are easily identifiable in sermons of other authors, although they acknowledged Peregrinus as their source explicitly only once, with a technical reference for the preacher: *Vide in peregrino*.<sup>222</sup> In a similar way, not only Peregrinus, but also numerous preachers all over Europe utilized the model collections of James of Varazze, mined it for material, and used smaller units of his sermons, i.e. divisions and distinctions or sections, exempla, rhetorical figures or quotations from authorities, in newly written models and sermons. This is the rationale behind

<sup>221</sup> Reference as fn. 4 above at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>222</sup> Sermon XXXIX, MS. BJ 1619, f. 315r. The author made use of Peregrinus' part about miracles. The author referred after the introduction of the miracle account of the resurrection of Peter: "etc. vide in peregrino," (maybe a reference to another codex of his, to another manual out of his library that he copied), in order to see a more detailed description of the miracle (and not a *vita!*).

the electronic edition of the model sermons by James of Varazze by an international group of scientists: [www.sermones.net](http://www.sermones.net). Diffusion and general knowledge of his works were the prerequisites for this functioning of model texts.<sup>223</sup>

At least thirteen sermons on St. Stanislaus in various manuscripts render some parallels with the sermon by Peregrinus. They drew on his sermon either directly (thanks to its copies) or indirectly, through the medium of other sermons which had drawn on the original text; the third hypothetical option is that the analogies are purely accidental.<sup>224</sup> Most of the texts in which I identified borrowings from Peregrinus' sermon come from the fifteenth century only, mostly from its second half. Only three of the sermons were written down in the second half of the fourteenth century: two manuscripts of Bohemian provenance (a Prague and a Bratislava manuscript, Sermons XXIV and LXIII) and a sermon on St. Boniface modelled on St. Stanislaus' sermon (Sermon IC). In a number of manuscripts these texts were integral parts of the collection ordered according to the liturgical *sanctorale*. Some of these codices contain several sermons on St. Stanislaus.<sup>225</sup> In other cases the sermons on St. Stanislaus appear outside of liturgically ordered collections, among various preaching aids.<sup>226</sup>

Some later sermons were considerably long and had a complicated and convoluted structure with many divisions and subdivisions. They could have served rather as repertories of materials useful for preaching about St. Stanislaus. They make an impression that the author or a scribe wanted to collect as much material as possible – e.g. *divisiones*, excerpts from hagiography and authorities, and so on – so that he could make use of them later.<sup>227</sup> Some texts could be rather academic exercises than texts meant to be preached in that form. In some cases the preserved texts could reflect a form in that the particular sermon was delivered more closely: rough script (e.g. BJ 836, BJ 1635) and the form of notes (Cracow Chapter Library 154) would point to that possibility. The text in the manuscript Uppsala 324 (Sermon IE) represents a different case – the redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus contains only the hagiographical narrative part.

<sup>223</sup> It is a pattern similar to the functioning of *distinctiones* collections. For Peregrinus' use of Voragine, see Jerzy Wołny, "Łaciński zbiór," 205, 210 and passim. For use of Voragine in an example from Central Europe, see my short article "Reception of Voragine's Sermons in Central Europe – A Few Examples," <http://www.sermones.net/spip.php?article27> (published on May 27, 2007). Cf. also another study by O. Gecser, *The Pécs Sermones Dominicales and the Sermones de tempore of James of Varazze*, <http://www.sermones.net/spip.php?article26> (published on May 23, 2007).

<sup>224</sup> Sermons no. II, III, IV, XI, XXIV, XXIX, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLVII, L, LXIII, LXXV. Additionally, I include also the redactions of the sermon by Peregrinus: Sermon IC and IE (here holds true what has been mentioned – that sometimes it is difficult to decide if the text is a redaction or a new sermon). For more information concerning the sermons and the manuscripts, see the *Register of Sermons* and the *List of Manuscripts*. Some texts are described in more detail also in Chapter 3.6 and elsewhere in the dissertation.

<sup>225</sup> BJ 1609 – 4 sermons, BJ 1619 – 2 sermons, BJ 1635 – 2 sermons, BUWr I F 520 – 2 sermons, Cracow Chapter Library 154 – 2 sermons, Kórnik 53 – 2 sermons.

<sup>226</sup> E. g. Sermon II in Budapest, Cod. Lat. 75; Sermon III in MS. BJ 836.

<sup>227</sup> E.g. Sermon XXIX in MS. Kórnik 1122, f. 178v-183 (ed. Zathay, "Nowe źródło," 369-379); Sermon XXXVI (in MS. BJ 1609, f. 308v-311r and other); Sermon II in Budapest Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450-451.

Few authors of sermons on St. Stanislaus besides Peregrinus used the same biblical *thema* from the Hebrews - only three pieces identified so far (Sermons II, III, IV). The number of model sermons beginning with this biblical verse in circulation was not large and the verse most probably did not have any direct connection with the liturgy of the feasts of St. Stanislaus.<sup>228</sup> Given these conditions, if a preacher chose this verse from the Hebrews as the theme for his sermon on St. Stanislaus, he would have probably known the sermon by Peregrinus and his model may have influenced him into some extent. The choice of this particular *thema* could have been motivated by the author-preacher's knowledge of Peregrinus' famous text.

Borrowings of the structure proposed by Peregrinus also testified to the knowledge of his sermon. Even in these cases, and also in general, the authors did not take over the whole structure from Peregrinus as the basis for the construction of their own sermon.<sup>229</sup> They took over its part, or rarely, they quoted Peregrinus' threefold division in the middle of their own text as an authority. As a result, the original main *divisio* became only a *divisio* (one of several *divisiones*) in a new sermon, sometimes even not a fully developed one.<sup>230</sup> A very special case is a sermon in the manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford coming from the Benedictine monastery in Erfurt (Sermon IC – a redaction of the sermon on Stanislaus by Peregrinus).<sup>231</sup> The scribe took over the whole structure and copied the first part almost *verbatim* after the Dominican. He logically omitted the *exemplum* about the apparition of St. Stanislaus coming from the *Vita maior* by Vincent of Kielcza, while he kept another fragment originating from the same life, which suited the description of St. Boniface thanks to its general applicability.<sup>232</sup> When it came to more particular hagiographic information, the copyist had to move away from his original model more radically and he copied a fragment of the legend about St. Boniface instead. The Oxford example demonstrates the utility and the good structure of the model sermon by Peregrinus. The model proved to have been practical even if used for another saint, when it could be tailored to different needs.

Much more frequently, preachers took over or got inspired by only a part of Peregrinus' model, e.g. a hagiographic *exemplum*, the symbolism of vestments or the typology of miracles. The miracle of the apparition of St. Stanislaus occurred in at least four sermons on the Polish saint in the

<sup>228</sup> For the frequency, liturgical and sermon occasions of this verse, see above.

<sup>229</sup> Siegfried Wenzel (*Latin Sermon Collections*, 5-6) gives an example when a sermon borrowed a *thema* and main division from his model, but used it only as one of the two parts of new sermon's structure and it was filled in with a material different from his model.

<sup>230</sup> Like in the case of the Sermon no. IV from the MS. BJ 1635, f. 93v: "Dicendum autem tria de sancto Stanislao..."

<sup>231</sup> Schneyer listed the sermon from the MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hamilton 50, f. 211-213 in the collection of Peregrinus' *de sanctis*, cf. *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, 560, no. 138: *In festo sancti Bonifatii* ("In his verbis tria dicuntur... sed incarnationis Domini 755."). The sermon on St. Stanislaus is missing on Schneyer's list.

<sup>232</sup> Oxford Bodleian Library, Hamilton 50, f. 211v: "... que fuit ita lata, quod extendebatur per totum **mundum et precipue per** eius episcopatum quia omnes pauperes et viduas et orphanos et leprosos et alios in corde suo quasi in libro scriptos habebat quibus necessaria singulis **diebus** ministrabat; mensa eius communis erat omnibus et maxime hospitibus" [the modifications are marked in bold, emphasis mine]. Cf. "In festo sancti Stanislai" in Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587 and *Vita maior*, 372.

fifteenth century.<sup>233</sup> Some sermons retold the miracle in the same way as Peregrinus did and even took over his formulation of the urge for blessing, which preceded the *exemplum*. The author of the sermon in BJ 1635 (Sermon IV), immediately after the quotation of Peregrinus' *divisio thematis* in the middle of a sermon, copied also the first sentence introducing the miracle of apparition, although he did not attach the *exemplum* itself: "It is read about him that he was seen in a vision blessing a number of people in a field."<sup>234</sup> The fifteenth-century author of a sermon from the Kórník manuscript (Sermon XXIX) took over the whole passage from Peregrinus, but placed it in a different place within the structure of his sermon - as the third out of four ways in which the episcopal dignity was demonstrated, namely *benedictio populi* and introduced the account with supplementary words.<sup>235</sup> Likewise, another preacher (Sermon XXXVI) incorporated the account at yet a different place within the structure: as the ninth element in the enumeration of bishop's garments.<sup>236</sup>

One of the passages that found echo in sermons by other authors was the enumeration of episcopal vestments, building upon the motif of St. Stanislaus in *pontificalia* from the apparition account.<sup>237</sup> The sermon in the MS. BJ 1609 (Sermon XXXVI) borrowed Peregrinus' enumeration and introduced slight changes only, and subsequently added the crozier (*baculus*) and the blessing (together with the *exemplum* describing an apparition of St. Stanislaus, which Peregrinus used in a different place) as the eighth and the ninth attributes of the bishop.<sup>238</sup> The editor of the sermon from the MS. Kórník 1122 (Sermon XXIX) noticed its numerous analogies with the text by Peregrinus.<sup>239</sup> The redaction of the Peregrinian fragment about the symbolism of vestments in MS. Kórník 1122 is akin with the version from MS. BJ 1609: the list from Peregrinus with a few precisions, then a passage on the episcopal crozier (*baculus*) and an *exemplum* of the apparition of Stanislaus in *pontificalia* blessing the people. The *baculus* was to represent the dignity of pastoral jurisdiction.<sup>240</sup> The passage borrowed from the Dominican's sermon was introduced with a citation from Aquinas' *Commentary of the Fourth Book of the Sentences* pertaining to the episcopal vestments, which might have been one of Peregrinus' sources as well.<sup>241</sup> The extract enumerated the

<sup>233</sup> Sermons no. IV, XXIX, XXXVI, LXXV.

<sup>234</sup> BJ 1635, f. 93v: "Et quia noster episcopus est, debemus ab eo benedictionem petere, quia hoc suum officium est, quod ipse libenter faciet. Legitur de ipso, quod in visione videbatur in quodam campo multos benedicere." The whole sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>235</sup> Kórník 1122, f. 178v-183. Ed. J. Zathay, "Nowe źródło," 376.

<sup>236</sup> BJ 1609, f. 310r.

<sup>237</sup> Sermons no. XXIX, XXXVI, L.

<sup>238</sup> BJ 1609, f. 309v-310r.

<sup>239</sup> Zathay, "Nowe źródło," 367.

<sup>240</sup> MS. Kórník 1122, ed. Zathay, "Nowe źródło," 373-376. Interestingly, the passage on the crozier recalled the *exemplum* about St. Maternus, about a disciple restored to life with the crozier of St. Peter the Apostle, which was mentioned in the *vitae* after the legend of Piotrawin; in the *Vita maior* II/7-8; *Vita minor*, chapters 17-18. Cf. Ch. 1.1.2, 27.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. Thomae Aquinati, *Commentum* quoted above, fn. 91.

episcopal vestments and also prerogatives more precisely than Peregrinus. By quoting this passage, as if the author wanted to correct Peregrinus' information, paying special attention to the attributes of the bishop, and not only to those of the priest, like Peregrinus did. Among others, the citation from St. Thomas mentioned also the pallium as the archbishop's attribute, which symbolised a gold wreath, which those who stood the test merited.<sup>242</sup> In the same way St. Stanislaus fought and metaphorically achieved the wreath, i.e. the pallium; he was armed and decorated with all virtues, which were symbolised by the *ornamenta episcopi et sacerdotis*.<sup>243</sup> The allusion to the archiepiscopal pallium of Stanislaus could have additional ideological significance – it pointed to the archiepiscopal pretensions of Cracow. Only after the passage from Aquinas the fragment from Peregrinus followed. The sermon notes in a manuscript in the Cracow Chapter Library (Sermon L) also contained a similar list of vestments with respective virtues.<sup>244</sup> The author of another sermon from the Kórnik Library manuscript (Sermon XLVII) could also have known Peregrinus' sermon, because he briefly meditated in keeping with medieval tradition on the topic of the glory that sprang from external appearance – from pontifical vestments, which was not the true glory.<sup>245</sup>

Some preachers took over the structural division and the selection of miracle *exempla*,<sup>246</sup> as well as the wording of the accounts in the form adapted by Peregrinus.

<sup>242</sup> MS. Kórnik 1122, ed. Zathy, "Nowe źródło," 373: "Ecce dignitas episcoporum, sed archiepiscopi ulterius habent pallium in signum privilegiate potestatis, "quia in pallio plenitudo pontificalis officii confertur" videlicet De usu pallii ca. Nisi [Extra, 1, 8, 3]; et significat torquem auream, quam solebant legitime certantes accipere; sicut certavit gloriosus episcopus et martir Stanislaus cum invido dyabolo et rege Boleslao..." [The passage was corrected, the citation marked and reference supplemented by myself].

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.: "quia fuit armatus et ornatus omnibus virtutibus, que per ornamenta episcopi et sacerdotis designantur."

<sup>244</sup> MS. Cracow, Chapter Library 154, f. 700 named *humeralis, alba, cingulus, manipulus, stola, casula*.

<sup>245</sup> MS. Kórnik 52, f. 73v: "Quarta gloria fuit in exteriori apparencia, quoniam vestibus pontificalibus fuit decenter exornatus et pontificali infula decoratus, ut de ipso dicatur illud Psalmi: *Gloria et honore coronasti eum Domine, et constituisti eum etc.* In illa tamen apparencia non est gloriatus."

<sup>246</sup> See the table "Miracula in Other Sermons." Sermons IV (BJ 1635), II (Budapest University Library, Cod.lat. 75), XXXVI (BJ 1609), LXXV (BUWr I F 520), LXIII (Bratislava Chapter Library 64), XXXIV (Prague Chapter Library F 46), XXXVIII (BJ 1646), XXXIX (BJ 1619).

**TABLE: Miracula in Other Sermons**<sup>247</sup>

| Peregrinus  | LXIII  | XXXIV  | IV   | II  | XXXVI<br>XXXVI<br>II | XXXIX  | LXXV   |
|---|--|--|--|---|----------------------|--|--|
| 1.Deus<br>2.celum<br>3.terra<br><br>4.aqua<br>5.ignis<br>6.mors<br>7.infirmi-<br>tates<br>a<br>b<br>c | 1.Deus<br>2.celum<br><br>3.aqua<br>4.ignis<br>5.mors<br>6.diverse<br>infirmittates<br><b>a</b> | 1.Deus<br><b>1a.martyrium</b><br><b>1b.corpus</b><br>2.celum<br><b>2a.terra</b><br><b>2b.lux</b><br><b>3.terra</b><br><b>(=mors)</b> | 1.Deus<br>2.celum<br><b>3.aer</b><br><br>4.aqua<br>5.ignis<br>6.terra<br>(=mors)<br>7.omnis<br>infirmittas<br><b>(different)</b><br><br><b>8.demones</b> | 1.Deus<br>2.celum<br>3.terra<br><br>4.aqua<br>5.ignis<br>6.mors<br>7.varie<br>et multe<br>infirmittates<br><b>(different)</b> | 1.aqua<br>2.ignis    | 1.Deus<br>2.celum<br><br>3.aqua<br>4.ignis<br>5.mors<br>6.diverse<br>infirmittates<br><b>a</b><br><b>b</b> | 1.celum<br><b>4.terra</b><br><b>(=mors)</b><br>2.aqua<br>3.ignis<br><br>6.diverse<br>infirmittates<br><br><b>5.demones</b> |

Some manuscripts added new phenomena that tested Stanislaus' sanctity, which they considered as missing in Peregrinus, namely air (*aer*) or demons (*demones*).<sup>248</sup> Sometimes preachers changed the heading of a miracle borrowed from Peregrinus; for example, they substituted Peregrinus' heading *mors* for the miracle of Piotrawin for the heading *terra*.<sup>249</sup> Sometimes the order of the *exempla* and the wording changed, but the parallel with Peregrinus' sermon remained clear. Most frequently the modifications were made in the form or structure only. Preachers modified the order of the miracles and their wording or simply shortened the original text. The order of the miracle *exempla* was modified for example in a sermon in the MS. BUWr I F 520, where they were listed as follows: *celum, aqua, ignis, terra, demones, diverse infirmitates*.<sup>250</sup> The author of a sermon in the MS. BJ 1609 evoked only two points: *aqua* and *ignis*.<sup>251</sup> The sermon in BJ 1635 contained only one miracle under the heading *omnis infirmitas*, but not identical with any of the three *exempla* cited by Peregrinus.<sup>252</sup> Nevertheless, the analogies with Peregrinus' sermon remain evident even in these cases.

Some texts added new spiritual significance to the miracles. The framework of the final part of the sermon in the manuscript BJ 1635 of Jan of Dąbrówka, which discussed the evidence of

<sup>247</sup> Particular sermons are listed in columns under their numbers from the *Register of Sermons*. The modifications as to the model of Peregrinus are marked in bold. The numbers before particular phenomena indicate their order in the sermon.

<sup>248</sup> *Aer*: BJ 1635, f. 94 (Sermon IV); *demones*: BJ 1635, f. 94 (Sermon IV); BUWr I F 520, f. 327v–328v (Sermon LXXV).

<sup>249</sup> In the sermons in MSS. BUWr I F 520, f. 327v–328v (Sermon LXXV) and BJ 1635, f. 94r–v (Sermon IV).

<sup>250</sup> BUWr I F 520, f. 327v–328v (Sermon LXXV) – cf. the sequence of accounts in Peregrinus' sermon above.

<sup>251</sup> BJ 1609, f. 310r–v (Sermon XXXVI). Also only two points in the sermon in the Sermon no. XXXVIII in the MS. BJ 1646, f. 236: as the subdivision of the second point: *felicitas* (the first point was *sanctitas*): *eius felicitatem probat* 1) *aqua*, 2) *ignis*.

<sup>252</sup> BJ 1635, f. 94r–v (Sermon IV). The whole sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

sanctity, is into a certain extent taken over from the Dominican's sermon. The bishop's sanctity was tested by God, the heaven, the earth, the fire, the water and various diseases, but also, in addition to the list designed by Peregrinus, by the air and the demons. Unlike Peregrinus, the author did not put down the miracle account for each of these phenomena, but rather summarised it in a concise sentence. For some phenomena, he related the particular dangers with sins. For example, he compared the dismemberment of Stanislaus' dead body with the division of the bodies of immorally living people among the prostitutes:

God namely revealed his sanctity when he powerfully reintegrated his divided body. It was indeed worthy that he who did not have his heart divided, would have had neither the body divided. Many are divided in their heart; Hosea 10 [2]: "His heart is divided." Even more numerous are those who are divided in their bodies, these are those who have divided their bodies among many prostitutes.<sup>253</sup>

He equated the fire to luxury: "Therefore if the fire of luxury burns you, pray!"<sup>254</sup> He used the expression "to be submersed in a sin" when talking about the miracles of saving from submersion.<sup>255</sup> In comparing the physical dangers represented by natural phenomena and diseases to the dangers threatening one's soul, i.e. the sin, the preacher sought to underscore that St. Stanislaus had equally the power to help the faithful from their spiritual troubles. The message appeared already at the outset of the sermon – God sent St. Stanislaus in order to save and correct the sinful Cracow. In this respect, the preacher went further than Peregrinus, who simply celebrated the miraculous powers of Saint Stanislaus against all phenomena as a proof of his sanctity and encouraged the faithful to invoke him for help in physical trouble.

Two sermons that are completely constructed on the miracle accounts represent yet a different example. They do not contain any trace of Peregrinus' first part on the dignity of bishop's office, but they clearly show analogies with the second part of Peregrinus' text, which contained the miracles demonstrating the sanctity of Stanislaus. Their content was perhaps determined already by the choice of the liturgical *themata*: "He had testimony that he pleased God" (*Testimonium habuit placuisse Deo*, Heb 11,5)<sup>256</sup> and "Know ye also that the Lord hath made his holy one wonderful" (*Scitote quoniam mirificavit Deus sanctum suum*, Ps 4,4).<sup>257</sup> The focus perhaps explains the omission of the part devoted to the dignity. Interestingly, both sermons are quite old, unlike many copies of Peregrinus' sermon and the sermons inspired by him that were analysed here. They are

<sup>253</sup> BJ 1635, f. 94r (Sermon IV): "Sanctum enim ostendit Deus corpus eius sectum potenter reintegrando. Dignus [!] enim fuit, quod ille, qui divisum cor non habuit, quod nec corpus divisum haberet. Multi sunt divisi corde, Osee X [2]: *Divisum est cor eius* et plures divide corpore, qui corpus multis meretricibus dividerunt."

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.: "Si ergo te urit ignis luxurie, roga."

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.: "Si ergo submersus es in aliquo peccato, roga."

<sup>256</sup> Sermon XXXIV in MS. Prague Chapter Library F46, f. 80r. The sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>257</sup> Sermon LXIII in MS. Bratislava Chapter Library 64, f. 327v.

found in the manuscripts dating back to the mid-fourteenth century (after 1328)<sup>258</sup> and the mid- or late-fourteenth century,<sup>259</sup> respectively. Moreover, both manuscripts are of Bohemian (or Moravian) provenance. Thus, we can suppose that by that time - as early as mid-fourteenth century perhaps - the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus was known in the Czech lands.<sup>260</sup> Hypothetically, we can speculate that a Prague sermon or its variant (supplying the list and typology of miracles) could have served to Peregrinus as a model, which he would then have expanded. This alternative is less probable though. Both sermons draw exclusively on the saint's hagiography – they practically do not have any general parts, but are wholly narrative. Another valuable observation is that the two sermons contain very graphic descriptions of the saint's martyrdom with the king hitting the bishop into the head.

Late medieval preachers frequently used the same hagiographical fragments as Peregrinus (e.g. the typology and the selection of miracles), from which could be inferred that they knew them through his text. The Dominican's modifications with respect to the *Vita maior* can be traced in sermons by other authors. It is not by accident that various authors repeated certain formulations after Peregrinus, and not after the *Vita maior*, for example. A typical feature is the expression that the king *fuit tantus tyrannus*,<sup>261</sup> which can be easily identified in other texts as borrowings from Peregrinus.<sup>262</sup> The borrowings from Peregrinus' sermon were sometimes subject to interpolations motivated by political, ideological, or literary interests, or sometimes in order to introduce new information with respect to Peregrinus and the *vitae*. For example, fragments from the first part of the sermon describing the life of King Boleslaus and the martyrdom of Stanislaus were sometimes enriched with allusions to unnatural sexual practices of the king or a legend about his penitence.<sup>263</sup> Another easily recognisable extract occurs in later sermons: they retold the account of the miracle on the sea in the wording identical with Peregrinus, including his mistake, as compared to the *Vita maior*. All preachers who included the *exemplum* repeated the error after Peregrinus.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>258</sup> A. Patera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapituly pražské*, v. 2 (Prague: Česká akademie, 1922), 45–46.

<sup>259</sup> Ján Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1981), 91–92. The sermon is described as belonging to Peregrinus' collection *de sanctis*.

<sup>260</sup> There are two fourteenth-century copies of Peregrinus' collection *de sanctis* including the sermon on Stanislaus in the same library nowadays, Prague Metropolitan Chapter Library F 65, f. 46-48 and F 71, f. 207-209.

<sup>261</sup> Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587, lin. 51 and ff.

<sup>262</sup> For example, among other in the Sermon no. IE in the MS. Uppsala C 324, f. 88r (see below) and in Sermon XI in the MS. Kórník 53, f. 123r (“... contra Regem Boleslaum qui fuit crudelis et tanquam tyrannus [!], quia ubicumque transiebat in terra” etc.).

<sup>263</sup> More in Zathay, “Nowe źródło,” 365–382; and J. Banaszkiwicz, “Czarna i biała legenda, 353–390. Besides the Sermon XXIX in the MS. Kórník 1122, similar additions are found in Sermon IV in the MS. BJ 1635 (f. 93v), mentioned also by Zathay. See also above in this chapter, section 4.3.2.3.

<sup>264</sup> Sermon II in Budapest Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450v; Sermon XXIX in MS. Kórník 1122 (J. Zathay, “Nowe źródło,” 377); Sermon XXXVI in MS. BJ 1609, f. 310r–v; Sermon LXIII in MS. Bratislava Chapter Library 64, f. 327v.



Some users of Peregrinus' sermon were not interested in its structural features at all – they were interested only in the narrative hagiographic information and used the model sermon of Peregrinus as a mine for hagiographic information, in the same way as they would use a legend or a *vita*. For example, there is an Uppsala manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century, which probably originated in a German region and then belonged to the library of Vadstena convent (C 324, f. 88-90, Sermon IE). The compiler, who collected various types of preaching material in the volume (also the sermons and the legends by James of Varazze), copied only the narrative passages from Peregrinus: starting with the description of King Boleslaus (*De sancto Stanislao legitur, quod Boleslaus fuit tantus tyrannus, etc.*), through the martyrdom and the miracles, but without the structural frame that Peregrinus had supplied. The textual analogies clearly demonstrate that his source was Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus, and none of the known hagiographical texts.

Dominican friars created the core of the hagiography on St. Stanislaus – the *Vita maior* by Vincent of Kielcza and the *Vita minor (Legend)*. The examples above demonstrate that the sermon of Peregrinus of Opole, who himself utilised the work of his fellow friar, could be added to this repertory. It is remarkable that Peregrinus' sermon served for further authors also as a source of hagiographic information. They considered it perhaps more practical than the more lengthy *vitae*. In my opinion, the assumption that later authors drew from the Dominican's sermon is much more convincing than the hypothesis that there existed another, so far unidentified, source common to Peregrinus and all other authors. The existence of such a source cannot be completely refuted, but it could only be identified as a result of a more thorough manuscript enquiry and textual-critical analysis of hagiographical and preaching works pertaining to St. Stanislaus (the *Vita*, the *Legend*, various short versions and excerpts found in sermon collections).

Until now this chapter dealt with the sermons on St. Stanislaus which took inspiration from the sermon on the same saint by Peregrinus. However, preachers could turn to the sermon on the martyr bishop also when they wanted to compose a sermon on another saint. Like in the case of preparing new sermons on St. Stanislaus, they would regularly do so in the oral delivery without leaving behind any kind of written evidence. It was a legitimate medieval practice. Still, I will mention a few cases which are extant in manuscripts. The sermon on St. Boniface, which was a reworking of the sermon on the Polish saint, has already been mentioned. Another example that I want to bring up is found in the manuscript with sermon notes of Jan of Dąbrówka, which has already been mentioned several times (BJ 1635). A section of the sermon on St. Adalbert on the

theme *Vidi alterum angelum*<sup>265</sup> described the saint's miracles ordered according to the same typology as Peregrinus had used in his sermon on St. Stanislaus:

God, the Heaven, the water, and so on, tested that the saint was like an angel. Search in the sermon on Stanislaus. And you can adapt it for both, and also for St. Florian, who was an angel and strong.<sup>266</sup>

The writer referred explicitly to a sermon on St. Stanislaus, which could not have been a different sermon than the one by Peregrinus (or possibly its redaction). The utilizer was advised to look up the details in the sermon on St. Stanislaus in another place. And the writer continues that the same division could be adapted for a sermon on St. Florian. A similar motif really appears in a sermon on St. Florian, which is found a few folios later in the volume.<sup>267</sup>

The survey above demonstrates how intensively Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus was used among the preachers and authors in the late Middle Ages. Not only was the sermon of Peregrinus copied a lot and widespread, it was also mined for preaching material, both in terms of structure and in terms of content (in keeping with the general tendency in medieval preaching). The sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus well illustrated the intellectual culture of its author: he was well versed both in Western theological-pastoral literature and in the local hagiographic works. Interestingly, Peregrinus frequently served as a source of hagiographic information for his late medieval followers. I think it is more feasible than the existence of a common source, especially on the miracles of St. Stanislaus, for Peregrinus and many other sermons.

Thanks to the authority of the author and thanks to the text's versatility and utility, it was used a lot. However, it was usually used like a piece of a puzzle: the authors would usually take a fragment (or more fragments) that was useful for them and they would place it wherever fitting. Others divided Peregrinus' text into parts and then integrated the whole Peregrinus' text, part by part, into their new sermon in various places. Moreover, a group of sermons that I mentioned as examples seem to have been interrelated between each other and have more analogies sometimes, besides the use of Peregrinus. Most of the examples that I dealt with were fifteenth-century longish sermons with a complicated and convoluted structure, with parts taken over from Peregrinus. Whether they were texts to be preached or only academic exercises, they attest the *longue durée* of Peregrinus' sermon and its important position among the medieval preaching texts on St. Stanislaus.

<sup>265</sup> Although the sermon has got the same theme as the sermon on St. Adalbert by Peregrinus, it is a different text. For more about the manuscript BJ 1635, see Chapter 3.6.

<sup>266</sup> MS. BJ 1635, f. 81v: "Quod aut fuerit iste sanctus sicut angelus, hoc probat Deus, hoc celum, hoc aqua, etc. **Quere in sermone Stanislai** et potes de utroque adaptare et de Floriano, qui fuit angelus et fortis."

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 90v. The sermon on St. Martin on the theme *Talis decebat* (f. 171r-v) also shows some similarities with the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus.

If we tried to reconstruct a certain standardised repertory of preaching *topoi* about St. Stanislaus, the topics introduced by Peregrinus of Opole would certainly have their place in it. No matter how few facts we know about the collections of Peregrinus and the sermon on St. Stanislaus attributed to him, I believe that this study demonstrated its important position in late medieval preaching in this region.

TABLE: Main differences between the manuscript copies of Peregrinus' sermon on St. Stanislaus<sup>1</sup>

Part 1

|   | BJ 1617   | BUWr IF 527  | BUWr IQ 280  | BUWr IQ 286  | BUWr IQ 335  | BUWr IQ 355   | AD L XV 28   | BUWr IV Q 177  |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| Incipit and divisio thematis [Peregrinus, <i>Sermones</i> , lin. 5-7] | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio...</b> | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur nobis de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas, ... Secundo sua sanctitas ... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio...</b> | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas, cum dicitur ‚pontifex‘. Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio...</b>  | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de sancto Stanislao, primo eius dignitas... secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> quam habuit, et hoc in excelsior celis factus. | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao, primo eius dignitas... Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> quam habuit hoc ibi excelsior celis factus. | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanizlao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo eius sanctitas... <b>Tercio eius felicitas sive mansio...</b> | In his verbis <b>duo</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo eius sanctitas... | In his verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de sancto Stanislao, primo eius dignitas... Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> quam habuit et hoc ibi excelsior celis factus est. |
| quidam bonus homo... [lin. 11-12]                                     | Quidam bonus homo existens in nacionis  | Slavconia  | In Slacovia  | Bonus homo quidam existens in Cracovia   | Quidam bonus homo in Cracovia  | Quidam bonus homo existens in Slaconia  |  | quidam bonus homo existens in slacouia   |
| vade... [lin. 19-21]  | Nunc ergo vade ad fratres de sancta trinitate.. dic confessori tuo hanc visionem, u team dicat episcopo.  | Vade ad Craco, ad fratres predicatorum ... peccata tua et dic confessori hanc visionem ut ipse dicat eam episcopo.   | Ergo vade ad fratres de sancta Trinitate... peccata tua et dic confessori hanc visionem ut ipse dicat eam episcopo.  | Nunc igitur vade ad fratres de Sancta Trinitate et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori visionem hanc ut ipse eam dicat episcopo.   | Nunc igitur vade ad fratres de Sancta Trinitate et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori visionem hanc ut ipse eam dicat episcopo.   | Nunc ergo vade ad fratres de Sancta Trinitate et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori tuo hanc visionem et quod ipse eam dicat episcopo.       |  | vade ad fratres de santa trinitate et confitearis tua peccata et dic tuo confessori hanc visionem ut ipse dicat eam episcopo.  |
| Rogemus. [not in the edition, between lin. 21 and 22]                 | Rogemus etc.  | Rogemus etc.   | Rogemus etc.   | X  | X  | X   |  | Rogemus igitur Deo.  |
| ... Crisma consecrare... [lin. 24-26]                                 | ... qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi, absolve[re] a peccatis, crisma consecrare, unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi.   | Qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi.                    | Magna dignitas est esse episcoporum qui habent sacrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus cristi absolvere a peccatis crisma consecrare unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi. | ... qui habet consecrare virgines, sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi, absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde perunguntur pueri et  | ... qui habet consecrare virgines et sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi, absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde perunguntur pueri et  | Qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi absolvere a peccatis crisma consecrare unde  |  | ... qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Cristi et absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde   |

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the copies, I included also Redaction IB, whose structure is close to the copies. Where fields are empty, I have not been able to provide precise reference.

|                                |  |  |   |  |  |   |   |  |
|--------------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|
|                                |  | infirmi.   |   | infirmi.   | infirmi.   | perunguntur<br>pueri et infirmi.  |   | pueri et infirmi<br>perunguntur.   |
| Duplex pugna<br>[lin. 46-50]   | Unum ante, alium retro,<br>per quod signature<br>duplex pugna, quam<br>iuste potest et debet<br>exercere. Primus clypeus<br>significat pugnam pro<br>fide. Secundus<br>significat pugnam quam<br>habere debet pro iusticia<br>et ecclesia sua. | Unum ante et alium<br>retro, per quod<br>signatur <b>duplex<br/>pugna pro fide</b><br>Secundus clipeus<br>signat pugnam quam<br>debet habere pro<br>iusticia et ecclesia<br>sua. | Unum ante et alium<br>retro, per quod<br>designatur duplex<br>pugna quam iuste<br>exercet, primus clipeus<br>significat pugnam pro<br>fide, secundus clipeus<br>pugnam quam debet<br>episcopus habere et<br>tenere pro iusticia et<br>ecclesia sua. | Unum ante alterum<br>retro, per quam<br>signatur duplex pugna,<br>quam iuste decet et<br>potest pugnare: primus<br>clipeo significat<br>pugnam pro fide,<br>secundus significat<br>pugnam quam debet<br>pro iusticia et ecclesia<br>sua. | Unum ante alter retro,<br>per quam signatur<br>duplex pugna, quam<br>iuste debet et potest<br>pugnare: primus<br>clypeus significat<br>pugnam pro fide,<br>secundus significat<br>pugnam quam habere<br>debet pro iusticia et<br>ecclesia sua. | Unum ante et<br>alium retro, per<br>quod significatur<br>duplex pugna<br>quam iuste<br>potest et debet<br>exercere,<br><b>primus</b> clipeus<br>signat pugnam<br>quam habere<br>debet pro iusticia<br>et ecclesia sua,<br>et istam pugnam<br>beatus Stanizlaus<br>habuit contra<br>regem... |   | duplex pugna,<br>quam iuste potest<br>et debet exercere,<br>primus clipeus<br>significat<br>pugnam pro fide,<br>secundus<br>significat<br>pugnam quam<br>debet habere pro<br>iusticiam et sua<br>ecclesia. |
| Probat ipse...<br>[lin. 70ff.] | <i>Om. terra</i>   | <i>Om. Terra</i>   | As edition  | As edition   | As edition   | <i>Om. terra</i>  |   |  |
| Explicit<br>[lin. 175-178]     | ...signa, ubi incisus fuerat<br>equus in pelle manserunt<br>pro testimonio.  | Et intrans sepulcrum<br>emisit spiritum.<br>Rogemus eum.<br>Amen.  | ... et vexillum in<br>testimonium sue<br>sanctitatis in eadem<br>ecclesia permansit etc.  | Signa tamen, ubi<br>incisus erat equus in<br>pelle, manserunt pro<br>testimonio. Rogemus.  | Signa tamen ubi<br>incisus erat equus in<br>pelle, manserunt pro<br>testimonio. [Et sic<br>multa alia signa fecit<br>pueors suscitando,<br>sicut patet in legenda<br>sua, etc.]  | ...Signa autem<br>incisionis, cum<br>incisus fuerat<br>equus in pelle<br>manserunt pro<br>testimonio.   | Signa tamen, ubi<br>incisus fuit<br>equus in pelle<br>manserunt in<br>testimonium eius<br>sanctitatis.<br>Rogemus<br>Dominum. | signa tamen ubi<br>fuerat incisus in<br>pelle manserunt<br>pro testimonio.   |

|                          | <b>PAN 1707 (Sermon IB)</b>   | <b>Kórník 53</b>  | <b>Praha F 65/2</b>  | <b>Praha F 71</b>   | <b>Uppsala C 201</b>  | <b>Leipzig 442</b>  | <b>Gniezno 24</b>   |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| Incipit/divisio thematis | <b>Im(sic!) premissis verbis tria nobis proposita (?) de sancto Stanislao.</b><br>Primo eius dignitas...<br>Secundo eius sanctitas...<br><b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> , quam <b>profunde</b> habet, cum dicitur excelsior celis factus.  | In verbis istis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> ...  | In verbis istis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de sancto Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo eius sanctitas... <b>Tercio eius excellencia</b> ...  | In istis verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas... Secundo eius sanctitas...<br><b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> ...  | In hiis verbis <b>tria</b> dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas...Secundo sua sanctitas... <b>Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio</b> ...  | In verbis istis <b>tria</b> dicuntur. Primo ...<br>Secundo... sanctitas...<br><b>Tercio... felicitas sive mansio</b> quam habuit...   |   |
| quidam bonus homo...     | quidam bonus homo in Slafkoff   | Quidam bonus existens Slavkovic   | Quidam homo existens in Sclavonia, id est w slowianskey zemy   | Quidam bonus homo existens in Cracovia  | Quidam bonus homo existens in Slavconia   | Quidam bonus homo existens in Slaucouia   | Quidam bonus homo in Cracovia   |
| vade...                  | Nunc ergo vade Cracoviam ad fratres de sancta Trinitate de ordine predicatorum et confitearis peccata tua, et dic confessori tuo hanc visionem ut potest/post eam revellet Episcopo.  | Nunc igitur vade et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori hanc visionem ut ipse dicat eam populo.   | Vade ad fratres de s Trinitate et dic hanc visionem confessori tuo ut ipse dicat episcopo.   | Ergo vade ad fratres de s trinitate ... confessori tuo ut ipse eam dicat episcopo.  | Nunc ergo vade ad fratres de S Trinitate et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori tuo hanc visionem u team dicat episcopo.  | Nunc ergo vade ad fratres de sancta Trinitate et confitearis peccata tua et dic confessori visionem hanc ut ipse eam dicat episcopo.  | Vade ad fratres ad claustrum sancta trinitatis.. et hanc visionem dic confessori tuo ut ipse dicat et explicat.   |
| Rogemus.                 | Idcirco rogemus beatum Stanislauum episcopum, ut nobis prestat suam sanctam benedictionem, ut a gaudiis celorum numquam separabimur.  | X   | X  | Rogemus igitur.   | Rogemus: Gracia etc.  | X   | X   |
| ... Crisma consecrare... | consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Christi et absolvere homines a peccatis, necu'o de crisma consecrare cum quo ununtur pueri in baptismo et oleum cum quo infirmi ununtur.  | Magna enim dignitas est esse episcopum, qui habet chrisma consecrare, unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi.  | Magna enim dignitas est esse episcopum qui habet <b>consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Christi, absolvere a peccatis</b> , consecrare crisma, unde ununtur pueri et infirmi.  | Ergo fuit magna dignitas esse episcopum, qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Christi et absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde ununtur pueri et infirmi.                                    | Magna dignitas est esse episcopum, qui habet consecrare sacerdotes qui conficiunt corpus Christi, et absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare, unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi.                              | Magna dignitas est esse episcopum, qui habet consecrare virgines, sacerdotes, qui conficiunt corpus Christi, absolvere a peccatis, crisma consecrare unde perunguntur infirmi.  | Magna enim dignitas est esse episcopum qui habet crisma consecrare unde perunguntur pueri et infirmi  |
| Duplex pugna             | pugna duplex quam quilibet bonus pastor debet habere et iuste se in istis exercere. Primo clipeus significatur pugnam quam debet habere pro fide ubicumque scit in Episcopatu suo infideles, id est, hereticos contra hos debet et tenetur pugna ut eos reducat ad gremium sancte matris ecclesie. Secundus clipeus significat pugnam quam debet habere pro iusticia ecclesie, sic quod illam scilicet defendat et eam teneat circa iusticiam institutiones. Et talem pugnam habuit beatus Stanislaus contra iniquum et seuum regem Boleslaum, qui tantus extitit tyrannus... | Primum ante et alium retro per hoc significatur duplex pugna quam iuste debet et potest exercere, primus clipeus significatur pugnam pro fide, secundus clipeus significatur pugnam quam debet habere pro iusticia et Ecclesia sua et <b>istas pugnās</b> beatus S habuit | Unum retro et alium ante, per hoc significatur duplex pugna quam iuste potest et debet exercere. Primus clipeus significatur pugnam pro fide, secundus clipeus significat pugnam quam debet exercere pro iusticia et pro ecclesia sua... | Unum ante et alium retro per quod signatur duplex pugna quam potest et debet exercere, primus clipeus signatur pugnam pro fide, secundus signatur pugnam quam debet habere debet <b>pro militanti ecclesia sua.</b> | Unum ante et alium retro, per quod signatur duplex pugna quam iuste debet exercere, primus clipeus significat pugnam pro fide, secundus significat pugnam quam debet habere pro iusticia et pro ecclesia sua. | Unum ante, alium retro, per quam signatur duplex pugna quam iuste decet et potest exercere, primus clipeus signat pugnam pro fide, secundus signat pugnam quam debet pro iusticia, et ecclesia sua et istam pugnam habuit beatus Stanislaus contra regem B. ... | unum ante se et alium retro, per quos duplex signatur pugna, quam iuste debet et potest exercere quilibet Christianus, primus clipeus signatur pugnam quam pugnare debemus per fidem, secundus clipeus signatur pugnam qua debet quilibet prelati pro iusticia et ecclesia sua pugnare. |

|                |   |  |  |  |   |  |  |
|----------------|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| Probat ipse... | hoc probat <b>per multiplex testimonium</b> . Nam ipse Deus sue sanctitatis probet testimonium celum, aqua, ignis, mors et alie multe infirmitates, quas ipse curavit.  | As edition   | <i>Om. terra</i>   | <i>Om. Terra</i>   | As edition  | Hoc probat ipse Deus, hoc celum, hoc terra, hoc aqua, hoc ignis, hoc mors, hoc omnia infirmitas quam ipse curavit. |  |
| Explicit       | Altare insuper consecratum est in eadem Basilica in honore eiusdem martyris in sempiternum memoriale ipsius mirifice sanctitatis. Iam non plus. Sed petamus beatum Stanislaum, ex quo episcopus erat, ut nobis concedere dignetur, qui vivit ac tunc post hoc magna mirabilia facta sunt. Vide de equo mortuo, vide in alphabetum a.b.c.d.e. etc. | Signa vero, ubi incisus fuerat equus in pelle pro testamento remanserunt. Et eciam multa alia signa fecit pueros suscitando, sicut in legenda sua patet etc. | Signa tamen, ubi equus incisus fuit in pelle manserunt in testimonium. Unde Rogemus beatum Stanislaum. | ... Signa autem, ubi equus incisus fuerat in pelle manserunt pro testimonio. | ...signa tamen, ubi incisus fuerat equus in pelle manserunt pro testimonio. | signa tamen, ubi incisus fuit equus in pelle manserunt pro testimonio.   |  |

## Chapter 5: Saint Stanislaus in Sermons – the Imitable and the Admirable

Sermons on saints, like hagiography in general, contained two major elements in variable proportion and oscillated between the two poles: praise of the saint (the admirable, the heroic) and exhortation to follow their example (the imitable, the exemplarity). Both these basic approaches to sanctity appeared in sermons on St. Stanislaus. On the one hand, sermons presented the saints as almost unattainable heroes, to whom the faithful were to pray for intercession. On the other hand, preachers put saints forward as models of behaviour and exemplars of sanctity that their listeners could and should achieve; and this tendency increased from the thirteenth century onwards, as Vauchez argued, especially with the new types of sainthood.<sup>1</sup> In the last centuries of the Middle Ages the exemplary aspect of the saint's life became more accentuated, while the eulogy often passed into the second plan, depending on the particular example. The readers or writers, as well as preachers and their listeners, could identify with the saint (clerics with the model of monastic or pastoral life and laymen with examples of charity).<sup>2</sup> What about St. Stanislaus, a martyr-bishop who had died long before the Late Middle Ages? Was this traditional type of saint perceived as an imitable example or as a miracle-working and protecting intercessor only? The two aspects did not oppose, but rather complemented each other. However, one of the facets sometimes outweighed the other in the hagiographic discourse and cult practice connected with some saints, or types of sainthood. The *meritum*, which the saint showed in his virtuous life and pious death in this world, was rewarded with the *premium* in heaven. This relation of the earthly life and the afterlife was a general principle, and a career that all faithful were invited to. Already Peregrinus presented St. Stanislaus as an exemplary virtuous bishop, who continued to be an effective protector of his people after his death. This dichotomy of the *premium* – *meritum*, this life and afterlife, and in a way between the *imitanda* and the *admiranda*, was a characteristic feature of the preaching on saints in general.

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<sup>1</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 250; and André Vauchez, “Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age?” in *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires: le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 56-66, esp. 61, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Vauchez, “Saints admirables et saints imitables,” 62.



## 5.1 An Exemplary Shepherd

A number of medieval sermons depicted St. Stanislaus first and foremost as a good shepherd. The prominence of the topic of good shepherd in sermons on St. Stanislaus sheds light on the function and uses of this saint's cult. The *pastor bonus* St. Stanislaus was presented as an exemplar for bishops and priests above all, but in some cases also for secular lords. It was one of the most important aspects of the saint's representation that medieval preachers transmitted to their audience.

In the Prologue to his model sermon collection on saints, *Exemplar salutis*, John-Jerome of Prague selected the verse: "Look and make it according to the pattern, that was shewn thee in the mount" [Ex. 25,40]. He emphasised that saints should be examples for his contemporaries, who should imitate their virtues. He urged his readers and listeners to examine Saint Stanislaus as an example of charity – the saint, being a good shepherd, had loved his sheep with such love that he had given his life for them.<sup>3</sup> The sermon on St. Stanislaus (Sermon IX) had the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus*. A scribe who reworked John-Jerome's model sermon later in the fifteenth century (Sermon XIII) repeated his rationale from the Prologue of the collection at the outset of his version of the sermon on St. Stanislaus, saying:

dear sons, the reason why we today celebrate the day of our glorious patron St. Stanislaus the martyr is that we are to follow this shepherd with good deeds.<sup>4</sup>

Many texts place emphasis on the exemplary aspect of the saintly figure. St. Stanislaus was naturally a more fitting example for bishops and clerics, who shared the same pastoral office and who could pursue his exemplary pastoral life. In addition to Christ, the saintly bishop became a model for the *pastores moderni*, as was also the case in sermons on St. Thomas Becket.<sup>5</sup> Roberts viewed this feature as evidence of a concept of sanctity that which came closer to real life for everyone, something achievable that could be followed here and now, a concept that strengthened in the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Preachers frequently tended to simplify and condense the message about a particular saint (within a particular sermon, but also in general) to a crucial image. If there was such an image of St. Stanislaus in sermons, it was a *pastor bonus*. Liturgical and hagiographic works described St.

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<sup>3</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, 309r-v: "Inspice et sanctum presulem Stanislaum servum caritatis exemplum, qui more boni pastoris oves sibi commissas tanto fervore caritatis dilexit, quod pro eis animam morti exposuit, quia bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis."

<sup>4</sup> Wrocław, Ossolineum, MS 414, f. 244v: "Filii carissimi, hodie gloriosi pastoris nostri sancti Stanislai martyris dies celebratur ut nos hunc pastorem bonis operibus sequeremur."

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, *Inventory*; and eadem, "Thomas Becket," 1-22.

<sup>6</sup> Eadem, "Thomas Becket," 8-9, 11-12; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 340-352.

Stanislaus as a good shepherd in some places,<sup>7</sup> but this image frequently became central to preachers' discussion of the saintly bishop, sometimes being the focal point or the axis of the sermon. The choice of the *thema* was related to what a preacher wanted to say. Studies on some dossiers of sermons on particular saints demonstrated that preachers often tended to favour one *thema* and to condense the saint's personality into a prominent image, represented in an emblematic *thema*, a "verbal icon."<sup>8</sup> For St. Bartholomew, for example, it was a verse from the Book of Job (*Pellem pro pelle*, Job 2,4) and the topic of his being flayed alive and its metaphorical explanations. For St. Claire, it was the motifs of *claritas* and *lux*, inspired by an interpretation of her name, and their connotations, again supported with appropriate biblical verses.<sup>9</sup> For St. Thomas Becket, the verse *Ego sum pastor bonus* was the most popular.<sup>10</sup> If there was such an emblematic verse that carried the most important message for Stanislaus, it was definitely the verse *Ego sum pastor bonus*, which was the most frequent *thema* of sermons on St. Stanislaus (17 texts, see Chapter 3.4 and 1.2.1).

Preachers on Stanislaus could draw particularly on numerous sermon texts on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* on various liturgical occasions sketched above, which presented Christ as the Good Shepherd and discussed the ideal of bishop and, more often, prelate or priest in general (moral qualities, fulfilling pastoral duties, the sacrifice of everything for the faithful, etc). The sermons on this *thema* for the Second Sunday after Easter (and the same is true for other occasions when the same *thema* was used) dealt usually with Christ as the Good Shepherd, or with his followers in office who were to be good shepherds, in which case such sermons resembled a *speculum prelatorum*, or in some cases with secular shepherds.<sup>11</sup> The *themata* could be used for multiple occasions (as demonstrated in Chapter 3.4), and the sermons for several occasions, including the feasts of St. Stanislaus, were interchangeable. What was the place of the figure of St. Stanislaus in these sermons?

<sup>7</sup> For a short discussion of the motif of the good shepherd in the liturgy of St Stanislaus' feast, see Kopeć, "Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, *Pater Patriae*, w tekstach liturgii średniowiecznej," 192-193, 198-199.

<sup>8</sup> Bériou, "*Pellem pro pelle*, 267-284, esp. 270.

<sup>9</sup> Eadem, "Les sermons sur sainte Claire," 119-154.

<sup>10</sup> Roberts listed as many as 18 out of 184 texts on the *thema Ego sum pastor* and the *Bonus pastor animam suam dat* for the feastday of St Thomas of Canterbury, which proved to have been the most frequently occurring verses; Roberts, *Inventory*, nos. 19-30 and 48-53.

<sup>11</sup> In this respect, a typical content of sermons for the Second Easter Sunday described Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar," 302-305. Hanska argued that if one was looking for sermons dealing with the topic of clerical ideal, he would certainly find the topic in sermons for Second Easter Sunday in the liturgical cycle of the year. For the "shepherd" content on other occasions, sermons *ad clerum* and synodal sermons, see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, esp. 263-277.

### 5.1.1 Constructing the Sermons about the Good Shepherd

Preachers on St. Stanislaus employed the original Biblical metaphor of the shepherd to denote the saintly bishop, as a successor of Christ in his office and an exemplar for other “shepherds” by office. The long tradition of pastoral imagery provides a framework for these sermon texts. In a Biblical context, the simile and the metaphor of the good shepherd was most often used for Christ in the New Testament (or God in the Old Testament).<sup>12</sup> In exegetical works and in sermons, Christ’s shepherd-like attributes were transferred primarily to his followers in office, to priests, and by extension also to secular lords. The comparison to Christ, the Good Shepherd *par excellence*, is omnipresent throughout the texts. In general, Christ as the model of perfection overshadowed all the saints in the preaching.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes the preachers chose to speak of Christ and almost did not mention the saint beyond the rubric, as is the case in Sermon VII by Jan of Słupca. Having spoken about Christ’s passion, he recalled the verse from Peter’s Epistle [1 Pt 2,21]: “For unto this are you called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow his steps.” In his words, St. Stanislaus followed this example and gave his life for his sheep.<sup>14</sup> Christ instituted shepherds in his place who ought to pursue his example, and that is what St. Stanislaus had done according to his legend. Given that the Gospel about the Good Shepherd was the most frequently read pericope on the feasts of St. Stanislaus and a frequent *thema* of sermons on those days, it is not surprising that preachers often emphasised connections and analogies between Christ and Stanislaus as two good pastors. The motif of the shepherd from the Gospel was naturally the common ground which could be the starting point of the discussion of the analogies between the saint and Christ. The comparison to Christ was one of the most natural and usual topics of hagiography in general, anyway. An anonymous Franciscan Observant friar said at the outset of his sermon (Sermon XI) that the Gospel words about the good shepherd pertained to Christ, but to Bishop Stanislaus as well. He “was a faithful shepherd of his flock and gave his life for his sheep.”<sup>15</sup> It was a typical start of a sermon on a saint, which interpreted a Biblical verse or passage.

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<sup>12</sup> Theo Clemens, “Searching for the Good Shepherd,” in *The Pastor Bonus. Papers read at the British-Dutch colloquium at Utrecht, 18-21 September 2002*, ed. Theo Clemens and Wim Janse, Dutch Review of Church History 83 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 17-19.

<sup>13</sup> Bériou, “Saints et sainteté dans la prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière,” 309-322.

<sup>14</sup> BJ 2364, f. 278r-v: “Exinde ergo beatus Stanislaus cepit exemplum, ut dignaretur animam suam ponere pro ovibus suis, et pro grege suo mori.” The text in its entirety is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>15</sup> Kórnik 53, f. 123v: “Ideo hec scribit sanctus Iohannes cancelarius Iesu Christi ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et sancti Stanislai, que verba predicta bene expetunt sancto Stanislao episcopo, qui fuit pastor fidelis super gregem suum et animam suam dedit pro ovibus suis.” The text in its entirety is edited in Appendix 5.

There were many ways to build a sermon on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus* (although also sermons on other *themata* discussed the *pastor bonus* and the ideal of prelate). Undoubtedly, they were in many respects similar to the sermons on this *thema* for other occasions (mentioned above – Ch. 3.4: synodal sermons, Second Easter Sunday, St. Thomas Becket, St. Adalbert). An anonymous fifteenth-century sermon (Sermon XII) on the same Biblical *locus*, now consisting of the whole verse *Ego sum pastor bonus, Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis*, used also the metaphor of the good shepherd and some typical imagery. The author divided the thema into two main points: firstly, the holiness of St. Stanislaus (*Ego sum pastor bonus*) and secondly, his utility for people (*Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis*). The latter part was devoted to his martyrdom, but the former part used a frequent motif in sermons on this theme. Saint Stanislaus was the pastor of the diocese of Cracow and he fed his sheep with three types of bread: material (he took care of the poor, the sick, the widows and others), spiritual (*sancta doctrina* by preaching converting the people to the right faith) and eternal (i.e. the body of Christ).<sup>16</sup> The same metaphor of the threefold bread was used in many other works, also in sermons on St. Thomas Becket.<sup>17</sup> Pope Innocent III spoke about *triplici alimento* in his sermon on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus* on the Second Sunday after Easter: *Et ipse tribus modis nos pascit, videlicet, alimento naturae, cibo doctrinae, et pabulo eucharistiae*.<sup>18</sup> Another fifteenth-century sermon (Sermon XV) used a different, but equally traditional division: there were three features which every spiritual shepherd should have. First, he should know his sheep, and recognize the good ones. Second, he should precede his sheep and be example of virtue. Third, he should offer his life for them.<sup>19</sup> Yet another sermon (Sermon XVII) used also a classical distinction (although the end of the sermon is now lost) according to the various personages who appear in the biblical parable: the good shepherd, the mercenary, the wolf, and the sheep.<sup>20</sup> A number of sermons on the same theme chose to analyse all the protagonists of the parable, e.g. a sermon by Pope Innocent III.<sup>21</sup>

One of the fifteenth-century sermons on the theme “I am the Good Shepherd” (Sermon XI) was divided according to three basic features of a true pastor: the good doctrine (teaching, i.e. preaching),

<sup>16</sup> BJ 1626, f. 152v-153. The entire sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. on St. Stanislaus in Sermon no. XI in MS. Kórník 53, f. 123v; and on St. Thomas in Roberts, *Inventory*, nos. 36, 52. In the case of the Sermon XX in Wrocław, Ossolineum, MS 824/I, f. 201r-203v each food is signified by a flower or herb.

<sup>18</sup> Innocent III, *Sermo XXI. Dominica Secunda post Pascha*, in PL 217, coll. 405-410.

<sup>19</sup> Cracow, PAN MS. 1707, f. 171r-v: “Breviter incepti verba Evangelii sic: *Ego sum pastor bonus*, pro quo notandum cause licet varie posent assignari, que requiruntur ad bonum pastorem, tamen specialiter iste tres pertinent ad quemlibet spiritualem pastorem: [1] Primo, ut cognoscat oves suas, bonas eligendo. [2] Secundo requiritur ad verum spiritualem pastorem, ut oves suas precedat, exempla virtutum ipsis ostendendo. [3] Tercio, ut animam suam ponat pro ovibus suis moriendo.”

<sup>20</sup> Ossolineum MS. 824, f. 173v. Similarly, Sermon XIX in MS. BCzart 3793 II, f. 273-4 on thema *Ego sum pastor bonus*, divided into [1] *pastor (dat animam)*, [2] *mercenarius (fugit)*, [3] *lupus (rapit)*.

<sup>21</sup> Innocent III, *Sermo XXI. Dominica Secunda post Pascha*, in PL 217, coll. 405-410.

example and saintly life.<sup>22</sup> It was a typical division with respect to the pastoral office. The *doctrina* means that the prelate should “teach his subjects through preaching and confession, while showing mercy, so that they avoid sin and love God,” thus referring to the pastoral metaphor in the words of the Book of Sirach about a good shepherd and his herd.<sup>23</sup> Preaching is emphasised. Saint Stanislaus preached the word of God to his “sheep.” Teaching (*sancta doctrina*) by the means of preaching is compared to the spiritual bread, the metaphor which is often used in sermons on St. Stanislaus.<sup>24</sup> The scribe did not follow the division proposed at the beginning of the sermon in the manuscript, and the second part of the text is devoted only to one aspect of the saintly and exemplary life of the prelate: courage. The shepherd should be “courageous in order to resist his adversaries and not be afraid of the wolves, i.e. the bad people.”<sup>25</sup> St. Stanislaus met the requirement: he was audacious when he faced King Boleslaus. The preacher saw the conflict with the king as the bishop’s battle for justice for his Church.<sup>26</sup> The king is described as a cruel tyrant with the words that were already well-known from the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus.<sup>27</sup> The bishop, as a true shepherd (and not a mercenary), was not afraid and chastised the king; again a motif which is found in other sermons on St. Stanislaus as well. The good prelate should also correct and admonish the faithful, including the king, like St. Stanislaus did – he admonished bad clerics and also King Boleslaus. The courage to stand up for the defence or correction of the faithful was the difference between a true shepherd and a mercenary, the distinction which is emphasised throughout the medieval texts, including a number of sermons on the thema “I am the good shepherd,” since the Biblical passage was employed by Pope Gregory the Great in his popular and widespread homily, which was also read in the liturgy of hours on the feast of St. Stanislaus.<sup>28</sup> The preacher then specified the behaviour of the mercenary: he is silent; when he sees a deviant (lost) sheep, he does not call her back; when the sheep is ill and suffers, he does not heal her;

<sup>22</sup> Kórník 53, f. 123r: “Sed quia ad verum pastorem pertinent tria, videlicet doctrina bona, exempla et sancta vita...” For the sermon in its entirety, see Appendix 5.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.: “Doctrina, quod erudiat suos subditos in sermone, in confessione, ut fugiant peccata et ament Deum, misericordiam ostendendo. Unde Ecclesiastici XVIIIo [13]: *Habeat misericordiam et doceat et erudiat suos subditos in sermone quasi pastor gregem suum.*”

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.: “Sapiens enim erudit plebem suam, stultus tacet, quod non docet. Sed quia sanctus Stanislaus pavit oves suas pane spirituali, videlicet sancta doctrina, predicando verbum Dei ad fidem rectam et ad bona opera et virtutes populum convertendo.”

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.: “ad pastorem pertinet, quod sit audax ad resistendum contrariis, non timendo lupos, id est malos homines.”

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.: “Ideo sanctus Stanislaus, sciens iusticiam pro Ecclesia sua, audax fuit contra regem Boleslaum...”

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.: “... qui fuit crudelis et tamquam tyrranus, quod ubicumque transiebat in terra ... Et propter ista et alia multa mala facinora beatus Stanislaus eum correxit, ut ista postergaret, et non timuit tamquam verus pastor.” For the passage from the sermon by Peregrinus, see Chapter 4.3.2.3.

<sup>28</sup> Gregorius I Papa, “Homilia XIV,” in *Homiliae in Evangelia*, PL 76, coll. 1127-1130. For the homily in the liturgy, reference as in Ch. 1.2.2, fn. 271.

when the sheep is taken away, he does not seek her.<sup>29</sup> Unlike a mercenary, St. Stanislaus educated wayward people regarding the true faith. When the sheep was ill with sins, he cured her with confession. Again, the preacher emphasised the force of preaching and confession as the two powerful instruments of prelates and the two modes of teaching. That was precisely the duty and the basic occupation of the friars, such as the Franciscan Observant authors and users of the manuscript collection. Then the preacher proceeded to an important issue, to which he devoted almost the whole remainder of the sermon in the manuscript. The sheep should obey their prelates – they should be well-disposed towards the priests, who are responsible for them in front of God, so that the sheep could be cured from their spiritual illnesses.<sup>30</sup> The preacher maintained that the Christians had obeyed their prelate in the times of St. Stanislaus. Unlike then, the preacher’s contemporaries refused to obey the prelates:

However, nowadays: the sheep, that is the people, should be obedient to their parish priests and confessors in all deeds which are beneficial to the salvation and remedy of their souls, and should not contradict them in words, in deeds and in speech. But, alas, the people are now so dissolute that they care neither about God, who created them, nor his vicars; and much evil emerges in the world nowadays, because each day they act against the precepts of God by night and by day.<sup>31</sup>

The text then describes the various ways the Christians have disobeyed the precepts of their prelates and confessors. At the same time the catalogue of their faults gives a hint at the duties of the priests, as they were perceived by the author of the sermon

Behold, namely: if they are ordered to get up in the morning and go the morning service, they would not, but they want to sleep until the *missa magna*.

If they are ordered to stay chaste during a given time, like on feasts, in sacred places, clearly in the period of fast, in Advent and after childbirth: they sin, having become accustomed to their bad and worst sins against God and against nature, and they do not care. They prefer being beaten to being chaste.

If they are ordered to fast, they want to consume.

If they are ordered to pray, they want to blaspheme by saying: “And will you be justified through your fasting or your prayer?”

If they are ordered to hold silence in churches and in other sacred places, they want to bleat to their parish priests.

<sup>29</sup> Kórník 53, f. 123r: “Noluit tacere sicut mercenarius. Mercenarius vero, cum videt ovem deviantem, non eam revocat. Si infirmatur ovis eius, non eam medetur. Si devoratur, non lacrimatur. Et si subtrahitur, non eam querit.”

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.: “Sed sanctus Stanislaus, cum vidit homines errantes, docuit eos ad rectam fidem. Si infirma fuit ovis per peccata, medebatur eam per confessionem. Eciam oves sibi subditas sepe sanat, quia fuerunt sibi obedientes in omnibus. Unde ad Hebreos 13[17]: *Obedite prepositis vestris et subicite eis*, quia sunt *racionem redituri pro animabus vestris*.”

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: “Sed nunc: oves, id est homines, deberent fieri obedientes suis plebanis, confessoribus in omnibus factis, que ad salutem et remedium animarum ipsorum essent proficuum, non contradicendo eis verbis, factis et loquelis. Sed, prochdolor, iam sunt homines ita dissoluti, **rospuszczonii**, quod nec Deum, qui eos creavit, nec vicarios eius curant, sed multa mala iam emerguntur in mundo, quia cottidie noctu dieque faciunt contra precepta Dei.”

If they are ordered to invoke God and the saints, they would rather sing *cantalinās* (i.e. secular songs) and speak shameful words.

If they are ordered to celebrate, they would rather work.

If they are ordered to attend a sermon, they would rather dance and jest.

If they are ordered to give alms, they would rather have fun playing dice, in eating excessively, in rattling and consuming in some other repulsive way.

If they are ordered to visit holy places (i.e. tombs of the saints, *loca sanctorum*), they would rather go to celebrate Jupiter (i.e. pagan gods).

If they are ordered to respect their parents and friends, they would rather condemn them with beating and raging.

If they are ordered to obey their parish priests, they would rather rage against them in their blindness.

And that is the way in which people live in this world, as if they did not ever have to die but would live forever, and they do not expel evil from themselves, but persist in evil day by day.<sup>32</sup>

The sermon could have been addressed to prelates at a clerical gathering like a synod – complaining about the faithful and at the same time listing the pastoral duties. However, it is more probable that the sermon was instead aimed at the lay public, reminding them of their improper behaviour towards their priests and of their negligence of the prelates' orders. The manuscript could have been used by a parish priest who preached to the faithful. The first part of the volume was written by Jacob, the vicar of Psarskie, and the rest could have been put down and bound together in a similar context.<sup>33</sup>

In the first part of the sermon, St. Stanislaus is one of the shepherds (and not one of the ordinary faithful) while in the last paragraph he becomes an exemplar of charity not only for prelates but also for every Christian – as a *fidelis servus*. The preacher explained to his audience that just as they did not want to have bad and useless servants in their houses, so God did not want to sustain servants like that.<sup>34</sup> Stanislaus exercised prayer, almsgiving, charity and all the Christian actions, which were listed above as the commands of the parish priests and confessors that people refused to obey. The saint achieved a share of the Lord's heritage

through frequent prayer, timely thanksgiving, and through the works of mercy which he exercised towards the poor, whom he fed with material bread. And when the sick, widows and pilgrims went to his house like to their own, he gave them all to eat...<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> For the Latin original of the extensive quote, see the edition of the sermon in Appendix 5.

<sup>33</sup> For more about the MS. Kórnik 53, see the Appendix *List of manuscripts*.

<sup>34</sup> Kórnik 53, f. 123v: “Ergo, dilectissimi, *expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio* [1] Ad Corinthios 5 [7]. Quia scitis bene ex vobis quod *servos malos et inutiles* non potestis servare in domibus vestris. Sic Deus non potest sustinere malos in hereditate sua, sed bonos.”

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.: “Ideo sanctus Stanislaus volens hanc hereditatem aquirere, fuit fidelis servus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et hoc acquissivit per frequentes oraciones et maturas supplicaciones, et eciam per opera misericordie, que exercuit in pauperibus, quos sepe pavit pane, scilicet corporali. Et cum infirmi, vidue et peregrini transiebant ad domum ipsius tamquam ad domum propriam et omnes refecit, considerans illud dictum Isaie [58,7] dicentis: *Frange esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagos induc in domum tuam, cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.*”

The preacher could easily refer to the passages of the life of the saintly bishop according to which he had exercised those works of charity.<sup>36</sup> With respect to prayer, fasting and charity, St. Stanislaus was an example not only for the prelates, but also for the lay Christians. Still, the prelates were also urged to act like him, and perform charitable deeds and exercise personal religious devotion, in addition to their spiritual and administrative duties.

An example of a different type of construction was the sermon on the same *thema* in the collection *Exemplar salutis* by John-Jerome of Prague from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Sermon IX), who urged his readers and listeners to examine St. Stanislaus as an example of charity.<sup>37</sup> The threefold love of the good shepherd, i.e. each prelate, was the main topic of the sermon. After a short introduction, in a mode of a *prothema*, which mentioned the saint's glory of martyrdom and exhorted the Holy Spirit to help the preacher with his sermon, he repeated the *thema* and proceeded with another introductory part before finally turning to the division (*divisio non thematis*): three features belonged to the life of the good *pastor* – the love towards God, towards oneself, and towards one's neighbour, because every prelate ought to be *in amore Dei profundatus, in proprio regulatus, in proximi dilatatus*.<sup>38</sup> The theological virtue of charity and its types is thus the main topic of the sermon. John-Jerome turns to Bible and authorities like Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory, and Bede in the first *membrum* of the sermon devoted to the man's love of God. St. Stanislaus is only mentioned at the end of this part, when John-Jerome claims that that the previous words had been fitting for St. Stanislaus who had given his life for his sheep in the martyrdom, and refers to his life for more details.<sup>39</sup> The second part “commends St. Stanislaus as a *pastor* for his love towards himself, not carnal, but spiritual.”<sup>40</sup> It speaks about the chastity (citing authorities such as Gregory, Jerome's epistles, or Pseudo-Chrysostom's *super Mattheum*). John-Jerome criticised contemporary clerics who were unchaste.<sup>41</sup> He quoted the words about the Nicolaitic heresy, explaining what it was (from the Book of Revelation 2, 15-16; and Acts 6,5), followed by a set of references to the canon law and

<sup>36</sup> Cf. with the sermon by Peregrinus, Chapter 4.4.2.2.

<sup>37</sup> See the quotation above in Ch. 5.1, fn. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, f. 314r.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., f. 314v: “Est vero beatus presul et martyr Stanislaus tamquam pastor bonus Boleslao lupo crudelissimo et animam suam dans pro ovibus suis, martyrii palmam promeruit, prout in historia passionis sue lacius aparebit; et hoc ad quantum ad primum principale.”

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., f. 314v: “Dixi secundo et breviter, quod in verbis loco thematis assumptis commendatur beatus Stanislaus tamquam pastor, et hoc propter amorem sui non carnalem, sed spirituale.”

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.: “Sunt hodie nonnulli viri ecclesiastici sacerdotes vel clerici et specialiter ecclesiarum parochialium rectores inmundi concubinatores, lusores, tabernatores, castellani, coloniarii, burgrabii, procuratores, tam quod non sunt precones, et tortores; vere bonum erat eis, si natos non fuissent. Matth. XXVI [, 24].”



citations from Augustine among others through the decretal collections.<sup>42</sup> The stream of canonist references is again concluded at the end of the second *membrum* of the sermon with a sentence about St. Stanislaus, who was an *amator castitatis*:

Therefore you, beloved, a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people [1 Pt 2,9] walk with a worthy vocation, by which you are called by the example of St. Stanislaus, who loved chastity so much that he expelled, banned and proscribed all unchaste priests from his diocese, which is clearly visible in the history of his passion.”<sup>43</sup>

Thus, John-Jerome urged clerics to follow Stanislaus’s example and referred to his *Life*, which recounted that St. Stanislaus had expelled unchaste priests from his diocese, an account which appeared also in the short life appended to the sermon.<sup>44</sup>

The third part of the sermon was devoted to the bishop’s love towards his neighbour. The *pastor bonus* ought to be well “regulated” (balanced) in the threefold love towards God, himself and his neighbour. Each prelate should let the sheep of Christ graze on the word of preaching,<sup>45</sup> and teach them, so that the faithful were not ignorant; and the prelates cannot be silent, they have to correct their subjects when needed (again supported by numerous references from the Church Fathers and canon law). Again, the general discussion of the prelate’s duties was concluded by a reference to St. Stanislaus at the end of the third and last part of the sermon: “Paying attention to that [those words] Blessed Bishop Stanislaus taught his people by the word of salvation...”<sup>46</sup> John-Jerome supplied a short Life of the saint, which summarised only the most important things, immediately after the model sermon in the collection.

Besides making use of the long tradition of the motif of the good shepherd and of the contemporary discourse devoted to the criticism of clergy, discussion of the ideal prelate and of the renewal of clergy, preachers could recall *exempla* from the saint’s life in order to illustrate their message about the good shepherd. Originally, not much information about the saint’s life was available and the fame of his sanctity rested upon his martyrdom and miracles, but the lives and the tradition supplied a lot of hagiographical details, which the preachers could draw on, since the thirteenth century (summarised in Chapter 1). Some of the “classic” texts enable us to distinguish numerous elements that

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., f. 315r.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.: “Vos ergo, dilectissimi, genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sanctam, populos acquisitionis, ambulate digne vocacione, qua vocati estis exemplo sancti Stanislai, qui tantus amator castitatis fuit, quod omnes sacerdotes immundos de sua dyocesi expulit, bannivit et proscripsit, sicut lucide patet intuenti historiis [corr.-am] ipsius passionis.”

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., f. 316v: “statimque mutatus in virum alium cepit sibi plebem commissam verbo et exemplo docere, inordinatos sacerdotes corrigere; ita quod incorrigibiles de sua diocesi repellebat, bonus vero tamquam proprium cor diligebat.”

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., f. 315v.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., f. 316v: “Hoc attendens beatus presul Stanislaus verbo salutis plebem suam edocuit, necnon et corpus suum proprium supererrogavit; nam ut in historia passionis eius legitur:...”

were repetitive, traditional and sometimes banal, from the elements that were more significant from the point of view of the cult of St. Stanislaus and more specific to this kind of discourse.

Preaching material for the feast of St. Stanislaus, especially when the clergy, the *pastores moderni*, gathered at the time of the festivities of their saintly predecessor, resembled the preaching *ad clerum* in general and synodal sermons.<sup>47</sup> The sermons on Thomas Becket on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus*, as they dealt with the exemplary figure of the *pastor*, could be easily transformed into synodal sermons.<sup>48</sup> The same is true for sermons on St. Stanislaus. Sermons for all liturgical occasions mentioned above, which could use the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus*, - the feast of Stanislaus and of other martyr-bishops' feasts such as St. Thomas Becket, Second Easter Sunday, synodal sermons and sermons *ad clerum* - frequently used the picture of a good shepherd to hold up a clerical ideal (even if they did not construct their sermon on the Johannine Gospel verse).

### 5.1.2 Spiritual Shepherds: Personal Virtues and Pastoral Duties. Ideals and Deficiencies

When the preachers put St. Stanislaus forward as an exemplar of the good shepherd for clerics, they focused mainly on two aspects: firstly, on his personal moral perfection and virtues (*conversatio*, *sancta vita*, and so on), and secondly, on his fulfilment of pastoral duties which belonged to the office of a priest or a bishop (*doctrina*, and so on). The two were often interconnected, and appeared in various combinations. His martyrdom, which is discussed separately below, was perceived as an act of sacrifice for his sheep. The oldest extant statutes of the diocese of Cracow equally reiterated the universally-accepted importance of the two basic elements. Bishop Nanker promulgated the statutes, which contained a pastoral manual for priests of his diocese, in 1320, and they were re-confirmed several times before the first half of the fifteenth century, and the pastoral compendium was used in other dioceses as well. Bishop Nanker explained in the introduction: *Sane quia viris ecclesiasticis duo principaliter sunt necessaria, videlicet vita et conversacio irreprehensibilis necnon sciencia scripturarum...*<sup>49</sup>

Many preachers enumerated all the virtues that St. Stanislaus had and every bishop or prelate ought to have. The oldest example was Peregrinus' description of pontifical vestments, in which each

<sup>47</sup> For more on the content of synodal preaching see, e.g., Bériou, "La prédication synodale," 219-237; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 263-277.

<sup>48</sup> Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole. La prédication effective à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes augustiniennes, 1998), 320-1. Bériou noted the same possibility (St. Thomas Becket's martyrdom feast December 29) in her review article on Roberts' *Inventory* in the *Journal of Medieval Latin* 5 (1995), 225-231, esp. 229.

<sup>49</sup> *Najstarsze statuty*, 2; Ożóg, "Duszpasterskie zabiegi," 44-47.

piece of clothing signified a virtue. Similar accounts, most probably inspired by Peregrinus, appear in many other sermons.<sup>50</sup> Other universally-used metaphors for virtues were flowers or colours (e.g. the iris and its various colours in the Sermon LXX, various colours of vestments in Sermon LVII). Most often, the saint was presented as full of virtues or as having multiple virtues in various combinations. John-Jerome emphasised the theological virtue of charity. Jan of Słupcza (Sermon LXIX) demonstrated that St. Stanislaus had embodied the three theological virtues – charity, faith and hope – through which he had reached salvation. The preacher exhorted the audience to do the same.<sup>51</sup> He, and many others, accentuated chastity, others preferred his *fortitudo* (strength, courage) and justice. Bartholomew of Jasło (Sermon XLV) likened St. Stanislaus to the lion, the king of animals, because the bishop was like *princeps et rex cleri ymmo caput Christifidelium huius dyocesis*.<sup>52</sup> Then his virtues were described in the language of the ideal sovereign: *fortitudo*, *iustitia*, and *prudentia*. Bishop Stanislaus was of high dignity, and possessed kingly virtues, unlike King Boleslaus.<sup>53</sup> An anonymous sermon (Sermon II) from the second half of the fifteenth century praised especially three virtues out of the many that Stanislaus had: humility, compassion, and courage (*fortitudo*).<sup>54</sup> Sometimes the virtues were discussed in a general way only, but other times episodes or passages taken from his *Life* exemplified his virtues and his excellence in pastoral office. One of the characteristic episodes, which illustrated his *fortitudo*, was how the saintly bishop admonished King Boleslaus, trying to correct his sinful way of life and standing against his oppression of the flock entrusted to St. Stanislaus. Various preachers and hagiographers retold the story of the conflict, most frequently emphasising Stanislaus' firm stand against the sin, even if it was the King who was to be corrected. Preachers urged every prelate, bishop or priest to care for their flock like Stanislaus had done, and not to be afraid to stand against anybody if necessary. A number of preachers repeated the assertion first made in the *Life* by Vincent of Kielcza that when Stanislaus was a canon he had already excelled in virtues.<sup>55</sup> He was elected a bishop because he was such an exemplary canon, and he continued the virtuous life then.

Studies and education were considered prerequisites for the qualified exercise of pastoral office, for catechetical preaching and teaching. A mention of Stanislaus' preaching became more or less obligatory in the course of time, although it was rather anachronistic and a *topos*. Such allegations of

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter 4 for details.

<sup>51</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 149r-v: "Sanctus vero Stanislaus nunc clare videt eum in terra vivencium, in monte altissimo regnicolorum, ubi requiescens in gaudio, nos omnes adhortatur, ut ad eius societatem convenimus ascendere, triplici hortamento: fide firma et clara, spe recta et certa, et caritate, ipse salvatus est, et nos salvi fieri speramus..." The entire sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>52</sup> Kuś, "Justus sicut leo," 13; BJ 2192, f. 29r.

<sup>53</sup> Ożóg, *Uczni*, 79; Kuś, "Justus sicut leo," 9-22.

<sup>54</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 451r.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Sermons LXX, XXXI, VIII, LXXVII, etc.

erudition were nothing new; education at a *studium generale* or a university and his preaching appeared already in the *Life* (in keeping with the spirit of the Fourth Lateran Council).<sup>56</sup> A number of sermons echoed the *Life*, stating that he had studied at a *studium generale* or a university abroad, some of them adding various details. Nicolaus of Kozłów went as far as to note that Stanislaus had attended the *studium generale* in Paris together with St. Thomas Becket.<sup>57</sup> However, a marginal gloss in one of the copies adjusted the incorrect information, which could not have come from “authentic” sources, as the writer had originally claimed, since the saints had not been contemporaries.<sup>58</sup> Nicolaus further remarked that St. Stanislaus, as a canon in Cracow, used to go outside the town to various villages to spread the word of God, working miracles as well.<sup>59</sup> A number of preachers referred to his preaching, or called him a preacher. Preaching was very important and the prelates were expected to preach to their subjects according to synodal prescriptions in Poland as well.<sup>60</sup> The synodal statutes of Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec of Cracow from 1420, which, following the statutes of Nanker, also included a new pastoral compendium and became popular in other dioceses as well, contained a particular part about the preaching.<sup>61</sup> The increased number of sermon collections and preachers’ manuscripts, which are also partially presented in this study, is a testimony of the diffusion of preaching in the fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Jean Gerson acknowledged the importance of preaching in his synodal sermon on the theme *Ego sum pastor bonus*, delivered in Rheims in 1408, which was one of his most comprehensive programmes for Church reform: he devoted the lengthy first part of his sermon to the preaching duty of prelates and their necessary education for this task.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For the reference, see Ch. 1.1.2, fn. 68.

<sup>57</sup> MS. BJ 1614, f. 78r: “Cum igitur primus etatis existens, ad studium generale venisset. In unum fraternitatem cum beato Thoma Cantuariensi convenit; in qua una domo, uno comedo, uno lecto, una mensa utentes; ex amore fervido, quo se amabant votum, unius de altero, quocumque diverterent, curam habendi emisit; ab hoc enim amor caritatis impellebat, ut pro se invicem essent solliciti, sed Dominus Deus alio modo de utroque disponebat; unde revelavit utrique, ut unusquisque eorum in propria patria pontificio sublimatus, pro salute omnium et ecclesie libertatibus morte consimili deberet subire martyrium.”

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.: “Istud non potest verificari ex aliquibus cronicis autenticis, eo quod constet beatum Thomam Cantuariensem occisum fuisse post occisionem sancti Stanislai anno domini Millesimo centesimo septuagesimo, sanctum autem Stanislaum anno domini Millesimo septuagesimo octavo ex cronicis autenticis et veris.”

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., f. 78v: “Ad opidam et villas civitati proximas diebus festivis exhibat seminare verbum Dei, et tante erat fidei, sanctitatis et confidentie, quod Deus multa per eum miracula faciebat. Ita, ut verbum esset de eo dicere, quod de Apostolis scriptum est: predicabat *ubique Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis* [Mc 16,20].”

<sup>60</sup> Kliszko, “Przepisy synodalne,” 111-142.

<sup>61</sup> *Statuta Alberti Jastrzębiec Episcopi Cracoviensis*, ed. U. Heyzmann, 63-86, esp. 77-9; Ożóg, “Duszpasterskie zabiegi,” 48-51, esp. 50-51.

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 2.2.1.4 for prescriptions, and Ch. 3.6 for manuscript collections.

<sup>63</sup> Sermon *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis* (April 29, 1408 Rheims) “Sermo de officio pastoris,” 123-144; an analysis and a commentary of the sermon’s content, Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, 110-123, 128-145; Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 182-185, in a cursory way.

Monk John-Jerome of Prague, like many others, formulated several imperatives for the clergy, who were expected to follow the example of the holy bishop: they ought to love God and sacrifice themselves if necessary, they ought to be chaste and celibate, and they ought to teach and preach, for which they had to have the required knowledge. His efforts for reform of the *status quo* led him not only to compose sermon collections and a confessional manual for pastoral use and help of the clergy,<sup>64</sup> but also to present the ideal that the clerics should follow in the person of St. Stanislaus. He criticised the way of life and low morals of the contemporary prelates and called for a moral renewal in his several other works. For example, he included such exhortations in his “sermon” on St. Romuald, which the Camaldolian composed on the request of the Carthusians of Basel during the council (especially its Chapter 9: *Praelatorum reprehensa negligentia et luxus*),<sup>65</sup> and in the sermons delivered at the Council of Pavia-Siena in 1423-1424.<sup>66</sup>

John-Jerome’s contemporary, Stanislaus of Skarbimiria explicitly urged his audience, perhaps the clerics, to examine the life of the saintly bishop closely and to follow him in the sermon on the translation feast of St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXVI), which he delivered in 1394 or 1412, although it did not start with the theme *Ego sum pastor bonus*. The author compared Stanislaus, who had known and followed the books of the Scripture, to a book full of virtues, with a “cover full of precious stones, which contained everything which pertained to episcopal perfection.”<sup>67</sup> St. Stanislaus “meditated day and night” about the God’s Testament, the Holy Scripture, including the passages from St. Paul’s Epistle to Timothy [1Tim 3, 2-5] and Titus [Tit 1, 7-9], which were frequently cited in the discussion of the rules for bishops.<sup>68</sup> The preacher insisted that all points of the rule for the bishops described by the Apostle were contained and visible in the life of St. Stanislaus and invited his audience to examine it.<sup>69</sup> Stanislaus of Skarbimiria repeated the invitation to examine the holy exemplars of priesthood and

<sup>64</sup> For an overview of his activities, see above Chapter 3.6. Hyland, “Abbot John-Jerome,” 8. In 1430 John-Jerome wrote a work *De vera et falsa poenitentia* on the request of Polish bishop Stanislaus of Plock, which resembles a confessional *summa* and was meant rather for secular priests (Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 63-5).

<sup>65</sup> *Alia Vita siue Sermo de Vita Sancti Romualdi, auctore Hieronymo Eremita Camalduliense*, in AASS, Februarii II, VII Februarii, coll. 134-5.

<sup>66</sup> Hyland, “Reform Preaching and Despair at the Council of Pavia-Siena,” 409-430; Stejskal, *Podivuhodný příběh Jana Jeronýma*, 42-45.

<sup>67</sup> BJ 190, f. 316r: “ipse liber scriptus intus et foris virtutibus, cuius operimentum est omnis lapis preciosus, in quo quidquid ad perfeccionem episcopalem pertinet, est repertum.” The sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., f. 316r: “Ipse in testamento Dei meditabatur die ac nocte et si vis scire, audi qualiter, ut patet, videantur opera sua bona et glorificaretur Pater celestis. Ecce namque Apostolus 1 Ad Thimotheum IIIo [1, 2-5] inquit: *oportet episcopum...* Et eandem regulam tradit in epistula ad Thitum [1, 7-9], licet aliquiter variat aliqua, ubi ait...” For the use of the Scriptural passages in the Middle Ages, see Anton G. Weiler, “The Requirements of the *Pastor Bonus* in the Late Middle Ages,” in *The Pastor Bonus*, 57-8.

<sup>69</sup> MS. BJ 190, f. 316r: “Quere, lege vitam istius sancti, attende signa, obstupesce prodigia, et videbis, quod nedum in flore premissa puncta regule apostolice, sed et in maturitate reperies. Vide ingressum ad cathedram, cerne progressum in cathedra, contemplare egressum in agone.”

encouraged his audience to read their lives and the Scripture in another sermon of his, which he delivered before students, the adepts of priesthood, or priests, or possibly on the occasion of consecration. Such reading of saints' lives should not be motivated by curiosity or vain knowledge, but by desire for edification.<sup>70</sup> The insistence on the priests' and students' reading of the Scripture after the example of St. Stanislaus reminds the listener of the accent on the *lectio* and exegesis (which ought to precede *disputatio* and *praedicatio*, but also serve as an *exemplum* for imitation), so important in the reform movement spreading to Poland from Bohemia, which had, however, been present already in the earlier pastoral reform efforts in the circle of Peter the Chanter in Paris.<sup>71</sup>

Like many others, Stanislaus of Skarbimiria emphasised one duty of the prelates – the coercion of the sinners. St. Stanislaus chastised King Boleslaus for his evil ways and he was not afraid and “fought until the death.”<sup>72</sup> The author, well-versed in canon law, used a host of references to the canon law collections, just as his contemporaries John-Jerome of Prague or Matthew of Colo. The authors of sermons quoted the passages from the Church Fathers concerning the requirements for bishops and prelates mostly through the canonist texts: Gratian's *Decretum*, the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX, and other canonists and commentators.<sup>73</sup> Stanislaus of Skarbimiria addressed his sermon probably to an educated audience of clerics (or possibly university students), which was entirely possible because he used to preach in the cathedral in Cracow. Another point that he made was that the life of the prelate should be an example for his subjects. He turned to the basic canonist arguments regarding the commands for prelates in the *Decretum* and the Decretals:<sup>74</sup> the higher position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy meant also a greater responsibility; the moral state of the subjects (the body) reflected the condition of the priestly order (the head); the prelates who gave a bad example to the faithful would be

<sup>70</sup> Stanislaus de Skarbimiria, *Sermones sapientiales*, vol. 3, 187 (no. XCIX. “De sacerdotum vita et honestate,” *Honorifice sacerdotes* [Eccl 7]): “Sacerdos es, sciens legem Dei. Lege igitur sanctorum vitam et doctrinam, tum ut comparatione ipsorum vita tua tibi sordescat, tum ut vita sanctorum et doctrina flamma dilectionis in te accendat, tum ut provoceris ad studium virtutum et informeris in intellectum sanctorum scripturarum, tum ut scias discernere verum a falso et bonum a malo et vitium a virtute. Non legas vel studeas, ut doctus aut curiosus videaris, non legas, quae non aedificant, quis vana lectio vanas cogitationes generat et mentis devocionem extinguit.”

<sup>71</sup> For the ideas of the *lectio*, *disputatio* and *praedicatio* of the Holy Scripture in Paris at the turn of the thirteenth century, see Bériou, *Les sermons latins après 1200*, 395; and eadem, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 30-48; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, vol. 1: Text (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 88-116. For the connections Paris-Prague, and the importance of exegesis in the Bohemian reform movement, see Olivier Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot: Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (1360–1419)* (Paris: Éditions Champion, 2005), 186-200.

<sup>72</sup> BJ 190, f. 316r-v: “Ipse namque attendens, quod prelatio non est instituta contra bonos sed ad cohercendos malos... Cohercendo nequiciam Boleslai certavit usque ad mortem [Sir 4,33], ut testamentum pacis sibi dispositum conservaret.”

<sup>73</sup> Weiler, “The Requirements of the *Pastor Bonus*,” 59-76.

<sup>74</sup> For the requirements, and especially on the basis of the canon law sources, see *ibid.*, 57-83.

held responsible by God and punished severely.<sup>75</sup> The prelate as a good shepherd was also a role model for the ordinary faithful. He ought to be an example of virtues for his flock, because his subjects naturally followed his example and did what they saw him doing, either good or evil, which was again supported with canon-law citations. Thus, the prelate had great responsibility for the souls entrusted to him, because the flock emulated its shepherd.<sup>76</sup> St. Stanislaus was a good shepherd; nevertheless, the faithful did not follow him. The preacher urged his contemporaries to meditate on whether or not they deviated from the right road. He doubted whether they – the sheep – were worthy of such a virtuous shepherd.<sup>77</sup> In the last part of his sermon he compared St. Stanislaus to Christ, which is described in detail below.

Skarbimiria's contemporary, Matthias of Colo, who recorded a sermon on St. Stanislaus on the theme *Talis decebat* (Sermon III), which was a redaction of a sermon on St. Nicholas by Pope Clement VI, also devoted the whole text to the ideal prelate and the criticism of the *status quo*. The bishop had to be *predicacio clamore melifluus, conversacionis decore proficuus, dileccionis fervore precipuus, and correccionis nitore innocuus* according to the main division. The sermon was general, without any reference to St. Stanislaus whatsoever.<sup>78</sup> The author (or the scribe) supplied the sermon with a long list of Biblical and canonist references, in which the sermon differed from the original one by Pope Clement.

When discussing the pastoral duties, Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (Sermon LXVI) and John Cantius (Sermon LVIII) employed the Pseudo-Dionysian vocabulary, which was extensively used and re-defined by Jean Gerson in roughly the same period. Jean Gerson adopted the Dionysian terms – to purify, to illuminate and to perfect – in order to describe the duties of bishops and clerics (who were together prelates, i.e. those in charge of the faithful) in relation to the laity: they were to illuminate the faithful by their teaching and preaching, to purify them by their example, and to perfect them by the

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<sup>75</sup> BJ 190, f. 316v: “Scivit namque quod non in altitudine graduum, sed in amplitudine caritatis possidetur regnum Dei de temporibus ... in se ipso enim debet ostendere qualiter alios in domo Dei oporteat ambulare et integritas prelatorum est salus subditorum, quia ecclesiasticus ordo mitat si quid reperitur in corpore, quod non invenitur in capite...” I leave out the decretal references here, which can be checked in Appendix 5, where the sermon is edited.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., f. 316v: “Requiritur nempe quod Episcopus in se sit bonus ut est visum, requiritur ut sit forma aliorum quia quod agitur a prelatiis faciliter in exemplum trahitur subditis, nihil namque in hac vita laboriosius et apud Deum graciosius quam esse bonum prelatum et nihil esse miserabilius quam esse malum.”

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., f. 316v: “Sed nimirum incessit pastor plenus virtutibus, qualiter ipsum sequetur ovis plena turpitudinibus, qualiter concordant sobrius pastor ovis ebria, castus presul ovis adultera, benignus pastor ovis litigiosa, liberalis pater porcus subditus. Pius episcopus impius sacerdos, pater bonus filius nequam, qualiter ascendet grex que vadit per invia, que querit latibula, quia debilis in fide, inutilis in spe, nulla in caritate, nempe non ascendet in montem sanctum Domini. ... Videte igitur et probate, si estis solidi, si vos a vero error non retraxit in devium; si vanitas a spe non precipitavit in abyssum; si stultus amor a calore Dei non ammovit et ideo probate et videte, si estis digni tanto pastore...”

<sup>78</sup> BJ 836, f. 158v-159v; see Chapter 3.6.

administration of sacraments.<sup>79</sup> In Gerson's pastoral theology, these three hierarchical activities corresponded to the three powers of the soul in his anthropology.<sup>80</sup> Gerson employed the same vocabulary in his synodal sermon on *Bonus pastor* in Rheims, when he explained all three pastoral duties more thoroughly.<sup>81</sup> Stanislaus of Skarbimiria said: *ordo sit in rebus, ut superiora purgent, illuminent et perficiant media et infima.*<sup>82</sup> Cantius also spoke a lot about "the illumination," especially referring to the bishop's preaching and teaching task, very much in keeping with the imagery corresponding to the Biblical verse that he chose as the *thema* of his sermon (*Quasi stella matutina* [Sir 50, 6-7], Sermon LVIII). John-Jerome of Prague also made use of these terms, although not in his sermon on St. Stanislaus, but in the later period of his life, when he preached as a reform preacher about prelates and *visitatores* at his visitation to a Camaldolesian monastery in Italy.<sup>83</sup>

Some years or even decades later, Jan of Słupca spoke about the saint as an exemplar in his sermon on the theme *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo* (Sermon XXXIV), another typical verse for sermons about a bishop saint or about the role model for bishops. In the introduction he reminded in the fashion of the *artes predicandi* that the sermon about the saint had to reflect the audience, which fell into one of the main categories (or *genera hominum* in medieval discourse): *peccatores, penitentes* and *proficientes*. He disregarded the former two and was going to speak about the third group, who should learn to be as holy and great as St. Stanislaus.<sup>84</sup> The preacher presented (or "demonstrated") the *sacerdos magnus*, St. Stanislaus, just as other *res demonstrabiles*, because an example of a man, who was similar to the audience, would prompt them to be like him. Once they were provoked, they would inform themselves about how to become like him. Once they were informed, they would imitate the saint.<sup>85</sup> His greatness (*magnitudo*) was demonstrated especially in three ways: his agreeability in the eyes of God (*Dei complacencia*), his justice (*iusticia*), and the grace of reconciliation (*reconciliacionis gracia*). Then the preacher tried to "translate" the previous words for

<sup>79</sup> Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 39-55; and Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, 113ff.

<sup>80</sup> Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, 113.

<sup>81</sup> Jean Gerson, "Sermo de officio pastoris," 123-144. For perhaps the most elaborate application to the problem of ecclesiastical reform in a conciliar context, see Gerson's tract of 1417 *De potestate ecclesiastica* in his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, vol. 6, 210-250.

<sup>82</sup> BJ 190, f. 315r.

<sup>83</sup> Hyland, "Reform Preaching and Despair," 411, fn. 6: "officium visitationis, ut corrigendo inferiores, purgent a malitia, illuminent sapientia, perficiant moribus et vita." [quoted after Hyland from *Annales Camaldulenses*, vol. 9, 860-868, ed. Joannes-Benedictus Mittarelli and Anselmus Costadoni (Venice, 1755-1773)].

<sup>84</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 151v: "Obmissis aliis, de proficientibus hic intenditur quilibet sanctus iste sub magnitudine sua proponitur, ut discant sancti et magni fieri sicut ipse." The whole sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 151v-152r: "Sciendum, quod res demonstrabiles solent triplici de causa demonstrari, ut videlicet ex demonstratis rebus provocemur, provocati informemur, informati imitemur," and so on.



the benefit of the edification of his audience, in order to show in more detail the exercises with which they could become great in the eyes of God, just as St. Stanislaus.<sup>86</sup>

Słupcza's contemporary, Grzegorz of Myslowice, in one of his sermons on St. Stanislaus on the *thema Probavit me quasi aurum* [Job 23, 10] (Sermon LV) compared the virtues of the saintly prelate to the qualities of gold, and subsequently urged every prelate to be like him: temperate in justice, solid in life and pure in conscience.<sup>87</sup> James of Varazze used the same distinction in his sermon about St. Lawrence, another prelate.<sup>88</sup> First, like gold is temperate because it is warm and humid, the prelate should be warm in fury and humid in compassion.<sup>89</sup> Secondly, the prelates should be solid like gold, which does not mix with (get soaked in by) other metals, because the bad example of prelates quickly influences the subjects. He borrowed the metaphor of the eyes for the prelates and the feet for their subjects from the *Pastoral care* of Pope Gregory the Great.<sup>90</sup> Thirdly, the prelates should be pure as gold, which is rarely found mixed with other substance, i.e. they should be pure in conscience and help others to purify.<sup>91</sup> Saint Stanislaus, as a prelate and bishop, had all those characteristics. He was temperate: severe in arguing with tyrants like King Boleslaus, but kind in compassion when praying for him. He was solid in offering a solid example of sanctity. He was pure, pursuing the chastity of heart and body.<sup>92</sup> St. Stanislaus was also a glorious preacher. He avoided earthly desire – because he did not hold the goods of the Church, but distributed them to the needy. He travelled through the diocese on foot, and protected his sheep.<sup>93</sup> Another sermon in the collection of Grzegorz of Myslowice (*Super*

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., f. 152r-v: “Nunc ergo verba hec ad nostram edificacionem convertamus differentes et docentes, quibus exercitiis et nos magni apud Deum fieri valeamus. Ad hoc enim iste gloriosus pontifex sub sua magnitudine nobis ponitur in exemplum, ut ex ea magnitudine commoniti discamus magni fieri apud Deum; peccatores enim commoventur, ut infernum fugiant; penitentes, ut ad regnum celorum perveniant; boni, ut in magnitudine proficiant.”

<sup>87</sup> BJ 1357, f. 690v: “Primo fuit prelatus victoriosus ac virtutibus plenus, quia aurum. Aurum enim temperatum, solidum et purum. Sic quilibet prelatus, maxime Episcopus, debet esse temperatus in iusticia, solidatus in vita, purus in consciencia.”

<sup>88</sup> “De sancto Laurentio martyris Sermo I,” in Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones aurei de praecipuis sanctorum festis*, 241-243. More frequently, the gold symbolized virginity, e.g. several times in the collection of James of Varazze.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.: “Primo, quia sicut aurum est temperatum, quia est calidum et humidum; sic prelatus debet esse calidus per furorem et humidus per compassionem. Furor enim zeli sedet super fornacem, id est vim irascibilem.”

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., f. 691r: “Secundo aurum est solidum, ex qua soliditate habet, quod non tingit corpora sicut alia metalla ex quo datur intelligi, quod prelati debent habere vitam tam solidam, quod subditos non tingant, id est per malum exemplum non inficiant. Malum enim exemplum prelatorum cito inficit vitam subditum, sicut ostendit Gregorius exemplo capitis ducis oculi et pastoris de duobus exemplis, sicut dicit in Pastoralibus...” For examples of corporeal metaphors for the Church, including the metaphor of eyes for the prelates, in the thirteenth-century sermons, see Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole*, 342-346, esp. 345, fn. 199.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., f. 691r: “Tercio aurum est purum; ex cuius puritate accidit, quod rarissime invenitur alteri corpori inmixtum, alia puritatem tantam non retineret, sed in eis degeberet. Ex quo datur intelligi, quod prelatus debet esse mundus in consciencia...”

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., f. 691r: “Beatus ergo Stanislaus, in quantum fuit prelatus et Episcopus Cracoviensis, signatur per aurum; ideo, quia fuit temperatus et habuit seueritatem contra tyrannos arguendo eos, ut patet in Boleslao rege, et dulcedinem compassionis pro ipso orando. Fuit etiam solidus, solidum exemplum sanctitatis prebendo. Fuit purus, mundiciam cordis et corporis sectando.”

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., f. 691v.

*custodiam meam stabo* [Abac 2,1]) talked about the saint's abstinence and austerity of life.<sup>94</sup> The author, like a number of others, mentioned that the saint had imitated Christ: "he had been fasting and vigilating, he had wandered through his diocese and preached, he had corrected the excesses of the clergy and people, and in the end he had endured a martyr's death."<sup>95</sup> Wandering through the diocese and preaching corresponded with the evangelical ideal, which was one of the objectives of the renewal of the clergy.

Some sermons devoted space to general discussion of priestly or episcopal office. Already Peregrinus had written about the dignity of episcopal office and named the bishop's duties.<sup>96</sup> These expositions usually had their place at the beginning of sermons. As the word *sacerdos*, *pontifex*, or *episcopus* often appeared in the Biblical thematic verse chosen for their sermons, sometimes a distinction is devoted to the explanation of this word. The authors relied mostly on standard knowledge, transmitted by the widespread works of Peter Lombard, the gloss or biblical commentaries. For example, a sermon on St. Stanislaus on the thema *Ecce sacerdos magnus* (Sermon XXXV), which John Cantius recorded in his sermon notebook, explained firstly who a *sacerdos* was in the context of the Old Testament, speaking about Melchizedek, Aaron and his descendants. Then he explained the New Testamental priesthood, which sprang from Christ, and its analogies with the Old Testament, emphasising the sacramental dimension of the priestly office. Another contemporary anonymous sermon (Sermon II), which compared St. Stanislaus to Aaron and praised the dignity of the priestly office above the angels, explained the term *sacerdos*, in a traditional way, as *sacrum dans aut sacrum creans*.<sup>97</sup> The sacramental dimension of the priesthood was reiterated in many medieval works, especially since the Gregorian reform, with the intention to differentiate priests in society and the increase their prestige and authority.<sup>98</sup> In general, the sacramental aspect of the priestly office appears

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., f. 693r-v.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., f. 693v: "Illud exemplum respexit beatus Stanislaus et ideo eum imitabatur ieiunando et vigilando, per suam diocesim discurrens predicabat, excessus cleri et populi correxit, tandem mortem subiit."

<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 4 for details.

<sup>97</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450r: "Nam sacerdos interpretes sacrum dans aut sacrum creans. Nam ipse virtute verbi creat verum corpus Christi in pane et verum sanguinem in vino, quod nulli alteri est concessum, nec angelis." Wenzel (*Latin Sermon Collections*, 267) cites a sermon ad clerum by Rypon, who described a threefold office of *sacerdos* as "sacer dux, sacra dans, sacra docens."

<sup>98</sup> An overview of the ideas concerning the sacerdotal sacramental dignity, see Zénon Kaluza, "Le prêtre et ses mains," in *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy. Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the reformation*, ed. I. Perczel, R. Forrai and G. Geréby (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 281-315; including the idea that priests have higher dignity than angels in the widely-diffused anonymous treatises *Stella clericorum*, *Augustinus de dignitate sacerdotum* (a short text attributed to Augustine in the Middle Ages), and other medieval authorities, fn. 18 and so on. For the latter treatise, see idem, "Sacerdoce magique – sacerdoce politique. Note sur quelques textes porteurs du cléricalisme médiéval," in *Lectionum varietates. Hommage à Paul Vignaux (1904-1987)*, ed. J. Jolivet, Z. Kaluza, and A.

to have been represented and accentuated in sermons on St. Stanislaus less than the other ones, especially preaching and teaching. It appeared in some sermons, most often in the context of the discussion of the threefold bread, or pasture, administered by the prelate to the people, and so on.<sup>99</sup> Christ was the *sacerdos*, the king and the legislator, and all the power and authority emanated from Him. He gave various powers to his successors: the bishops' duty is *pascere* and *docere*.<sup>100</sup> Like Moses and Aaron selected their inferiors who were to help them with their duties, also the bishops had assistants in pastoral care.<sup>101</sup> The preacher insisted on the hierarchical order in the Church and compared it to the hierarchy of secular authorities: the archbishop is in charge of whole kingdom metaphorically; bishops, who are like those who have power over the principality and the parish priests over the counties; and some are only wardens (*custodes*).<sup>102</sup> Such order corresponded to the hierarchical organisation of the Polish Kingdom in the fifteenth century. John Cantius turned to the term *sacerdos magnus*, a bishop: he is called *magnus*, high priest, because his office is public and not private, and because it was constituted not by human law but by divine law, for the utility of the people. He is the mediator between God and men. The preacher explained what a bishop should do.<sup>103</sup> The bishop should be a *sacerdos magnus* not only by the capacity of his office, but also by his virtuous life.<sup>104</sup>

One of the bishops' important duties (represented by a part of the thematic verse: *adeptus est gloriam in conversione gentis sue*), as the successors of the apostles, is the conversion of people. Although St. Stanislaus did not convert the people to Christianity as St. Adalbert had done, he converted them from their sins: "from the errors of customs to virtues, from transgression of precepts to

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De Libera (Paris: Vrin, 1991), 283-309. There also the idea of higher dignity than angels, edited *ibid.*, p. 287. These texts, considered controversial by some medieval thinkers and reformers already, went as far as to "deify" the priests.

<sup>99</sup> For the motif of the threefold bread in sermons on St. Stanislaus, see above in this chapter, fn. 17. Then, the topic of Eucharist appeared, for example, in the sermon by Jan of Słupca (Sermon VII) cited in another place in this chapter, section 5.1.5, and fn. 207; and as an allusion in the discussion of Christ's Passion, as one of its aspects.

<sup>100</sup> Vatican, Lat. MS. 14182, f. 234v-235r.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 234v: "Si Aaron sacerdos et pontifex habuit sibi adiunctos sacerdotes et levitas, non dubium quin episcopi nove legis habeant adiutores sibi datos in partem sollicitudinis et cure pastoralis."

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 235r: "Sic etiam quidam presunt regno totali ut archiepiscopi, quidam habent sub se principatus ut episcopi, et quidam comitates ut parochiales presbiteri, et nihilominus inveniuntur qui sunt singulares custodes sui." An analogical hierarchy existed among people, in Church, and also among angels, in the preacher's eyes.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 235r: "Magnus ergo sacerdos est quilibet episcopus, quia est minister reconciliacionis, minister unionis, minister pacis, est actor omnium illorum que sunt ipsorum hominum ad Deum. Unde orat pro eis, offert sacrificia pro eorum peccatis, iram Dei mitigat erga populum, et divinas ulciones suspendit ab eis. Revera magnus, ex quo etiam agit negocia Dei in hominibus. Ipsorum enim ministerium est illuminare, mollificare, ad divinum amorem accedere, peccata remittere, peccata corrigere, et excessus proicere."

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 235r: "Vere sacerdos magnus est, non solum ideo, quia magnum habet officium, non solum ideo, quia alios sacerdotes habet sub se, sed magnus ratione vite, et ratione spiritualis fortitudinis."

obedience of the law, from their multiple sins to the deserved fruit of penance.”<sup>105</sup> Firstly, the prelate should take care that the errors do not sprout in his people’s behavior (in habits and customs), because these lead to the errors against the articles of faith.<sup>106</sup> He should take care so that all live according to the divine laws, because their transgression, if not stymied, leads to rebellion, which is followed by schism. It is his duty to oppose the wrong-doers.<sup>107</sup>

The bishop should also be a preacher and teach the doctrine through preaching. Cantius recalled another verse from his sermon’s *thema*: he ought to be like “the morning star among the clouds” (*quasi stella matutina in medio nebule*), shining forth with his knowledge of the Faith, but also like the moon and the sun, each celestial object signifying one group of people in his audience.<sup>108</sup> This was a frequently used metaphor. This Biblical verse was exploited also by other preachers, e.g. James of Varazze, who chose the same *thema* for his sermon on Saint Dominic.<sup>109</sup> Then, the preacher explained another word from the chosen *thema*, *in templo*: the bishop had to execute his office together with priests. Then Cantius again compared the bishop and his function to the shining sun, the moon and a star, pointing at various qualities of his teaching office.<sup>110</sup> Cantius continued and compared various virtues that every bishop ought to have to flowers of various colours, to a golden vessel and a precious stone, all mentioned in the Biblical *thema*. He concluded that St. Stanislaus excelled in all these virtues, but especially in those signified by the flower of frankincense – he was fervent in praying and humble, as his *vita* testified, and he was even martyred while he was praying.<sup>111</sup>

An anonymous sermon (Sermon II) from the same milieu from the second half of the fifteenth century also turned to the bishop’s office in particular after explaining the priest’s one: “But Blessed Stanislaus was not a simple priest, but a high priest, that is, the bishop.”<sup>112</sup> Then the preacher explained five reasons for the bishop’s designation as *magnus*, supported with Biblical citations and references to

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., f. 235v: “Nec omnes episcopi gloriosi sunt sicut Adalbertus qui erat apostolus Polonorum. Nam beatus Stanislaus non convertit gentem sua ab infidelitate idolatrie, quia tam cum erat pontifex gens sua sibi subdita fuit Christiana. Sed convertit eos ab erroribus morum ad virtutes, a transgressione preceptorum ad obedienciam legis, ab eorum peccatis multiplicibus ad dignos penitencie fructus.”

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.: “Primo, attendere, ne errores pullularent in moribus hominum, quia ex talibus erroribus exiliunt errores erga fidei articulos.”

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.: “Pertinet eciam ad eum operam dare, ut omnes vitam ducerent iuxta legem divinam, quia transgressio preceptorum, si non prerumpitur, deducit ad rebellionem, quam scismata sequuntur. Item cure sue inest delinquentibus resistere.”

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., f. 235v-236r. For the three groups of people in the audience, cf. above in this chapter in Sermon XXIV by Jan of Šlupca.

<sup>109</sup> “De sancto Dominico Sermo I,” in Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones aurei de praecipuis sanctorum festis et laudibus deiparae Virginis*, 266. [1. Quomodo stellae matutinae radianti, 2. lunae plenae lucenti, 3. soli refulgenti assimilatur.]

<sup>110</sup> Vatican, Lat. MS. 14182, f. 236r-237r.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., f. 237r: “Unde hoc legitur de beato Stanislao pontifice, quia ipse effulsit virtutibus, presertim in hiis que in thure exprimuntur. Valde enim erat fervidus in oracionibus et magne humilitatis. Unde et tempore oracionis legitur passionem subiisse.”

<sup>112</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450r: “Sed beatus Stanislaus non fuit sacerdos simplex, sed magnus, id est, episcopus.”

the Church Fathers and the *Decretum*. First, because God chose him to administer sacraments, for which purity was needed: it was illustrated with a Biblical passage about priest Oza from the Old Testament, who fell dead [cf. 2 Kings 6,6], as a prefiguration of those unworthy ones who touch and accept the Eucharist.<sup>113</sup> Secondly, the bishop was *magnus* because the Lord appointed him to judge, for which prudence was needed (in confession). Thirdly, because he governed those who were *magni*, for which a good life and sound doctrine were needed (in preaching, teaching, and confession). Fourthly, because he returned a good balance to the Lord, for which justice was necessary. Fifth and last, because he reconciled the high ones (*magni*), that is, the man with God.<sup>114</sup>

Frequently the preachers emphasised that the dignity of the priestly or episcopal office lay not only in the capacity of the office itself (although it was extremely important), but also in the moral qualities that the true prelate should possess and in the good deeds and charity that he exercised.<sup>115</sup> We have also seen that they often did not forget to point at the deficiencies of their contemporaries in this sphere. One of the theological problems that sprang from this matter was the validity of the sacraments administered by sinful priests. This theological issue had very practical implications for the lives of Christian communities, and it became extremely topical in the age of the Hussite reform movement. Some preachers addressed this topic, most probably before clerical audiences, understandably. Still, synodal sermons and sermons to clergy repeatedly put emphasis on the moral imperatives. This requisite for the priesthood was never questioned, although the reality was often more complicated and the Church had to deal and, in a way, put up with, human imperfection. Nicolaus of Kozłow, doctor of theology, formed a large part of his sermon on Stanislaus (Sermon VIII) at the Council of Basel around this issue,<sup>116</sup> more precisely, on the particular theological *quaestio: Utrum ultra necessitatem salutis pastoralis perfeccio ipsius ovibus afferat quid utilitatis*. This was already in the period when the Hussite movement was perceived as a big problem and a threat, not only in Bohemia, but also in neighbouring Poland, and the Hussites and their heresy were often fervently discussed at the university in Cracow, before, during and after the Council of Basel.<sup>117</sup> Naturally, topics like this were derived

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., f. 450r-v. The same motif in a sermon by James of Varazze “In Coena Domini Sermo V,” in Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones aurei de praecipuis sanctorum festis*, 129.

<sup>114</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450r-v.

<sup>115</sup> Already mentioned above, Sermon XXXIV recorded by Cantius (“magnus in racione virtutis”), or in the sermon by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (Sermon LXVI), and so on.

<sup>116</sup> For the biography and works of Nicolaus of Kozłow, and for his sermon at the Council in Basel, see Ch. 3.6 and the appendix.

<sup>117</sup> From a vast literature on the subject, see a concise overview of the Hussite heresy in relation to the Council of Basel in Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons. Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2003), 55-74; and Johannes Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil 1431-1449: Forschungsstand und*

from the realm of advanced theology. That is why these debates were addressed to the gatherings of the higher educated clergy. Then, the final unambiguous position could be transmitted to the diocesan clergy and so on (either in sermons or in normative documents like synodal statutes, edicts, or pastoral manuals). Generally, the theological position *ex opere operato*, reiterated when facing the anticlerical movements (or lowering the authority of the priesthood) triggered off by thinkers such as Wycliff and Hus, meant that the validity of the sacraments performed by a cleric's action did not depend on his virtue or character, but only on the capacity of his office which he gained in his ordination.<sup>118</sup> The sacramental sacerdotal power, as a privilege and one of the sources of the authority of the clergy, required reiteration by theologians and preachers. In the development of his first conclusion Nicolaus of Kozłow said that only the best from the virtuous were to be elected for pastors. He further admitted that although it was very dangerous to have unfitting pastors (and he enumerated the dangers resulting from having bad shepherds, and, on the other hand, the benefits of the virtuous shepherds for the flock), their perversity neither obstructed the efficacy of the sacraments, nor reduced the salvation of their subjects in the end.<sup>119</sup> The issue was addressed by numerous theologians in that period, e.g. also in Cracow in the times of Bishop Wysz.<sup>120</sup> The synodal statutes from 1420 dealt with the problem in the part devoted to the sacrament of the holy orders. The statute made clear that the priest administering sacraments in the status of sin committed a sin, but the sacraments were valid.<sup>121</sup>

A part of the criticism of clerics sprang from the spreading reformist ideas of the *devotio moderna* movement, from a new religiosity coming from the pre-Hussite Bohemia and elsewhere, and

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*Probleme* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1987), 353-72; František M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution 1424-1437*, ed. and transl. John M. Klassen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 73-111. For the Poland and the Hussite heresy and movement, see a monograph by Paweł Kras, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce* (The Hussites in Fifteenth-Century Poland) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1998); and more specifically, for example, J. Garbacik and A. Strzelecka, "Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec problemów husyckich w XV wieku" (The Cracow University Facing the Hussite Problems in the Fifteenth Century), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 5 (1964), fasc. 1-2, 7-12; Tomasz Graff, "Biskupi monarchii Jagiellonskiej wobec herezji husyckiej w pierwszej połowie XV wieku" (The Bishops of the Jagiellonian Monarchy in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century), *Nasza Przyszłość* 109 (2008): 37-53; Jan Drabina, "Episkopat polski wobec husytyzmu" (The Polish Bishops Facing Hussitism), in *Polskie echa husytyzmu, Materiały z konferencji naukowej Kłodzko, 27-28 września 1996* (The Polish Echoes of Hussitism. Materials from the Conference in Kłodzko September 27-28, 1996), ed. S. Bylina and Ryszard Gładkiewicz (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN, 1999), 63-81.

<sup>118</sup> For the issue in sermons by Milicius, see Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 130. As a practical problem in Gerson's teaching; Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 41-2. For the position of *ex opere operato*, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 35, 50.

<sup>119</sup> For instance, BJ 1614, f. 75v: "et si periculosum est pastores habere indignos ac tamen eorum perversitas nec efficaciam aufert sacramentis nec salutem minuit subiectorum."

<sup>120</sup> Władysław Seńko, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina i jego dzieło Speculum aureum* (Peter Wysz of Radolin and His Work *Speculum Aureum*) (Warsaw: Instytut Tomistyczny OO. Dominikanów, 1996), 249: "Quaestiones factae per magistrum Stephanum et Petrum episcopum Cracoviensem," q. 24: "Quaritur, utrum presbyter peccans et celebrans missam, utrum prodest alicui. Respondetur quod prodest, quia materialia ministerii non vitiant divinitatem; quia prodest illis, pro quibus celebrat; et ergo, si non paenitebit pro illo, damnabitur perpetue."

<sup>121</sup> *Statuta Alberti Jastrzębiec Episcopi Cracoviensis*, 69; Ożóg, "Duszpasterskie zabiegi," 49.

a turn towards inner piety.<sup>122</sup> Bartholomew of Jasło, a university master, who preached on St. Stanislaus in the Cracow cathedral in 1391 (Sermon XLV), sharply criticised the clerics' mistakes, their meanness, their behaviour at processions, and their lack of inner piety.<sup>123</sup>

The criticism of contemporary prelates was visible already in the lives of St. Stanislaus, and especially in the *Vita* by Długosz, side by side with the role model represented by the holy bishop.<sup>124</sup> It was a recurrent standard topic of synodal sermons and sermons *ad clerum* on various occasions, including sermons on Thomas Becket, for example. The criticism did not usually belong to the preaching in front of lay or uneducated audiences in an orthodox milieu (unlike Lollards, Hussites, and so on).<sup>125</sup> This was a general tendency: when a preacher wanted to criticise his fellow clerics, he ought to do that in front of clerical audience only and not instigate anticlerical feelings in the laity, as the Lollards and Hussites had been doing. The sermons on St. Stanislaus were not an exception. A number of them could have actually been addressed *ad clerum*, although this was not the only audience. I have demonstrated that there was definitely a habit of preaching to the clergy on the occasion of the feasts of St. Stanislaus in the cathedral in Cracow – in front of the assembly of cathedral canons, or in front of the clergy who flocked to Cracow cathedral from the city and its surroundings.<sup>126</sup> Besides that, preachers could present Stanislaus as a good shepherd also to a lay or mixed public, but with a slightly different agenda.

Much of the criticism was surely a commonplace, taken from well-circulated and notorious authorities like Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux or Pseudo-Chrysostomus. But there is no smoke without fire; some issues were surely topical, although preachers turned to longtime authorities. Numerous treatises which called for reform of the clergy as well as repeated prescriptions and bans of synodal statutes prove that. Recurrently, or rather, continuously, the urge to purge the clerics' way of life pertained to efforts of religious revival. Owst, who attempted to recreate the atmosphere of medieval synodal preaching, doubted the effects of criticism, which had been full of formalism, routine and moralising. He thought that it was mainly only “a tradition to be maintained,” which he compared to “continual haranguing in borrowed words, however authoritative they might be.”<sup>127</sup> Conversely, another historian suggests that the concerns of synodal sermons, and sermons *ad clerum* too, were

<sup>122</sup> Among others, Pierre Debongnie, “Dévotion moderne,” in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 3 (Paris, Beauchesne: 1957), coll. 727-747; Włodzimierz Bielak, *Devotio moderna w polskich traktatach duszpasterskich powstałych do połowy XV wieku* (The *Devotio moderna* in Polish Pastoral Treatises until the Mid-Fifteenth Century) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2002).

<sup>123</sup> BJ 2192, f. 28r-32r. See also Kuś, “Justus sicut leo,” especially 8. For more about the author and his work, see Ch. 3.6.

<sup>124</sup> See Chapter 1.1 for details.

<sup>125</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 269-277.

<sup>126</sup> See Chapter 2.2.1.4.

<sup>127</sup> Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 251.

closer to reality than normative sources because those sermons had to be adapted for their audience and they reflected them in a certain way (at least the *reportationes*, like those by Eudes Rigaud, which he dealt with), and they had supposedly a certain influence on the priests.<sup>128</sup> Owst asked: “Had not these heard the same old denunciations of Bernard and the others, times without number, of which no manuscript records greet us today?” Still, the extant sermons, although only a portion of those delivered throughout the Middle Ages, document that these borrowings repeated “times without number.” And truly, sermons on St. Stanislaus likewise are rich in explicitly or implicitly borrowed words of the Church Fathers, canon law and many classics. In some cases, what looked like a colourful, fervent and highly topical criticism turned out to be another authority called to help the preacher.

Although the topic of the good shepherd and criticism of the clergy in sermons were traditional, repetitive and full of commonplaces in many respects, the sermons on St. Stanislaus were constructed in particular historical circumstances, when the efforts at moral, intellectual and pastoral renewal of clergy and criticism of contemporary clergy, who failed to live up to the ideals, intensified at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth century. Sermons on St. Stanislaus have to be seen here in the context of a number of other works and genres that were preoccupied with an ideal of bishop and prelate,<sup>129</sup> and with the criticism of contemporary clerics and reform of the Church *in membris*. Among a number of works, treatises and sermons of Peter of Ailly and Jean Gerson devoted much space to the criticism of the moral and intellectual state and pastoral activities of contemporary clerical hierarchy, and urged for renewal.<sup>130</sup> Besides that, the Humanist genre of recommendations for bishops and clerics, reminiscent of similar works for noblemen, started to proliferate in the second half of the fifteenth century and continued also in the sixteenth century and in the period around the Council of Trent.<sup>131</sup>

The same reform efforts were visible in Poland and in the diocese of Cracow and they certainly influenced the content of the preaching about St. Stanislaus. These exhortations were in accord with the bishops’ reformist activities in the pastoral field in this period and with a turn to practical pastoral

<sup>128</sup> Louis Duval-Arnould, “Trois sermons synodaux de la collection attribuée à Jean de la Rochelle,” *AFH* 69 (1976): 336-400 and 70 (1977): 35-71, here 337.

<sup>129</sup> For contemporary priestly ideal see Joseph Avril, “Peut-on parler d’un ‘ideal sacerdotal’ a la fin du Moyen Age?” in *Recherches sur l’economie ecclesiale a la fin du Moyen-Age autour des collegiales de Savoie*. Actes de la table ronde internationale d’Annecy 26-28 avril 1990 (Annecy 1991), 11-26.

<sup>130</sup> Louis B. Pascoe, *Church and reform: Bishops, theologians, and canon lawyers in the thought of Pierre d’Ailly (1351-1420)* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), esp. chapters 2-4; Brown, *Pastor and Laity*; and idem, *Jean Gerson*, 110-164.

<sup>131</sup> Oliver Logan, “The Ideal of the Bishop and the Venetian Patriciate: c. 1430-c. 1630,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978), 415-440. Interestingly, Venetian authors underlined the close connection of Church leaders with the temporal government unlike other models like Carlo Borromeo etc. In this regard, they are similar to works of Długosz and his Polish contemporaries, who also emphasised the bond between *ecclesia* and *patria*.



theology.<sup>132</sup> For instance, Bartholomew of Jasło returned to the topic of the pastoral office and the qualities of good bishops and clerics in several speeches, besides his sermon on St. Stanislaus. In those times, intellectual circles in Cracow strove together for the restoration of the university (1390), which would bring forth moral renovation and education to the clergy and the whole society, and praised its utility.<sup>133</sup> It was a concerted effort on the part of Bishop John Radlica and his successor Peter Wysz (1392-1412) and the university masters Stanislaus of Skarbimiria and his contemporary, Bartholomew of Jasło, among others, and supported by King Wladislaus Jagiello. The renovated university was to produce more erudite clerics, who would become good shepherds of their flocks.<sup>134</sup> The call for morally and intellectually sound priests and bishops, as well as criticism of contemporary deficiencies, was palpable in sermons on St. Stanislaus. Diocesan synodal statutes and pastoral compendia presented an ideal for clerics.<sup>135</sup> The intellectual exchange and contacts between Prague and Cracow played an important role in spreading contemporary criticism and ideals of renewal.<sup>136</sup> The channels of diffusion of the ideas of renewal were facilitated and strengthened by personal contacts of Bohemia with Polish lands, through the Poles who studied at the Prague University in the late fourteenth century (out of the authors of sermons on St. Stanislaus, e.g. Matthew of Colo, Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, Bartholomew of Jasło, Nicolaus of Kozłow – practically an entire older generation of intellectuals from the period before the university was established in Cracow) and also a number of Bohemians active in Poland (e.g. out of the authors of sermons on Stanislaus, John-Jerome of Prague, and so on).<sup>137</sup> A whole group of clerical intellectuals at the court of Queen Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Anjou promoted efforts to reform the Church, including Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, Bartholomew of Jasło, Jan Štěkna, John-Jerome, Henry Bitterfeld.<sup>138</sup> Preachers also heard in person, or knew from manuscript copies, synodal and other

<sup>132</sup> For the reform activities of Bishop Peter Wysz and also for practical pastoral theology, see Mieczysław Markowski, *Dzieje Wydziału teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1397-1525* (History of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Cracow in 1397-1525) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 1996), 80-94 especially and passim; Szafarkiewicz, “Nurt reformy Kościoła w kręgach kleru diecezjalnego” (The Issue of Church Reform in the Circles of Diocesan Clergy), 136ff.

<sup>133</sup> Kowalczyk, “Odnowienie,” 23-42; Wolny, “Uwagi,” 31-36.

<sup>134</sup> For the benefit of the university for the preaching, see above Ch. 2.2.1.4.

<sup>135</sup> Krzysztof Ożóg, “Duszpasterskie zabiegi biskupów krakowskich w późnym średniowieczu” (Pastoral Efforts of Cracow Bishops in the Late Middle Ages), *Rocznik Krakowski* 71 (2005), 41-53; Kazimierz Dola, “XV-wieczne synody diecezji wrocławskiej o życiu i posłudze kleru” (The Fifteenth-Century Synods in the Diocese of Wrocław on Life and Duties of Clergy), *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 4 (1974), 85-106. For synodal statutes and materials for the instruction of clergy in general, see Weiler, “The Requirements of the *Pastor Bonus*,” 76-82.

<sup>136</sup> Among others, about the beginnings of reform movement in Prague and the criticism of clergy wrote Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot*.

<sup>137</sup> J. Bidlo, “Čeští emigranti v době husitské a mnich Jeroným Pražský” (The Czech Emigrants in Hussite Period and Monk Jerome of Prague), *Časopis Musea království Českého* 69 (1895): 118-128, 232-265, 424-452.

<sup>138</sup> Krzysztof Ożóg, “Kościół krakowski wobec wielkiej schizmy zachodniej i ruchu soborowego u schyłku XIV i w pierwszej połowie XV wieku” (The Church of Cracow Facing the Great Schism and Conciliar Movement at the End of the

sermons *ad clerum* by renowned preachers, such as those of Matthew of Cracow<sup>139</sup> or Jan Milíč of Kroměříž (Milicius of Cremsir) at synods in Prague,<sup>140</sup> or Stanislaus of Skarbimiria at synods in the Cracow diocese,<sup>141</sup> and others.

In the sermons on the saintly bishop intended for clerics, St. Stanislaus embodied the ideals of renewal: a prelate of moral and intellectual stature, who fulfils his pastoral duties towards the faithful entrusted to him. The topic of the good shepherd, the ideal prelate and the criticism of the clergy itself were by no means uncommon. However, what was special was the strong connection with a figure other than Christ himself and the fact that the sermons were not reduced to a purely generalized discussion – they exemplified the virtues and actions of the good shepherd by data from the saint’s legend. Many writers and theologians were preoccupied with the issue of moral renewal of prelates as a vehicle of Church renewal in this period. Did preachers present other saints, other bishops, as exemplars of conduct to the clergy? Did the reformers come up with concrete role models besides Christ when they spoke about the ideal prelate in the Late Middle Ages? Or – to put it differently - did they make use of the bishops’ cults and the preaching opportunities at their feasts to speak about moral and pastoral reform?

The hagiography also provided an ideal of bishop and prelate, although episcopal sainthood was in crisis in the Late Middle Ages. Vauchez observed that, statistically, even at the upper levels of the Roman Church, the bishops lost favour as candidates for sainthood from the end of the thirteenth century. While the cults of bishops still remained important (and even new bishops were proposed for canonisation) in countries like England, in Scandinavia and Central-Eastern Europe, they were much less represented in the Germanic countries and above all in Italy. Italy was rich in regular and lay saints, who also sought the reformation of the Church. However, it was not so much interested in

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Fourteenth and in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century), in *Kościół krakowski w życiu państwa i narodu polskiego*, ed. Andrzej Pankowicz (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PAT, 2002), 21-60.

<sup>139</sup> The sermons of Matthew of Cracow delivered at synods in Prague between the years 1378-1389 (*Quid est quod dilectus* [Jer. 6], *Digne ambuletis* [Eph. 4, 1], *Sobrii estote* [1 Pt. 5], *Detrectant de vobis* [1 Pt. 2], and *Venit iudicare* [Ps]) were edited in “Sermones synodales,” in *Mateusza z Krakowa “De praxi Romanae Curiae,”* ed. Władysław Seńko (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Ossolineum-Wydawnictwo PAN, 1969), 125-175. Polish translation of the first two of them in *O praktykach kurii rzymskiej oraz 2 kazania o naprawie obyczajów kleru*, transl. W. Seńko (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 99-133. The choice of Old Testamental themata, like in these sermons, was preferred in front of educated audiences.

<sup>140</sup> Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir, *Tres sermones synodales*, ed. Vilém Herold and Milan Mráz (Prague: Academia, 1974). His synodal sermons on themata *Sacerdotes contempserunt legem meam* [Ezech. 22, 26], *Grex perditus factus est populus meus* [Jer. 50, 6] and *Audite reges et intelligite* [Sap. 6, 2] were also analyzed by Marie Bláhová, “Milíč von Kroměříž und seine Synodalpredigten,” in *Partikularsynoden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Leszek Zygnier (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006), 363-376.

<sup>141</sup> Stanislaus of Skarbimiria’s sermons on themata *Sapientiam atque doctrinam stulti despiciunt* [Prov. 1,24-25] and *Audite disciplinam et estote sapientes* [Prov. 8,33] delivered at synod in Cracow in 1408 are edited in Stanislaus de Skarbimiria, *Sermones sapientiales*, vol. 1, ed. B. Chmielowska (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1979), nos. 3 and 4, 44-76.

venerating new saints from the secular clergy, or the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>142</sup> Vauchez maintains that the cults of the martyr-bishops, these “Becket duplications,” enjoyed great success in countries with a powerful episcopate and a monarchy weakened by the increasing power of the aristocracy such as England and Poland, but they did not work any more in the urban societies like Italy. These cults, Saint Stanislaus’ cult among them, manifested the prestige and ambitions of the episcopate and the clergy at the expense of royal power.<sup>143</sup> Several fifteenth-century bishops became saints because they abhorred or renounced their office, which they considered as an obstruction rather than a means of sanctification, like the Franciscan St. Louis of Toulouse or Anjou (1274-1297)<sup>144</sup> and St. Peter of Luxemburg (1369-1387).<sup>145</sup> Moreover, they both came from important noble families, which raised their prestige and chances for canonisation. They did not quite fall into the pattern of the good shepherd active in pastoral care. The saintly bishops, precisely as the exponents of Church reform, were rehabilitated more universally later, with the Council of Trent (1545-63) and with Italian St. Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), and the ideal came into reality.<sup>146</sup>

St. Stanislaus and St. Thomas Becket were presented as ascetic, praying and charity-working men in late medieval sermons, but they did not renounce their pastoral duties. Among many others, Richard Fitzralph (ca. 1300-1360), a zealous Irish prelate, Archbishop of Armagh, who fashioned his own life and pastorate according to the model of Becket, preached on Becket as an exemplar of the good shepherd at the papal court in Avignon.<sup>147</sup> For Peter of Ailly, a reformer and a bishop himself, the bishops were supposed to act as the main initiators of a reform of whole Church, and their moral

<sup>142</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 305-310. On the crisis of episcopal sainthood, also Bernard Guillemain, “L’Exercice du pouvoir episcopal a la fin du moyen âge,” in *L’Institution et les pouvoirs dans les églises de l’antiquité a nos jours*, ed. Bernard Vogler, *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 8 (Louvain- Bruxelles: RHE-auwelaerts, 1987), 101-132.

<sup>143</sup> For the support of Stanislaus cult by the bishops of Cracow (Prandota, Zbigniew Oleśnicki), see my MA thesis “The Construction of the Image and Cult of Saint Stanislaus as a Holy Bishop from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century,” (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, 2003), especially 24-36, 46-66. Other bishops besides Stanislaus of Cracow were venerated; there were attempts to establish bishops’ cults in various regions of Poland.

<sup>144</sup> The process of canonisation in 1308, canonised in 1317. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 307-309. For the details of Louis of Anjou’s life and sanctity, see Margaret R. Toynbee, *St. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929).

<sup>145</sup> The process of canonisation in 1387, but canonised only in the sixteenth century. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 307, 309-310. About St. Peter of Luxemburg, most recently, Johannes Helmrath, “Aktensendung und Heilungswunder. Kanonisierung des Peter von Luxemburg (1369-1387) und die Überlieferung seines Kanonisationsprozesses,” in *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Matthias Werner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Enno Bünz, Stefan Tebruk and Helmut G. Walther (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Historische Kommission für Thüringen, 2007), 649-662.

<sup>146</sup> Guillemain, “L’Exercice du pouvoir episcopal a la fin du moyen âge,” 131-2. For Carlo Borromeo as an ideal, see e.g. Logan, “The Ideal of the Bishop and the Venetian Patriarchate,” 437ff.; Giuseppe Alberigo, “Carlo Borromeo come modello di vescovi nella chiesa post-tridentina,” *Rivista storica italiana* 79 (1967): 1031-1052; Joseph Bergin, “The Counter-Reformation Church and Its Bishops,” *Past and Present* 165 (1999): 30-73.

<sup>147</sup> He preached several sermons *ad clerum* there, in 1335, 1340, and 1341, which are preserved in his sermon diary; for their analysis, and also for his portrait, see Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: OUP, 1981), sermons analysed on pp. 188-195.

renewal accompanied by their pastoral activity was for him a pre-condition for the reform of other members of the Church and of the whole institution. Peter of Ailly saw not the monastic and mendicant orders but the spiritually renewed episcopacy as the primary agents in the reformation of the Church.<sup>148</sup> Peter of Ailly's disciple Jean Gerson was also engaged in efforts for the reform of clergy and the Church, and he equally emphasised the crucial role of the prelates and especially their moral and pastoral qualities in the revival of the Church.<sup>149</sup> Peter of Ailly preached on St. Louis of Anjou, the Franciscan Bishop of Toulouse, in 1417 at the Council of Constance,<sup>150</sup> and promoted the canonisation of another bishop, Peter of Luxemburg, by a sermon on him at the papal court in Avignon in 1389.<sup>151</sup> Pascoe demonstrated that the preacher had presented them as role models for prelates, although they had been considered saints not so much because they had fulfilled episcopal duties (which they had tried to escape and almost abhorred) but rather because they had renounced them, as Vauchez maintained. Peter of Ailly presented the two bishops as examples of morally and intellectually renewed bishops.<sup>152</sup>

The ideal personified by a bishop or a cleric was not frequent and not easily found in the period which witnessed growing anti-clerical sentiments and criticism of contemporary clerics. There were not many saintly bishops, who lived in the late medieval period and who personified the ideal. The preachers could still turn back to a more distant history for exemplars. Preachers *ad clericum* in the cathedral of Wrocław presented St. John the Baptist as an exemplar for clerics.<sup>153</sup> St. John the Baptist was the patron saint of the cathedral and the diocese, and the gatherings of clergy (synods, chapter assemblies) took place on his feast. Similarly to St. Stanislaus in Cracow and St. Thomas Becket, it was a good occasion for preaching to the clergy, presenting a role model and criticising their deficiencies. Thomas Becket became an exemplar of clerical probity in the eyes of the reformist theologians in Paris

<sup>148</sup> Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, 49.

<sup>149</sup> E.g. Gerson's sermon, mentioned above, "Sermo de officio pastoris," in Jean Gerson, *Opera omnia*, vol. 5, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1960-1968), no. 215, 123-144; and "Sermo Dominicae misericordie Domini," in Jean Gerson, *Opera omnia*, t. 3, ed. L.E. du Pin (Antwerp, 1706), coll. 1214-22. Gerson's thought well analysed by Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, and Brown, *Pastor and Laity*.

<sup>150</sup> "Sermo de Sancto Ludovico Tolosano I," in Petrus de Ailliaco, *Tractatus et sermones* (Strassburg, 1490).

<sup>151</sup> "Collatio pro apotheosi Petri de Luxemburgo I," in C.E. Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1665-1673, reprint Leiden: Brill, 1966), 651-669.

<sup>152</sup> See the sermons of Peter of Ailly cited above, and subchapter "Episcopal Models of the Apostolic Life" in Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, 157-164.

<sup>153</sup> I would like to thank Dr Anna Zajchowska, who analyzed sermons by Jan Frankenstein of Ząbkowice, *OP ad clericum* in her dissertation, for pointing this out to me in informal conversation; *Między uniwersytetem a zakonem - rękopiśmienna spuścizna filozoficzno-teologiczna i źródła do biografii dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic (zm. 1446)* (In Between the University and the Order: The Manuscript Philosophical-Theological Heritage and the Sources for the Biography of Jan of Ząbkowice), PhD. Dissertation (Cracow: Jagiellonian University, Wydział Historyczny – Institute of History, 2009).

(like Peter the Chanter, Stephen Langton, and others) at the end of the twelfth century,<sup>154</sup> like St Stanislaus did for the reformists in Cracow and Poland later. Interestingly, the bishop, who died in the apogee of Gregorian reform, was canonised in the aftermath of the reformist Fourth Lateran Council, and remained a role model for clerics in the fifteenth century.

### 5.1.3 Imitatus est Christum...

The analogy between the saintly bishop and Christ did not end with the imagery of the good shepherd. St. Stanislaus followed Christ and so should contemporary prelates follow the saintly bishop, and follow Christ as he did. In many cases preachers enumerated the ways in which Stanislaus followed or imitated Christ. Most frequently his imitation is distinguished in two or three main categories: he followed Christ in his life, in his death, and even after his death.

For example, a sermon by an anonymous Franciscan Observant friar (Sermon XXV) was built on this type of division: the choice of the *thema Assimilatus est filio Dei* [Heb 7,3] (“Likened unto the Son of God, continueth a priest for ever“) anticipated its programme. The verse, which spoke about Melchizedek in the particular Biblical context, was very fitting for St. Stanislaus in the context of this sermon.<sup>155</sup> The friar found seven ways in which St. Stanislaus had followed Christ in his life (*in sacra conversacione*), and even as many as thirteen modes in which he had resembled Him in passion (*in dolorosa passione*). For the analogies in life he named various virtues: *sapiencia, officii fidelitas, humilitas, castitas, sobrietas, caritas, correctio sui et proximorum, iusticia et equitas*. The sermon, especially its first part, remains only in the form of notes, so not all points are explained sufficiently in the manuscript. For example, *sapiencia* is explained in the following way: both Christ and Stanislaus had flourished in wisdom already in their youth. The last point, *iusticia et equitas*, is explicated: “because he [Stanislaus] corrected everybody, both spiritual and secular, both magnates and common people, he did not spare anyone, not even the king himself.”<sup>156</sup> The second part about the analogies in death was recorded in more detail, not only as an outline. The death of the two resembled each other in the cause, in prayer, in the sending of servants to kill them, in devout signs, in the place of devotion, in

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<sup>154</sup> This dimension was emphasised especially by Anne Duggan [*Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold Publishers, 2004), 236, 264-6], who warned against reducing him to “a caricature of ‘Gregorianism’ or ‘narrow clericalism’,” instead of seeing him as a moral and ethical exemplar in the eyes of reformist clerics. For Becket as the good shepherd in sermons, see Roberts, citation as fn. 10 in Chapter 5.1.

<sup>155</sup> BCzart MS. 3793 II, p. 271r-v.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., f. 271r: “In iusticia et equitate quia omnes corripbat, tam spirituales quam seculares, tam magnates quam communes, nulli parcebat nec eciam soli regi.”

harsh passion, in the exposition of the body, in lamentation, in providing the guards, in translation, in the reintegration of the body, in various apparitions, and in appropriate repentance.

The whole sermon by Grzegorz of Mysłowice on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus* (Sermon X) was built on a very elaborate analogy of Christ and St. Stanislaus (and also Abel) and the parallels in their lives, deaths and after death.<sup>157</sup> Several sermons akin to this one are preserved in manuscripts connected with the Cracow University (Sermon II, Sermon LVII). They employed almost identical distinctions about the imitation of Christ. One of the sermons contained an introduction explaining the importance of the imitation of Christ for Christians in general. St. Stanislaus followed Christ “with his whole heart in life and in death,” and followed especially his steps with respect to pastoral care.<sup>158</sup> It was not sufficient to know the example of Christ – St. Stanislaus “tried to imitate Christ with the total effort of his mind.”<sup>159</sup> Stanislaus imitated Christ in three ways – in the sanctity of life, in death and after death; in life, because he was also a preacher, a virgin and a martyr.<sup>160</sup> One of the sermons recalled the first words of one of the liturgical compositions about the saint – *imitator redemptoris*.<sup>161</sup> Secondly, Stanislaus imitated Christ in death, which was represented by several signs, with variations in several sermons (the most complete being Sermon X, attributed to Grzegorz of Mysłowice in BJ 1638): *quantum ad passionis prefiguracionem* (he was killed because of *ira, invidia and avaricia*, like Abel by Cain), *ad voluntariam passionem, ad acerbam excruciacionem, ad equalem distribucionem*.<sup>162</sup> The preachers adopted a distinction about the distribution of everything that Christ had from James of Varazze and compared it to the Polish bishop: “but St. Stanislaus, as a servant, did not have anything except for his small possessions, i.e. the body, the soul and the earthly things and he gave over everything, the material things to the poor.”<sup>163</sup> Both Christ and his imitator Stanislaus were tortured in all possible parts of the body (within the structural point: *ad acerbam excruciacionem*) in order to hit and destroy their souls: in head, in blood, in heart and in whole body. There were various medieval

<sup>157</sup> BJ 1638, f. 71r-74r.

<sup>158</sup> BUWr I F 581, f. 252v: “Ideo beatus Stanislaus Christum quem cognovit, toto corde tam vivendo quam moriendo secutus est. ... et precipue vestigia cure pastoralis...”

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., f. 252v: “Hac, inquam, cognoscens limpide beatus Stanislaus pascuam, divina providencia in pastorem ovium Cracoviensis ecclesie erat canonicè electus et sublimatus, toto mentis conatu Christum studuit imitari, ut merito dicatur propter sue cognicionis excellenciam *propheta magnus*.”

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., f. 252v: “Nam in tribus sanctus Stanislaus imitatus est Christum. Primo in sanctitate vite. Nam Christus fuit martyr et predicator; sic beatus Stanislaus, quia virgo per eum permansit.”

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., f. 252v.

<sup>162</sup> Sermon II had only one of the four points: *in morte* – the distribution.

<sup>163</sup> Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 451r: “sed sanctus Stanislaus, tamquam servus, non habebat, nisi sua minuta, scilicet corpus, et animam, et res temporales: Nam corpus per ipso ad mortem exposuit, animam recommendavit et temporales pro ipso contempsit et pauperibus erogavit.” For Christ, cf. “De eodem sermo II [Dominica in Passione Sermo II],” in Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. G. P. Maggioni (Firenze: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), 352-3, lin. 84-87: “Tertium officium pontificis est prebendas distribuere ...”

opinions on the location of the soul in the body.<sup>164</sup> This sermon division was borrowed from a sermon on Good Friday from the *Quadragesimale* of James of Varazze.<sup>165</sup> In the complicated structure of the sermon the scribe added another division concerning the similarity of the death of Stanislaus and Christ, partially repetitive: in six other modes (*ratione patientis, ratione morte inferentis, ratione mortis dividentes, ratione inducentis, ratione temporis ingruentis, ratione loci et modi concurrentis*).<sup>166</sup> St. Stanislaus imitated Christ after death *quantum ad utilem fructificationem* (the conversion of the people, and so on).<sup>167</sup>

Stanislaus of Skarbimiria also compared Stanislaus to Christ and listed several analogies, using hagiographic material in this case, and listing parallel miracles performed by Christ and through Saint Stanislaus in his sermon on the translation feast (Sermon LXVI).<sup>168</sup> He claimed that Christ had accomplished many wonders in his earthly life, but St. Stanislaus had performed in a certain way even greater wonders; more precisely, Christ had accomplished even greater miracles through Stanislaus.<sup>169</sup> Then Stanislaus of Skarbimiria listed several parallel miracles performed by Christ and through St. Stanislaus. While Christ raised Lazarus from the dead after four days, Stanislaus resurrected Peter, who had already been dead four years.<sup>170</sup> While Christ rose from the dead with his whole body (*tu a mortuis integer surrexisti*), the martyr's body, which had been cut to pieces in a tyrannical way, was reintegrated (*tu corpus martyris cesum tyranice integrasti*). Christ suffered, but the saint did not suffer less severely: Christ was wounded in many ways (*tu omniquaque vulneratus*), Stanislaus' body was cut limb from limb (*ipse membratim sectus*) and the Lord sent eagles to guard the body; Christ's suffering was inflicted by spears and nails, the saint's torments were caused by swords and knives; both Christ and Stanislaus suffered many blows, whips and wounds, although Stanislaus to a lesser extent. All this was congruent with Christ's promise that where he was, there also a man faithful to him would be – Stanislaus followed the Lord in his suffering and death, so then he followed him also to his resurrection in Heaven.<sup>171</sup>

Naturally, the idea of the following or imitation of Christ, in a broad sense, has been one of the main objectives of all Christians, who all should aspire to follow his example, and thus one of the key

<sup>164</sup> Sermon LVII, BUWr I F 581, f. 253v; Sermon X, BJ 1638, f. 72v; Sermon II, Budapest Cod lat 75, f. 451r-v.

<sup>165</sup> In Parasceve Sermo I," in Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales*, 491-2, lines 71-99.

<sup>166</sup> BJ 1638, f. 73r-v.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., f. 73v-74r.

<sup>168</sup> BJ 190, f. 315r-317r. For the text of the whole sermon, see Appendix 5.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., f. 317r : "Domine Deus formator et redemptor Iesu Christe, tu carne indutus multa fecisti prodigia, dedisti tamen sancto Stanislao ut maius quodammodo faceret."

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.: "tu quidem Lazarii quadriduanum, ipse quadriennium Petrum"

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.: "tu lanceas et claves, iste gladios et cultellos; tu verbera et vulnera, iste similiter, quamvis non ita late et tam dure. Et ecce iuxta tuam sententiam: *ubi tu es* [cf. Io. 12, 26], iam velud *fidelis servus et prudens* [Mt 24, 45] residet in patria."

motifs in hagiography since the very beginnings of the Christendom. Nevertheless, its understanding had changed over time. At the turn of the thirteenth century, the *sequela Christi* and, with a renewed force, also the idea of the *vita apostolica*, the evangelical life, was accentuated. These ideas were central to all religious reform and renewal efforts. St. Bernard of Clairvaux and then the Mendicant orders, and especially figures like St. Francis of Assisi and the Franciscan Bonaventure, reinforced the *sequela Christi* appeal. The saint, especially St. Francis of Assisi, was often depicted as an *alter Christus*.<sup>172</sup> Still, the term *imitatio Christi* started to frequent hagiographic and spiritual vocabulary only in the Late Middle Ages, and especially under the impact of the devotional treatise *De imitatione Christi*, still of puzzling origins, and its *devotio moderna* connections.<sup>173</sup> The preaching on St. Stanislaus reflected these devotional trends. Sermons from the second half of the fifteenth century (unlike those from the earlier period, in so much as I can observe within the collected corpus) are literally flooded with the saint's *imitatio Christi*, using this very Latin formulation, and building up multiple distinctions on this topic. Some of these sermons are of Observant Franciscan provenance, but the motif seems to appear equally in manuscripts of other origin, thus reflecting the contemporary devotional atmosphere. Special emphasis was given to the parallel imagery of the suffering and the passion of Stanislaus and Christ, as has been noted above.

#### 5.1.4 Martyrdom and the Good Shepherd

The good shepherd had to be ready to offer his life for his flock if necessary. The image of the good shepherd as the one who does not hesitate to sacrifice himself for his flock was an important motif. This topic partially belongs both to the admirable and the imitable aspect of the saint's cult. The good shepherd and martyr were "twin images" continually present in sermons preached on the feasts of St. Stanislaus, like on the feasts of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>174</sup> The martyrdom of Stanislaus is often compared to Christ's passion (*imitatus est in morte*). Moreover, it was certainly an Easter topic, which was very fitting, because the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus often fell into the Easter period.

<sup>172</sup> Other saints not into such extent, although some were depicted as *alter Christus*, e.g. Walczak, *Alter Christus*, passim.

<sup>173</sup> Étienne Ledeur, "Imitation du Christ," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7/2, coll. 1536-1601, esp. till 1577; Dina de Rentiis, *Die Zeit der Nachfolge: Zur Interdependenz von 'imitatio Christi' und 'imitatio auctorum' im 12.-16.Jh* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 33-46 (Chapter "'Sequela Christi,' 'imitatio Christi' und Nachahmung der Heiligen im 12. bis 16. Jh.>"). Anonymi *De Imitatione Christi libri quatuor*, ed. T. Lupo (Città del Vaticano, Liberia editrice Vaticana, 1982); about the origins of the treatise recently Nikolaus Staubach, "Eine unendliche Geschichte? Der Streit um die Autorschaft der *Imitatio Christi*," in *Aus dem Winkel in die Welt. Die Bücher des Thomas von Kempen und ihre Schicksale*, ed. Ulrike Bodeman and Nikolaus Staubach (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 9-35.

<sup>174</sup> Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 236.



Some preachers, like Jan of Słupca (Sermon VII) spoke in detail about Christ's Passion and what it meant for every Christian. The sermons on saints were no exception to the practice that the teaching of religion and the truths of the faith to the faithful had preference to the teaching about sanctity in sermons. The main catechetical message was always (directly or indirectly) about Christ, sin and redemption through his Passion. There were many analogies in the content of the sermons on St. Stanislaus and the sermons on the Second Easter Sunday, given the gospel pericope about the Good Shepherd used frequently for both occasions. O'Carroll, who analyzed a series of sermons for the Second Easter Sunday, demonstrated that the doctrine of redemption was the essential background of these sermons.<sup>175</sup> One of the dominant parallels between Christ and Stanislaus was their sacrifice for the sake of their flocks: Stanislaus resembled Christ in that he offered his life for his sheep. The fact that the bishop died for the faithful entrusted to him was a very important motif. Thus, St. Stanislaus was, in a way, partaking in the Paschal salvation mystery and, though not comparable to Christ, took part in His sacrifice, which every prelate (and every Christian) was to do.

The theme of Christ's and Stanislaus' Passion became increasingly present in the sermons from the second half of the fifteenth century, when the devotion and cult of the Passion, together with its reenactments and mysteries, reached Poland. Even more so, as the May festivity of St. Stanislaus fell into the Paschal period, when the parallel between the martyr-shepherd and his Christ model became even more palpable and especially fitting for sermons. O'Carroll argued on the basis of the preachers' preference of the epistle verse *Christus passus est pro nobis* [1 Pt 2,21] to that of the Johannine gospel in the sermon series that the choice had marked "a change from the very early typology of the good shepherd as an image of the Redeemer to the Christ-victim image of the crucified one" already in the thirteenth century.<sup>176</sup> The iconographical motif of Christ as the Good Shepherd and at the same time the Man of Sorrows frequently appeared from the Late Middle Ages, most frequently in the Low Countries.<sup>177</sup> The same image of a suffering victim is increasingly present in the sermons on St. Stanislaus, especially those from the fifteenth century. The emphasis on the *imitatio* and especially the suffering is strengthened.<sup>178</sup> It might appear as a bit strange balance that suffering was favoured over the victory of resurrection, but it was standard: the two always walked hand in hand, with regard to both Christ and his followers, which a host of preachers continuously reminded in sermons on the martyr-bishop Stanislaus. For an anonymous preacher from a fifteenth-century Wrocław manuscript

<sup>175</sup> O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, 230, 242ff.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

<sup>177</sup> Clemens, "Searching for the Good Shepherd," 24-5.

<sup>178</sup> See the previous section for details.

(Sermon LXI) St. Stanislaus had been a companion of Christ's suffering and that is why he had deserved to accompany him to consolation and glory, paraphrasing the Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians [2 Cor 1,7]. The preacher added that this sequence had been quite visible in the *vita* of St. Stanislaus, a brief version of which he appended to his sermon.<sup>179</sup>

The parallels in their passion were sometimes very visually described. For the details the authors referred to the *vita* of St. Stanislaus and also to the rhyming history from the breviary office. Sometimes interesting details were included, like the motif of the king hitting the bishop's head first, which appeared in the *Vita Tradunt* for the first time, and was repeated in many sermons. Later tradition, especially the fifteenth-century lives and some sermons, described in more detail all tortures inflicted on the saint's body step by step.<sup>180</sup> The extraordinarily cruel nature of Stanislaus' martyrdom and the dispersion of his remains (he was hit by the king at the altar, taken out, beaten and cut into pieces and thrown into a lake) inspired (Grzegorz of Mysłowice, Sermon X) to a comparison with Christ, about whom Isaiah said that "from the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein" [Is 1,6].<sup>181</sup> Stanislaus was increasingly presented not only as a follower of Christ, but also as another *vir dolorum*, the image which was so important and popular in late medieval piety.

Martyrdom as a form of sanctity was also in decline in the High and Late Middle Ages, compared to the earlier periods of Christianity. It was overshadowed by other types of sanctity.<sup>182</sup> That is perhaps why Stanislaus is almost never presented exclusively as a martyr. Medieval preachers instead presented his martyrdom as one of several qualities of the saintly bishop, frequently in the following set: *predicator, virgo, doctor, martyr*. Some preachers talked in this connection about a triple crown of sanctity placed upon his head, a *topos* in medieval sermons.<sup>183</sup> Isabelle Heullant-Donat argued that being only a martyr was not sufficient for canonisation, and the martyrs who achieved this honour were, so to speak, "multiple personalities." The prestige of martyrdom revived a bit later, with Franciscan martyr missionaries and so on.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>179</sup> BUWr I F 561, f. 226r-v: "Quia ergo beatus Stanislaus socius fuit passionum utque tunc meruit esse socius consolacionum, quod videndum est in vita eius que sic habetur ..."

<sup>180</sup> Dlugossius, *Vita*, 66-68; Master Stanislaus' compilation BJ 4915, f. 359r.

<sup>181</sup> BJ 1638, f. 73r: "Sicut enim mors Christi fuit crudelissima, ita mors istius. Sicut enim legitur in eius vita quod non solum circa aram vulneratus gravissime per tyrranum regem, sed et crudelissime de ecclesia tractus, percussus, frustratim conscissus, et in lacum ad devorandum piscibus proiectus, ut de eo potest dici quod dictum est de Christo, qui [Is 1,6] *a planta pedis usque ad verticem non erat in eo sanitas.*"

<sup>182</sup> Miri Rubin, "Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (1993), 153-183, esp. 170.

<sup>183</sup> Antonio Volpato, "II tema agiografico della triplice *aureola* nei secoli XIII-XV," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in eta preindustriale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani (Aquila: Japadre, 1984), 509-26.

<sup>184</sup> Isabelle Heullant-Donat explained this hypothesis of hers to me in informal consultation.

Another issue connected with the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus in sermons was the cause of the bishop's death. Several conditions were required in order to acknowledge a violent death as martyrdom. The martyrdom of Thomas Becket was questioned and debated by intellectuals in Paris shortly after his death.<sup>185</sup> Some sermons enumerated the causes of the death of Bishop Stanislaus, thanks to which it qualified as martyrdom. A fifteenth-century Dominican sermon *De sancto Colomano, Stanislao vel Venceslao* (Sermon XLIV), i.e. applicable for any of the martyrs, listed six causes of death, which were at the same time six reasons why one's death was considered martyrdom.<sup>186</sup> The author mentioned an example of a saint in the case of each point. Firstly, for the faith of Christ like St. Stephen the Protomartyr. Secondly, for justice, "as someone who rather sustains death than dismisses justice, or someone who suffers death in order to accomplish the justice that he preached, like Blessed John the Baptist, who reprimanded Herod for justice, because he accepted the wife of his living brother unjustly."<sup>187</sup> Thirdly, for preserving the divine law, like Maccabeus and his brothers, who refused to eat the pork. Fourthly, for chastity, just as St. Agnes. Fifthly, for attending to or preserving the salvation of others' souls, like Christ, who loved us so much that he laid down his life for us. The preacher continued: "In the same way we have to lay down our souls, that is, our animal [?] life. Therefore, like "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example" [1 Pt 2,21]... and that should be preserved especially by prelates for the spiritual well-being of their flocks." After the quotation of the Johannine verse about the Good Shepherd [Jn 10,11] the preacher complained: "Some [prelates] preserve it until the time when the danger threatens the whole flock in faith or morals."<sup>188</sup> The sixth and the last cause of martyrdom was the preservation or defence of the Church, as well as of its liberty, like St. Thomas Becket and St. Stanislaus.<sup>189</sup> The seventh and the last point contained anybody who was killed innocently and unjustly without any deserving cause, just as St. Coloman.

Another anonymous sermon on the theme *Ego sum pastor bonus* (Sermon XII) devoted the whole second part to the discussion of the great utility of St. Stanislaus for the people of Cracow.

<sup>185</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford: OUP, 1973), in particular 190-215. For the problem of the martyrdom in the sermons on him, see Roberts, *Thomas Becket*, 34-38.

<sup>186</sup> Cracow, Archives of the Dominican Province of Poland, MS. R XV 16, f. 270r.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*: "Secundo pro iusticia ut cum quis prius vult sustinere mortem antequam dimittant iusticiam vel pro iusticia quam predicat consumanda sustinet mortem ut beatus Iohannes Baptista, qui reprehendit Herodem pro iusticia, quia iniuste accepit uxorem fratris viventis, Mt 6."

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*: "Et nos pro fratribus debemus animas ponere, id est, animale vitam. Ideo 1 Petri 2 [,21]: *Christus passus est pro nobis, nobis relinquens exemplum* ut se vere eius et hoc maxime tenerentur prelati pro gregis sui spirituali salute; Iohannis 10 [,11]: *Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis*, sicut Christus fecit qui dixit ibi *Ego sum pastor bonus qui pono animam pro ovibus suis*. Alii eciam tunc tenentur, quando imineret periculum toti gregi in fide vel moribus. Unde de non facientibus conqueritur Dominus Ezechiel 13 [,5] *Non ascendistis ex adverso nec opposuistis vos murum pro domo Israel.*"

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*: "Sexto pro ecclesie tam ut pro libertate ecclesie observanda vel defendenda; ut beatus Thomas episcopus Canthuariensis et beatus Stanislaus episcopus Cracoviensis."

Because of those people he was killed by King Boleslaus and suffered a lot in the name of Christ.<sup>190</sup> The author named again seven causes of his death and mentioned an analogy with another saint for each point, some of them similar to the sermon quoted above: for justice, like Abel was killed by Cain; for the law of God like Judas Maccabeus was killed by the emperor; for the salvation of the people, like Christ by the Jews; for the Christian faith like Sts. Lawrence and Vincent; for Christ like the Innocents were killed by Herod; for arguing against the sins, like St. John the Baptist was killed because of Herodias; and for the liberty of the Church like St. Thomas of Canterbury. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria addressed the issue of martyrdom in a sermon for the *Feria VI in Parasceve* and referred to St. Stanislaus too. Three conditions were necessary *cuilibet catholico* for the martyrdom, unlike the heretics: *pena, perseverancia, causa, si sit in unitate ecclesie*. The author maintained: St. Stanislaus “while remaining within the unity of the Church suffered the penalty of death for the Church and its law. When he chastised King Boleslaus for his vicious life, he lay dead, for which he gained the crown of the true soldier of Christ.”<sup>191</sup> Stanislaus of Skarbimiria was touching on the issue of Hussites and other heterodox religious movements of his time, which claimed to have martyrs. In his eyes, however, they were not martyrs because the right cause – while remaining within the unity of the Church – was missing.

An author of the sermon notes for Passion Sunday from Jan of Dąbrówka’s collection referred to St. Stanislaus in the context of Christ’s Passion. The main division of the sermon concerned the two causes of Christ’s Passion: *vite sanctitas* and *doctrine veritas*. In the second part the author compared St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert, the two Polish bishop saints, to Christ. The preacher saw the analogy in their preaching of the truth, which their audiences did not like, and for which they were killed. He further noted ironically that contemporary bishops were probably “not as bad” as these saints. Because they were reluctant to preach the truth, a martyr’s death from the hands of their audiences did not threaten them.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> BJ 1626, f. 152v-153r. The whole following section of this sermon can also be checked in Appendix 5, where the sermon is edited.

<sup>191</sup> BJ 1670, f. 120r-123r, the mention is found in the f. 121r: “Sic beati Stanislai martyris fuit vite instrumentum, qui manens in unitate Ecclesie penam mortis sustinuit pro Ecclesia et lege eius. Dum vitam viciosam Regis Boleslai correxit, occubuit, propter quod coronam veri militis Christi obtinuit.”

<sup>192</sup> BJ 2366, f. 621v.

### 5.1.5 Secular shepherds

The saintly bishop was presented not only as an ideal for clerics, but also for laymen – especially so for high secular dignitaries.<sup>193</sup> Paul of Zator, the first holder of the office of cathedral preacher at Wawel (1454-63), maintained in his two sermons on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus* on St. Stanislaus that not only clerics, but also the king and all dignitaries and officials should be good shepherds.<sup>194</sup> The pastoral office encompassed also the offices of *magisterium* and *dominium*. All three are required of a good prelate or ruler: *bonitas* makes a shepherd, *scientia* a teacher, and *disciplina* a lord.<sup>195</sup> The secular and spiritual shepherds were obliged to take care of their subjects jointly.

Paul of Zator criticised magnates and noblemen who governed their subjects wrongly and even dared to contradict God or act against His Church (in his other sermon on St. Stanislaus). As all the model discussions claimed, reluctance of both spiritual and secular pastors to fulfill their duties resulted in the corruption of kingdoms and communities.<sup>196</sup> The preacher claimed that shepherds often did not care about the people and turned into wolves.<sup>197</sup> After the criticism, the preacher suggested what was required: *primo, Dei timor in superioribus; secundo, morum reformacio in minoribus*.<sup>198</sup> As he further stated, there were still people who did not observe this:

*Quis spernit et Dei honores quam magnates. Quis magis contradicit Deo quam potentes. Quis magis infestat Dei ecclesiam et cultum quam milites. Quot conspiraciones, quot condictaciones, contra Dei ecclesiam, et prodolor, libencius eius destruccionem viderent, quasi a Deo poniti essent ad desolacionem non ad tucionem...*<sup>199</sup>

Besides instructing the leaders, the sermons also address the faithful subjected to good prelates. They have to know their shepherds and follow them.<sup>200</sup> This was not always the case in the time of Paul of Zator, as he pointed out. Instead of obeying the prelates, the faithful listened to *erroneos homines* and

<sup>193</sup> This motif appeared in other sermons on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus*, e.g. in sermons for the Second Easter Sunday (Hanska, *Reconstructing the Mental Calendar*, 304).

<sup>194</sup> MS. BJ 491, f. 195: [Christus] “declaravit se sacerdotem, regem et ministrum. Dicitur ergo sacerdos esse bonus pastor; rex bonus pastor; dignitarius bonus pastor, et quilibet officialis anime sue dicitur esse bonus pastor.”

<sup>195</sup> MS BJ 491, f. 195.

<sup>196</sup> A summary of the reflections of Polish intellectuals on power, sovereignty and on the significance of intellectuals in the country provided by Ożóg, *Uczeni*, 74-146.

<sup>197</sup> BJ 491, f. 198: “Si pastores et tutores conventuntur in lupos... Ecce venerunt leones rugientes, ursi insidiantes, lupi rapaces, subditas et animas rapientes et totum Dei honorem delere cupientes.”

<sup>198</sup> MS BJ 491, f. 198.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 198.

<sup>200</sup> Here the authors made use of the Biblical imagery again: “Oves meae vocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me. Debent ergo oves pastorem noscere, ipsum audire, ipsum sequi.” *Ibid.*, f. 198.

went against their true shepherds.<sup>201</sup> He must have been speaking about the spreading Hussite movement that was also a threat for Polish territories.<sup>202</sup> The sermons, which were used also as teaching material in the cathedral school, contained moral and legal expositions on the community and the roles of spiritual and temporal powers.<sup>203</sup>

The content of the sermon of Jan of Słupca suggests that it could have been preached on the feast of St. Stanislaus when clergy and layfolk of various stages gathered in the cathedral. He advised that kings, princes, lords and fathers of families were also shepherds.<sup>204</sup> Then he exhorted them to join the spiritual shepherds and stand up for defense of the faith and morals. Not only did the flock need a good pasture, which the priests ought to attend to, but they also needed security and protection from wolves, which kings, dukes and lords had to take care of.<sup>205</sup> Again, he wrote that “any shepherd, secular as well as spiritual” should sacrifice himself for his subjects and correct them.<sup>206</sup> Preachers maintained that the duties of the spiritual and temporal shepherds (powers) were interrelated. When secular shepherds failed to fulfil their duties, also the efforts of spiritual shepherds came up short and did not find appropriate feedback from the subjects, no matter how diligent and excellent the priests had been. He may have been touching on the palpable issue of the Hussite movement spreading to Poland and Cracow (although it was a bit too late to speak of the Hussites, if the dating of the sermon to around 1466 is correct). He maintained that the spiritual shepherds did not fall short of their duties and they were offering spiritual food (as well as the sacramental) for the faithful, paraphrasing the parable of the invitation to a wedding feast from the Gospel according to Matthew (Mt 22,4-8):

they are urging people to receive the Communion; indeed, as far as the priesthood is concerned, everything has been prepared – the bread, the wine, *the oxen and the fat calves have been slaughtered*, and they invite everyone. But the invited would not come, because they are *not worthy*. But why are they not willing to make themselves worthy? Because the secular shepherds, who not without a reason carry swords, do not punish the evil-doers, and thus they allow and grant the license to sin; indeed although priests wish to drive [the sheep] together, so that they enter the feast, they are not permitted in.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>201</sup> “Ululantur lupi heretici... sequuntur homines errorem... Venit tempus infelicitatis magne, in quo oves suos pastores non cognoscunt, sed abutentur, non audiuntur, sed contempnunt, non secuntur, sed persequuntur... Recognoscamus igitur pastores nostros, audiamus eos, et obediamus, fugiamus lupos, erroneos homines.” Ibid., f. 198-199.

<sup>202</sup> Compare with the description of Zbigniew Oleśnicki as an opponent of the Hussites by Długosz, above, Ch. 1.1.5.

<sup>203</sup> The authors quoted various authorities like Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, Valerius Maximus, Helmandus.

<sup>204</sup> MS. BJ 2364, f. 278v: “Et ideo non solum constituit sacerdotes et pontifices in pastores, sed etiam reges, et duces, et dominos, et patres familias, etc.” The entire text of this sermon, with variant of other copies, is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., f. 278v: “Nam oves non solum indigent bonis pascuis, que sacerdotes debent procurare, sed etiam indigent securitate et repulsione luporum, que reges, duces et domini debent efficere.”

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., f. 279r: “quilibet bonus pastor ita secularis sicut spiritualis animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis,” etc.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., f. 279r: “Et ostendentes qui sunt fructus huius cibi, inducunt ad ipsius frequentacionem; immo respiciendo sacerdocium, omnia parata sunt, panis, vinum, tauri et volatilia occisa sunt, et vocant omnes. Sed vocati nolunt venire, quia non sunt digni. Sed quare se nolunt dignos facere? Quia pastores seculares qui non sine causa gladium portant, non puniunt

The preacher chastised the secular shepherds for not fulfilling their duties. He reminded them that it was their duty, and the primary reason why they were armed, to take out their swords and punish those who opposed the “evildoers” who prevented both the priests from exercising their pastoral office and the faithful from obeying their spiritual shepherds. The preacher further admonished:

Be careful and behold, whether that what was going on in the times of St. Stanislaus, has already not returned! Is not justice being oppressed like it was oppressed then? Are not the laws of the marriage bond violated? [Are people] Not afraid of God? People are not being revered, innocent blood shed? Ecclesiastical decrees being broken? And who stands against all those? Whether some speak against in councils, shout in the pulpit, but with what effect? Surely, if miracles took place now like in the times of St. Stanislaus, they would not cure those, like they did neither help then. Nothing else remains, but a good shepherd giving his life for his sheep. A shepherd ought to do it, a true shepherd, temporal as well as spiritual, but not a mercenary.<sup>208</sup>

Jan of Słupca warned his audience that exactly the same sins and errors that had existed in the times of St. Stanislaus, flourished in their times: injustice, adultery, homicide, violation of ecclesiastical liberties, etc. He believed that it was not miracles that would make the present condition better. He was convinced that miracles had not helped in the times of St. Stanislaus either. He seemed to have been aware that for the majority of his contemporaries what mattered most about St. Stanislaus and his cult were the miracles and wonders that he had done in his life and afterwards. The preacher was urging them to a different approach to the saintly figure and devotion towards him: for him what was remarkable and outstanding about the saintly man were not the wonders, but rather his pastoral zeal and above all his courage to stand up. Like then, what was needed was somebody who would stand up and speak against the sins, and even more, somebody who would offer his life for those entrusted to him, whether it was to be understood literally as to die for them, or rather, to dedicate all his life and efforts for the wellbeing of his subjects. This was the preacher’s call to both temporal lords and spiritual priests and shepherds. He urged them to care truly for their flocks and their office, unlike mercenaries, who cared foremost for their own profit.

He further criticised the lords (because it seems that the temporal lords were really his primary target) for citing their own ignorance as an excuse. However, the discernment of good and the evil, and knowledge of the flock was one of the crucial pastoral qualities. The preacher believed that his

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malefactores, et sic dant et concedunt licenciam peccandi, immo etsi sacerdotes vellent compellere ut intrarent ad convivium, non admittuntur.”

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., f. 279r: “Attendite et videte, si ea que tempore sancti Stanislai currebant, iam non revertuntur. Nonne nunc iusticia non oppremitur, sicut tunc oppremebatur. Nonne iura tori maritalis violantur, Deus non timetur, homines non verentur, sanguis innocentum effunditur, censure ecclesiastice illibertantur. Et quis se iam exponit pro talium resistencia? Etsi aliqui se opponunt verbis in consiliis, clamant in ambonibus sed non proficiunt. Certe, si iam fierent miracula, ut tempore sancti Stanislai, non curarentur, sicut nec tunc curabantur. Aliud ergo non restat, nisi ut bonus pastor animam suam ponat pro ovibus suis. Pastor quidem tenetur hoc facere, si verus pastor ita secularis sicut spiritualis; sed non mercenarius.”

contemporaries did not have that discerning *connaissance*. They could not tell the good from those evil, and they ought to distinguish those two by their fruit, i.e. their deeds.<sup>209</sup> Again, his speech was quite compelling, and those concerned must have known that he aimed it directly at them:

They do not know evil, that is they pretend not to know [so that they do not have to] punish, because they are in some way bound with them by acquaintance, by family bonds, or by bonds of service. Therefore they say: “We do not know [it was unknown to us] that they have been so bad.” They indeed say generally ‘All the wicked will be punished,’ but they engage with those who should be punished. But when they are told: “That one has been found in such and such crime;” they say: “He is our brother.” “That one is a heretic.” They say: “he is our servant.” “That one is a tyrant.” They say: “He is our vassal.” Thus, it is not that they did not know that those are evil; but they defend the vice known to them. Thus, they not only run they away like mercenaries, but they also, while fostering those [evildoers], slander the sheep and disperse like wolves.<sup>210</sup>

This criticism of the reluctance of noblemen and temporal lords to stand against dangers to the Faith and the Church and comply with the efforts of the Church prelates seems to fall into the period of the fight for political power after the death of Wladislas Jagiello. The opposition of magnates formed against the magnate group led by Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Cracow, was accused of sympathising with Hussitism.<sup>211</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that it was a political rather than a religious or dogmatic battle, which continued well into the 1460s, when Jan of Szupca held a more significant position and when his sermons were copied.

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 279v: “Ad diligenciam enim pastoris pertinet; utriusque hominum cognicio... Sed unde venit, quod moderni pastores non habent talem cognicionem discretivam. Noscunt quidem, qui sunt boni et qui sunt mali, quia Salvator dicit [Mt 7,16]: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*”

<sup>210</sup> For Latin original of this long quotation, see the edition of the sermon in Appendix 5.

<sup>211</sup> Drabina, “Episkopat polski wobec husytyzmu,” 63-81; Graff, “Biskupi monarchii Jagiellonskiej wobec herezji husyckiej w pierwszej polowie XV wieku,” 37-53.



## 5.2 A Powerful Intercessor

Preachers presented St. Stanislaus not only as a model of Christian life and the pastoral office, but also as a distant hero who had achieved glory in the heaven, continuing to act as intercessor, miracle-worker, and patron. Sermons on saints, in general, praised the saint and encouraged the faithful to admire him and turn to him for intercession. The *meritum*, which the saint showed in his virtuous life and pious death in this world, was rewarded with the *premium* in heaven, a causal relationship to which all Christians were invited to aspire. Many, however, hoped to achieve the eternal reward not only through the emulation of the saint's *merita*, but through the salvific intercession of those whose sanctity had already been recognised (sanctity "by delegation").<sup>1</sup> Sermons, therefore, described saints as intercessors and urged the faithful to cultivate an affiliation with them as a means to eternal salvation.<sup>2</sup> The apostles and martyrs of Late Antiquity, followed by those who were recognised as saints, were addressed as "invisible companions," *intercessores*, *advocati*, and *patroni*, and asked to demonstrate their *virtus*.<sup>3</sup> The theology of intercession, a contract between patron and client, was founded upon the Biblical prophetic figures, of Moses, Abraham, and Job in the Old Testament and Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary and angels in the New Testament, who first appeared in the role of intercessors. From the times of the Church Fathers until the age of the *Summae* and the Commentaries of the Sentences in the thirteenth century, theologians and philosophers formulated the doctrine of intercession of saints.<sup>4</sup> The classical liturgical date for a discussion of intercession of saints in preaching was the feast of All Saints, besides other minor occasions. Just as there were doctrinal themes which belonged especially to some particular times of the liturgical cycle, on this feast preachers taught the people the doctrine of intercession, as is evident in the model sermon collections, and in the *Legenda aurea*, an aid for preachers. These sermons were full of innumerable *exempla* about intercession, invocations and prayers to saints.<sup>5</sup> The logic behind intercession was the existence of the

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<sup>1</sup> Vauchez, "Saints admirables," 64.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Marie Moeglin, "Introduction," in *L'Intercession du Moyen Âge à l'Époque Moderne: Autour d'une pratique sociale*, ed. Jean-Marie Moeglin (Geneve: Librairie Droz, 2004), 7-15; Marie-Joseph Nicolas, "Intercession," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 7, 1969-71; Vauchez, "Intercession des saints," in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 780.

<sup>3</sup> Yvette Duval, "Les saint protecteurs ici-bas et dans l'au-delà. L'intercession dans l'Antiquité chrétienne," in *L'intercession*, 17-39, esp. 25-7; which deals especially with St. Cyprian and his theology; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: SCM Press, 1981), passim.

<sup>4</sup> For the early period, see the work of Duval in the previous footnote; then Barbara Faes de Mottoni, "Quelques aspects de la doctrine de l'intercession dans la théologie de Bonaventure et de Thomas d'Aquin," in *L'Intercession*, 105-126; for the classical Biblical references see pp. 106-110; for the theology of the intercession of saints in the thirteenth century, 120-126.

<sup>5</sup> Bériou, "L'intercession dans les sermons de la Toussaint," in *L'Intercession*, 127-156.

community of saints – the interconnection of the various parts of the mystical body of Christ – and “the circulation of charity” among the Church Triumphant in the heaven, the Church Militant in the earth, and the souls in the purgatory. Just as we pray for the dead in purgatory, the topic typically addressed on All Souls’ Day, so the members of the congregation of the Church Triumphant in heaven pray for us as in response to our prayers.<sup>6</sup> Preachers often employed a scriptural metaphor of the interceding advocate (Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary) and the judiciary register, and, more frequently in the late Middle Ages, the social metaphor of the court of paradise.<sup>7</sup> In a way similar to the saints, bishops were especially considered mediators between people and God. Preachers on All Saints did not bring up this topic frequently, but preachers on St. Stanislaus sometimes did; Peregrinus had already maintained that the saintly bishop continued to intercede on behalf of his people after his death.<sup>8</sup>

The following part deals first with St. Stanislaus as an intercessor in general, for the individual faithful and then with the topic of St. Stanislaus as an intercessor for specific communities, as a protector of Cracow, the kingdom, and the emerging Polish nation.

### 5.2.1 An intercessor for individuals and a miracle-worker

Even though preachers did not typically develop the topic of intercession in more detail in the sermon, the formulas of invocation of St. Stanislaus frequently appeared at the beginning and at the end of many sermons, as was usual in sermons on saints. For example, Jan of Słupca spoke about the saint as an exemplar in his sermon on the theme *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo* (Sermon XXXIV), saving the topic of intercession for the last paragraph, which was frequently reserved for the eschatological and otherworldly concerns: the saint had not only achieved salvation himself, but he helps us to achieve the same, through his intercession with God and through the grace of reconciliation.<sup>9</sup> In many sermons though, this topic took priority, at times becoming the sole focus of the preachers. One preacher, addressing an audience of future clerics or regulars in the fifteenth century

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 138-146; and eadem, “Saints et sainteté dans la prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière,” 315.

<sup>7</sup> Bériou, “L’intercession,” 147-154; and also Catherine Vincent, “L’Intercession dans les pratiques religieuses du XIIe au XVe siècle,” in *L’Intercession*, 174.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 4.3.2.1 for the discussion of this topic. For the absence of the topic in All Saints’ sermons and the preference of other motifs, see Bériou, “L’intercession dans les sermons de la Toussaint,” 155.

<sup>9</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 153v: “Tercium quod nos magnos efficit est reconciliacionis gracia, et est quando aliquis anihilans singulare meritum, non solum suam salvat animam, sed eciam pro aliorum salute sollicitus est apud Deum, qui eciam hominum detrimenta luget tamquam sua et similiter gaudet de bonis tamquam suis. Ista est ergo reconciliacio nobilis, que ire Dei obviat, ut ait Gregorius, et intercessionibus suis prout Deum habet sibi adiutorem, alios ad eternam pacem perducit. Cuius nos participes facere dignetur Iesus Christus Dominus Deus noster per secula et in eternum benedictus. Amen.” The sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

(Sermon LXXV), encouraged his audience to cry out and pray to their patron. If even an animal cried in the mouth of the wolf, why is a sinner reluctant to ask his patron for help in the sight of God so that he might be delivered from the devilish wolf? He built the metaphor on the topic of the good shepherd. He further compared the patron saints to the stars that appear too small, but are of enormous influence. Thus, he was sad to say that their patrons, who could be of enormous help to them in all their weaknesses, were in fact too small in his listeners' memory. The preacher urged his audience to know the saint's merit in the eyes of God, so that they remembered him better.<sup>10</sup> His admonitions were followed by a reminder of the saint's martyrdom and virtues, supplemented by a *vita* of the saint after the sermon in the manuscript.

Broadly speaking, the sermons describe what saintly patrons, in particular St. Stanislaus, do for the people devoted to them (i.e. the individuals or the country) and thus motivated and encouraged their audience to honour their saintly protectors and turn to them for help. The saint's intercessory power was manifested most explicitly in miracles. Peregrinus of Opole emphasised Stanislaus' care for the faithful, which had already been entrusted to him as a bishop, and which continued in his supernatural intercessory powers. He demonstrated the saintly bishop's intercession appropriate examples taken from the miracle accounts. Many preachers followed him in retelling the saint's miracles and urged their audiences to turn to St. Stanislaus and pray to God for their well-being, spiritual and material, but also for their community. Peregrinus' classification of miracles became a recurrent motif in the sermons on the martyr-bishop. The accounts selected by the Dominican became the most frequently cited miracles in the sermons on St. Stanislaus,<sup>11</sup> and other miracle accounts are almost completely absent in sermons, with the exception of a few apparitions which preceded the translation and elevation of the saint's relics and which were sometimes retold on the day of his translation (or they were only attached in the legend). The miracle testimonies were collected anew in Cracow in the fifteenth century, in particular from around 1430. Długosz advertised the cult places, both the shrine in the cathedral and the martyrdom scene at Skalka, and there was significant interest in the cult in Cracow.<sup>12</sup> However, evidence of these new miracles did not find its way to the preachers' manuscripts, although they must have been somehow publicised orally, at least locally. The old miracle accounts continued to

<sup>10</sup> BUWr I F 520, f. 328r-v: "Ecce patronum habemus pium, ecce sanctum, ecce pastor bonus, qui quarto pascebat oves suas subsidio... Confide, accede, et pete Deum. Sed, heu, homines simpliciores sunt brutis animalibus. Brutum in ore lupi clamat; peccator vero non clamat subsidium huius patroni ad Deum, ut liberetur de potestate lupi infernalis. Dicunt Astronomi: stelle, que sunt super zenit capitis nostri, sunt parve noticie, sed maxime influence. Sic, prohdolor, patroni nostri, qui sunt maximi auxilii apud Dominum super omnibus defectibus nostris, parve sunt apud nos replicacionis et memorie. Vis scire, quanti meriti patronus iste est apud Deum, ut memoriam eius habeas."

<sup>11</sup> I described the particular miracle accounts, as well as their function in sermons, and the borrowings in sermons by other authors, in Chapter 4.3.3 and 4.8 in more detail.

<sup>12</sup> For details and bibliography, see Chapter 1.1.4; for the cult in Cracow in this period, also Chapter 2.2.1.3.

recur in sermon manuscripts. Except for the resurrection of the knight, St. Stanislaus accomplished all these miracles only after his death. They were intended to demonstrate the wide spectrum and great efficacy of the saint's power to the public. Some other preachers preferred a different general typology of miracles than Peregrinus, one more similar to the one used in the bull of canonisation and liturgical works.<sup>13</sup> Some only generally named the types of the miracles that Stanislaus had accomplished, e.g. Sermon LXXI, when comparing the saint to the sun: *Sic noster sol beatus Stanislaus multos in anima et corpore vivificavit, infirmos sanando, mortuos suscitando, obsessos a demonio liberando et sicut sol est magne virtutis in miraculis faciendis, sic etiam beatus Stanislaus.*<sup>14</sup>

A sermon from the collection of Jan of Dąbrówka on the theme *Virga virtutis tue* (Sermon LXXIII) addressed the power of St. Stanislaus to accomplish miracles.<sup>15</sup> The author compared Stanislaus to the staff of Moses through which he had accomplished many miracles in Egypt: In the same way “that our Moses, that is Christ, did many miracles by means of his staff, so St. Stanislaus does now.”<sup>16</sup> St. Stanislaus was also compared to Assuerus, the Assyrian king from the Book of Esther, in the grace of restoration: the king's sceptre was the rod of mercy and piety and whoever kissed it, could live.<sup>17</sup> In the same way, “St. Stanislaus is a staff of the highest mercy and piety, which King Assuerus, that is Christ, lowered to all those who invoked him in any necessity.” That is, God through the intercession of St. Stanislaus helped those who prayed to him, which the preacher documented with a sample of miracle accounts in the live sermon, implied by the words *Dic miracula.*<sup>18</sup>

Preachers recalled miracles relatively often: a majority of the collected sermon texts mention the miracle-working power of the saint, either in more detail or at least briefly. However, even if the extant texts do not contain any mention of the miracles, just as they lacked details about the saint's life, the preacher could have supplied them in the oral delivery, or they could appear in the reading of the legend of the saint's martyrdom or translation legend after preaching. Some preachers, such as Jan of

<sup>13</sup> For the typology of Peregrinus and other typologies, see especially Chapter 4.3.3, for borrowings in other sermons chapter 4.8.

<sup>14</sup> Uppsala C 383, f. 126v. The sermon is edited in Appendix 5. A similar general formulation in Sermon LVIII in Vatican, Lat. 14182, f. 25r: “Iste sol, sanctus Stanislaus, non solum luxit in vita corporali, sed et post mortem, varia mirabilia operando, sanando egros, cecos illuminavit [sic] et sue sanctitatis gloriam innotescendo.” Sometimes it was supported with a quotation from the liturgy, e.g. BJ 1614, f. 80r.

<sup>15</sup> BJ 1635, f. 146v. The whole sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*: “Secundo comparatur virge Moysi propter miraculorum operacionem, quia sicut Moyses mediante virga fecit plura miracula in Egipto, sic noster Moyses, idest Christus, fecit multa miracula per virgam suam, scilicet beatum Stanislaum, et usque in presens facit.”

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Est 4,11; 5,2; 15,15.

<sup>18</sup> BJ 1635, f. 146v: “Tercio comparatur virge Assueri propter gracie restauracionem, quia sicut virga eius fuit virga clemencie et pietatis omnibus osculantibus eam. Dic historiam de Hester, quomodo fuit prolapsa. Sic beatus Stanislaus est virga summe clemencie et pietatis, inclinatur per regem Assuerum, idest Christum, omnibus invocantibus eum in quacumque necessitate. Dic miracula.”

Ślupca in his sermon on *Ego sum pastor bonus* (Sermon VII), John-Jerome of Prague (Sermon IX), Grzegorz of Mysłowice (Sermon LXVII), Matthias of Colo (Sermon III) and others, did not speak about the saint's miracles, and said very little or nothing about his supernatural powers and patronage. This was probably because these sermons were designed for a clerical audience, and were designed to accentuate the moral virtues of the saint. It is not surprising that they preferred to deal with the exemplary aspect of Stanislaus' sanctity and selected the topic of the good shepherd (including a general discussion about Christ as the good shepherd).<sup>19</sup> It is tempting to see a certain dichotomy between the preferences of topics for the learned and the popular, but this might be misleading. There was a constant interplay between the two poles, and the inclination to represent the moral virtues of Stanislaus to the clerical audience could result from the fact that he, being a cleric himself, was a good role model for them.

In the late Middle Ages in general there was a tendency to decrease the importance of miraculous phenomena in favour of the moral example, and the occurrence of miracles was interpreted accordingly. Already since the earlier period, theologians recognised the purpose of miracles in that they demonstrated the saint's virtue (the gift of the divine grace), and they confirmed and strengthened the faith.<sup>20</sup> Sermons transmitted this theological message to the public. It is a standard view, based on various samples of sermons, that miracles received much less attention in sermons (even when compared to the legends) at the expense of the saints' moral virtues. However, when preachers employed miracles, they usually gave them a moralised interpretation and subordinated them to the virtues.<sup>21</sup> Preachers about St. Stanislaus usually proceeded in a similar way. The miracles, in particular the incorruptibility of the saint's body and the luminous phenomena above his remains, were signs of the martyr's holiness in life and manifestations of God's favour, were already evident in the sermon by Peregrinus. Some preachers added special spiritual significance to these miracles. Similar to the sermon by Peregrinus, an anonymous author of the sermon on the translation of Stanislaus (Sermon LVII) named three miracles which had occurred at the death of St. Stanislaus. He emphasised that the miracles corresponded with the virtues which the saint exhibited in his life. First, the miracle of light

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<sup>19</sup> A similar observation on the sermons on St. Thomas Becket: the miracles did not occupy much space in the sermons – only six instances repertoried by Roberts, *Inventory*. It was also given by the predominant clerical audiences of the preachers, and by the accent on the exemplary aspect of his figure; Bériou in her review article on Roberts' *Inventory* in the *Journal of Medieval Latin* 5 (1995), 225-231.

<sup>20</sup> Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 15-26.

<sup>21</sup> A concise overview of the use of miracles in sermons from the twelfth to the fourteenth century *ibid.*, 29-46.

was to decorate his virginity;<sup>22</sup> the second miracle of the heavenly protection of his remains by the eagles sent by God was intended to glorify his passion, which the author compared to the biblical story of Naboth and King Achab.<sup>23</sup> The third miracle, the reintegration of his body, reflected his preaching accomplishments, because, just as Moses, “he led the hearts of many, who had been separated by their sins from God, by his teaching back to the unity with Christ and to the integrity of holy life.”<sup>24</sup> Another instance of moralised interpretation occurs in the sermon written by Jan of Dąbrówka, who was inspired by Peregrinus. He compared the physical phenomena which had tested the bishop’s sanctity to the spiritual difficulties which threatened one’s soul, i.e. various sins, and he compared the immoral behaviour which “divided” the bodies to the splitting of the saint’s body after his martyrdom.<sup>25</sup>

Miracle stories could illustrate the truths of the faith as well. For example, the stories of the incorruptibility, reassemblage and reintegration of the saints’ bodies were metaphors for the theological concept of bodily resurrection (which was present in the legend of St. Stanislaus ever since the account of Master Vincent’s *Chronicle*). The reintegration story was one of the frequent motifs recalled by preachers, although often only in passing in the manuscripts. Manifestations of the *virtus* of the saint’s dead body and relics reflected his state in the Heaven, and prefigured the future state of the faithful with their resurrected bodies in Heaven. Besides the doctrine of bodily resurrection, these miraculous motifs in sermons encouraged the faithful to venerate the saints’ relics.<sup>26</sup> When the feast of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus was celebrated during the Easter period, resurrection was often a topic of the sermons. The reintegrated body of the saint was the prefiguration of the resurrected body, which preserved one’s identity and individuality. Some preachers mentioned that the reintegrated body of St. Stanislaus had preserved no wound, except for a scar on the neck from the king’s killing sword.<sup>27</sup> The scar on the renewed body was not only evidence of the authenticity of his martyrdom, but also a sign of

<sup>22</sup> BUWr I F 581, f. 252v: “Primo, miraculum luminis ad decorem sue virginitatis. Nam postquam a Boleslao membratim erat dissectus, tot in singulos locis celitus mise mire rutilancie fulserunt lampades, quot sacri corporis disperse sunt partes.”

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., f. 252v: “Secundo, miraculum celestis proteccionis ad gloriam sue passionis. Nam postquam partes sacri corporis velud ab alitibus sanguipetis et bestiis discorpente spargerentur, mox omnipotens Deus ad sui martyris custodiam quatuor aquilarum advolancium locumque passionis girancium [sic], ut alites et bestias abigerent, presenciam deputavit. Unde per Nabaoth non incongrue figuratur, de quo scribitur 3 Regum 21 [1-29] quod magis mori elegit quam ut per Achab regem in ortum olerum suum transferreretur vinea.”

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., f. 252v: “Tercio, miraculum reintegracionis ad preconiam sue predicacionis. Multorum enim corda a Deo peccatis divisa per suam doctrinam ad Christi unitatem et sancte vite integritatem reduxerat. Unde et sectus in partes reintegrari promeruit.”

<sup>25</sup> See chapter 4.8, fn. 253 and the edition of the sermon in Appendix 5.

<sup>26</sup> For these metaphors in hagiography and their implications for the doctrine of resurrection and devotional practices, like the cult of relics, see, for example, Bynum, *Resurrection*, esp. 210ff.; Angenendt, “*Corpus incorruptum*,” 320-348.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Sermon LXIII in MS. Bratislava Chapter Library 64, f. 327v: “invenerunt corpus integrum suo sanguine tinctum nulla cicatrice aperta, **nisi sola illa in collo quam rex percussit quando ei caput amputavit;**” Sermon LXII in BJ 1619, f. 313r : “postea omnes particule sanctissimi corporis fuerunt reinvente et iterum in corpus integrum redacte nulla plaga apparente et nullum vulnus notum fuit in corpore **nisi sola illa plaga in collo apparuit, quam ei rex intulit cum ei caput amputavit.**”

the saint's triumph and glory. The martyr's reintegrated cadaver, just as "the resurrection body," was believed to reflect the moral self and one's merits, for example, the scars of the martyrs.<sup>28</sup> Later in the fifteenth century, Grzegorz of Mysłowice implicitly compared the saint's body to the resurrection body, when he named its four *dotes* – dowries, or qualities (Sermon LV). The concept of *dotes* substituted the old imagery of reassemblage, in which the theological concepts of bodily resurrection were reconsidered after the acquisition of key Aristotelian concepts in the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The preacher explained that in this life we possessed many impurities in our body and soul. The earthly body had four impurities (*et hoc quia ipsum corpus est obscuritati deditum, grofficie obnoxium, tarditati deputatum, mortalitati subditum*). St. Stanislaus was said to have acquired greater purity in his martyrdom. The saint loses his uncleanness, like an eagle who regains its youthfulness in Psalm 102,5 ("thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's"), particularly: *in visu accipit claritatem, in volatu agilitatem, in corpore stabilitatem et in pennis navitatem*. They are equalled to the four *dotes* which eliminate the impurity of the body of St. Stanislaus and of the bodies of other saints in resurrection.<sup>30</sup>

The shrine of the saint and the veneration of his relics were promoted in sermons mostly only by constant connection between St. Stanislaus and Cracow, which is described in more detail below. In some cases the account of the miraculous reintegration of the martyr's body was intended to promote the cult of his relics. The story about the saint's finger found intact in a fish after his martyrdom also confirmed the power of the saint's relics, and, in the end, promoted the cult of the saint's partial relics.<sup>31</sup> Nicolaus of Kozłów talked about the finger in his sermon on St. Stanislaus (in its hagiographical part, Sermon VIII) at the Council of Basel: the martyr's body was found restored as a whole except for one finger, the one with episcopal ring, which was found thanks to its supernatural lumination in a fish. The body was buried, but the finger with the episcopal ring remained as a relic, which became the site of many miracles.<sup>32</sup> A similar message, emphasising the efficacy and the power of a *pars pro toto* is conveyed in an anonymous sermon about St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXXV). The preacher recounted how the body of the saint had been found *integrum* on the other day. He reminded

<sup>28</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, 254.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 235ff. Aquinas, after William of Auvergne, named four *dotes* of the resurrection body: *claritas, agilitas, subtilitas*, and *impassibilitas*.

<sup>30</sup> BJ 1357, f. 693r.

<sup>31</sup> For this motif, see Chapter 1.1.4 and 1.1.5.

<sup>32</sup> BJ 1614, f. 79v-80r: "Itaque corpus illud inventis omnibus particulis erat compositum et in sua integritate, ac si nunquam incisum fuisset, divino medicamine restauratum, excepto unico digito cum pontificali anulo, quem querentes in terra invenire non potuerunt, sed per radioli ostensionem in aqua. Pisce capto et dilaniato in ventre piscis digitum cum anulo sine omni immutacione invenerunt. Revera, si Deus commendat, quis est qui est qui vilipendat? quis est qui confundat, si Deus glorificat? Gloriosus enim Deus et *mirabilis in sanctis suis* [Ps 67,36]. Unde corpus preter tyranni intencionem sepulture commendatur, digitus aut ille cum anulo pro reliquiis relinquitur..." The same passage in BJ 1354, p. 184. For details about the author and his sermon, see Chapter 3.6.

his audience that in the same way the head and the hand of the saint, which had been severed, had remained integral and remained so even today – even in his days (*sicut et nunc*).<sup>33</sup> The reliquaries of the head and arm of St. Stanislaus were exhibited in the cathedral in Cracow, separately from the saint’s shrine. In this case the term *integra* meant incorrupt and undecayed rather than adjoined to the body.<sup>34</sup> The preacher’s words asserted that the relics of the saint’s head and arm were as sufficient and efficient as the integral body of the saint and that the saint was ‘really present’ in every relic. Another anonymous preacher emphasised the utility of St. Stanislaus for the people of Cracow, because he had suffered in the name of Christ and he had been killed by the king for those people.<sup>35</sup> God decorated him with numerous miracles and signs – the author mentioned especially those healings which came about thanks to contact with secondary relics: the saint’s ring and his tomb, that is, before the saint’s translation (and elevation), which he mentioned at the end of the sermon.<sup>36</sup> One of the anonymous sermons on the theme “And I say to you, my friends: Be not afraid of them who kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do” (Sermon XXXIA) touched on the topic of veneration of the saint’s relics and tomb. The preacher devoted a rather long third *membrum* to the martyr’s reward, which was visible not only in heaven, but also on earth. He said:

First, therefore, the reward of the saints is acknowledged in that God honours them in the earth. For truly a greater honour is presented to the dust and bones of the saints or to the small pieces of the vestments in which they are dressed, and even more to their tombs, than to the greatest kings and princes of this world. Indeed, who goes to the king of France, England, Hungary or Poland, or any prince of Germany in order to reserve or to obtain any spiritual grace? Certainly nobody does, because they are all sinners. On the contrary, very many hastened and even now hasten to the relics of St. Stanislaus in Cracow. No wonder, because it was tested on earth that he is powerful in heaven.<sup>37</sup>

The preacher stressed the great numbers of pilgrims coming *ad limina* of St. Stanislaus to Cracow in order to obtain spiritual grace, and the grand honours exhibited to the relics of the saints – their bones,

<sup>33</sup> BUWr I F 520, f. 328v: “eum expectatum in infinitas partes ense descripsit, cuius corpus cras mane integrum inventum est absque ulla cicatrice, sicut et nunc caput et manus, que principaliter dissecta erant, integra sunt, utque vita.”

<sup>34</sup> For the practice of exhibition of the reliquaries of the saint’s head and arm, see above Chapter 2.2.1.3, and the references as in fn. 170.

<sup>35</sup> BJ 1626, f. 153r: “Secundo notatur populi Cracoviensi magna utilitas, pro quo populo a rege Boleslao est occisus sive interemptus, et Christi vir est effectus, et multa pro Christi nomine sustinuit opprobria et tormenta.” The sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*: “Et vere Deus multis post mortem ipsius decoravit miraculis atque signis, ut qualescumque infirmi suum tangerent anulum vel sepulcrum cum fiducia, mox se liberatos ab omnibus infirmitatibus senserunt.”

<sup>37</sup> I F 650, f. 134v: “Primo igitur sanctorum merces agnoscitur in hoc, quod Deus honorat in terris. Nam vere maior honor exhibetur pulveribus et ossibus sanctorum vel paramentulis, quibus induti sunt, immo sepulchris eorum, quam exhibetur maximis regibus et principibus huius mundi. Quis enim pro aliqua gracia spirituali reservanda aut obtinenda unquam vadit ad regem Francie, Anglie, Ungarie aut Polonie uel ad aliquem principem Almanie? Nullus utique, quia omnes peccatores sunt. Ad reliquias autem sancti Stanislai in Cracoviam plurimi cucurrerunt et adhuc currunt. Nec mirum, quia probatum est in terris, quod ipse potens sit in celis.”



dust and secondary relics such as the pieces of vestments – which were higher than those displayed to the kings and princes. This statement was followed by a recounting of the manifestations of the saint’s power, such as the reintegration of his body, the luminous phenomena above his remains, and other signs of the saint’s glory in heaven. The preacher concluded his sermon stating that Stanislaus was crowned with glory in heaven, which was visible in the miracles from his legend performed by him before his translation, during its solemnity (perhaps meaning the canonisation), and also after a long time. These were not only physical miracles, but also spiritual – believers can obtain the health of their souls, i.e. remission of their sins.<sup>38</sup>

In performing supernatural signs, the saints also resembled Christ. A number of preachers developed various analogies of Stanislaus with Christ in a more convoluted structure in their sermons. One of its *membra* was the parallel between the two after death (*post mortem*), where they compared the miracles which happened thanks to the intercession of St. Stanislaus to the miracles operated by Christ in the Gospels. Importantly, Stanislaus imitated Christ after his death, because of the utility of his passion (*quantum ad utilem fructificationem*), one of the fruits of which was the conversion of people from sins.<sup>39</sup> Sermon XLII on the *thema* from the breviary office, telling in itself – *Imitator redemptoris* – first named various fruits of Christ’s Passion and then proceeded to Stanislaus’s. The first fruit visible after the saint’s death, just as after Christ’s Passion, was the conversion of the people towards the faith:

First, there is no doubt that many were converted to the faith by the merit of his passion and accomplished miracles, on account of which we sing: *Dies adest celebris/ ad lucem de tenebris/ consurge Polonia/ preciosi martyris/ glebam fovens corporis/ letare Cracovia/ Stanislai presulis/ preclara miraculis/ auge natalicia*. Therefore, the words of the Judges [Jdg 16,30] can be said about him: ‘he killed many more at his death, than he had killed before in his life.’<sup>40</sup>

Conversion was one of the purposes of miracles accentuated from Augustine to the scholastic theologians.<sup>41</sup> Already the author of the *Life* of St. Stanislaus, Vincent of Kielcza, alluded to the

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., f. 135r: “Quod ostendunt magna per eum facta miracula, scilicet ante translacionem eius, et in ipsa translacionis sollempnitate, et post longo tempore, sicut clare patet in legenda vite sue. Et non solum fecit corporalia miracula, sed etiam cottidie facit spiritualia, quando sua intercessione nobis impetrat sanitatem nostrarum animarum, remissionem videlicet peccatorum.”

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 5.1.3 on *Imitatus est Christum* for more about this structural elements in sermons.

<sup>40</sup> Sandomierz 428, f. 151r: “Primo, non est dubium, quod ex passione sua et miraculis factis multi ad fidem sunt conversi, propter canimus: *Dies adest celebris ad lucem de tenebris consurge Polonia preciosi martyris glebam fovens corporis letare Cracovia Stanislai presulis preclara miraculis auge natalicia*. Ideo de ipso potest dici illud Iudicum XVI [Jdc 16,30]: *Plures, id est infideles, occidit moriens, quam ante vivus occiderat*”; and cf. Sermon X by Grzegorz of Myslowice, BJ 1638, f. 73v-74r.

<sup>41</sup> Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 15-26; idem, “Miracles and Disbelief in the Late Middle Ages,” reprinted in his *Lives and Miracles of the Saints*, 23-38; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record, and Event 1000-1215* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1987), 3-32. The miracles were also strongly perceived as a means of fight against heresy.

practical significance of the miracles in pastoral work.<sup>42</sup> However, several sermons maintained, following the *Life*, that King Boleslaus had not been converted from his sins, neither when he witnessed the miracle performed by Stanislaus in his life (when the bishop resurrected the knight), nor when he had seen the miraculous signs which took place after his martyrdom.<sup>43</sup>

To return to Sermon XLII, the second effect of the saint's passion was *sue glorie adeptio*, i.e. St. Stanislaus acquired heavenly glory through his passion.<sup>44</sup> The third was his intercession for us before God - *nostra apud Deum advocatio*.<sup>45</sup> Similar to Christ, St. Stanislaus advocates for us incessantly before God, he prays for all people, "but more especially for the people of the Kingdom of Poland, and the most especially for the holy city and the Church of Cracow." Because of that the preacher urged the audience to implore the saint with the words of the liturgical song: *Vir inclite Stanislave* and others.<sup>46</sup> There were numerous reasons why the faithful ought to praise St. Stanislaus, and one of them was his immense glory: he was glorified among martyrs, among doctors, virgins, and confessors.<sup>47</sup> But again the preacher reminded that they (he and his audience) ought to praise him *specialissime* because he liked them *specialiter*, because he was of Polish nation (*nacionis nostre Polonus*).<sup>48</sup> That was why the saint helped when he cured diseases, interceded for them in front of God, and raised the dead like he had done with Peter, which was again supported with a quotation from the liturgical song.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Vita maior*, III/54, 432-434: "Senescenti etenim et ad occasum vergenti mundo multisque peccatis involuto omni humano cum iam viluerunt sancte predicationis verba, non reputantur nec ad mutacionem vite trahuntur bonorum exempla, necessario divina providencia hiis novissimis et periculosos temporibus exhibet et multiplicat miracula."

<sup>43</sup> E.g. in the *vita et sermo*, a compilation of Długosz's *Life*, where he is compared to the pharaoh not convinced by the miracles of Moses; BJ 4915, f. 360r. Or another example in the *Passionale of Stanislaus of Skarbmiria*, where it is compared to the pharisees and Jews not converted by Christ's miracles, not even by the resurrection of Lazarus (which was compared to the resurrection of the knight Peter by Stanislaus); BCzart 3413, f. 82r. On the other hand, there is a legend about the king's later conversion and penance in exile, see Chapter 1.1.4 and especially fn. 139 for references.

<sup>44</sup> Sandomierz 428, f. 151r-v.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 151v: "Tercia enim nostra apud Deum advocatio, [1] Io. II[,1]: *Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Christum Iesum iustum.*"

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*: "Tercium, quia pro nobis apud Deum advocare non desinit. Ideo de ipso potest dici illud II Mach XV [,14]: *Hic est qui multum orat pro populo et universa sancta civitate. Sanctus enim Stanislaus in gloria celesti existens multum orat pro populo universo, specialiter autem orat pro populo regni Polonie et specialissime pro sancta civitate et Ecclesia Cracoviense, propter quod ipsius sanctitatem imploramus cantantes: Vir inclite Stanislave vita signis passione plebem tuam pastor bone fove benedictione gubernat protectione salva sancta intercessionem. Item: pastor noster et patronus assit nobis opifex...*"

<sup>47</sup> Sandomierz 428, f. 152r: "Tercio et ultimo debemus ipsum laudare propter immensitatem glorie, quam hodie consecutus est. Ipse enim gloriatur cum martyribus, quia ipse fuit sanguine rubricatus... Item gloriatur cum doctoribus, quia ipse fuit Dei sapientia plenus... Item gloriatur cum virginibus, quia ipse fuit virginali odore predictus... Item gloriatur cum confessoribus, quia fidem Christi constantissime est consecutus..."

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*: "Specialissime tamen ipsum laudare debemus, quia ipse nos specialiter diligit, cum sit nacionis nostre polonus. Eccli XIII [,19]: *Omne animal diligit simile sibi, sic et omnis homo proximum. Omnis caro ad simile sibi mingitur, et omnis homo sibi simili sociabitur.*"

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*: "Et ideo ipse nobis subvenit in nostris infirmitatibus ipsas curando... Item nobis subvenit pro nobis ad Deum intercedendo... Item nobis subvenit mortuos suscitando... Hoc patuit in Petro, quem quatuor annis in sepulcro iacentem a

Some preachers mentioned that Stanislaus accomplished even greater miracles than Christ, such as Stanislaus of Skarbimiria in his sermon on the translation of St. Stanislaus (Sermon LXVI) when listing parallel miracles performed by Christ and St. Stanislaus. For example, he raised the knight Peter from the dead years after he had died, whereas Lazarus had been raised after only a few days.<sup>50</sup> Also an anonymous sermon from Sankt Florian states:

It is attested in the miracles accomplished through him while he was living, because through his merits he resurrected a dead person, who had died long before, so that he could give testimony about the possession, which the tyrant had usurped from St. Stanislaus by his unjust judgement. Whence it can be said about him according to the Book of Sirach [Sir 31,9]: ‘He hath done wonderful things in his life.’ And not surprisingly, because the Lord says in the Gospel of John: ‘he that believeth in me, the works that [I do, he also shall do; and greater than these shall he do].’<sup>51</sup>

The preacher referred to a verse including Christ’s promise from the Gospel of John [Jn 14,12]. Christians were not urged to necessarily follow the saints in operating miracles, although everybody was promised to gain the same power if he followed God’s precepts. The Johannine verse was used for the first time already in the *Vita maior*,<sup>52</sup> the *Vita minor*, and partially also by Długosz. However, Vincent did not forget to add that nothing of these events was a miracle in the eyes of God, because everything was possible for him, articulating another standard theological position.<sup>53</sup> An anonymous

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mortuis suscitavit. Ideo canimus: *Ad sancti miracula populi concurrunt, cuius per suffragia mortui resurgunt et ad Christi gloriam, laudibus assurgunt.* Sic igitur ipsum laudantes et glorificantes proficiamus de virtute in virtutem, ut mereamur hic gratiam et in futuro gloriam. Quam nobis, etc.”

<sup>50</sup> BJ 190, f. f. 317r : “Domine Deus formator et redemptor Iesu Christe, tu carne indutus multa fecisti prodigia, dedisti tamen sancto Stanislao ut maius quodammodo faceret, tu quidem Lazarii quadriduanum, ipse quadriennium Petrum.” For more, see Chapter 5.1.3 and the text transcribed in the Appendix.

<sup>51</sup> Sankt Florian MS. XI.262, f. 245v: “Primum, scilicet perfectionem sanctitatis attestantur in ipso facta miracula, que adhuc vivens fecit, quia mortuum ante multa tempora defunctum ut testimonium redderet de bonis, que tyrannus beato Stanislao iniquo iudicio usurpabat, suis meritis suscitavit. Unde de ipso potest dici illud Ecclesiastici [31,9]: *Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua.* Nec mirum, quia dicit Dominus in Iohannis: *qui credit in me, opera que [ego facio, et ipse faciet, et maiora horum faciet: quia ego ad Patrem vado]*, etc.” For the whole sermon, see Appendix 5.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Vita maior*, ch. II/8, 379: “Pensantes virtutem utriusque miraculi, fratres karissimi, videamus, quomodo omnipotens Deus, qui facit mirabilia solus, per beati Petri meritum ad vitam revocavit Maternum et sancti Stansilai martyris pulsatus precibus, a mortuis suscitavit militem Petrum, illum post LX dierum spacium, istum post trium annorum decursum; illum ut impleret iniunctum sibi predicacionis officium, istum ut veritati perhiberet testimonium, utrumque salutis et fidei negocium. Notandum quoque quod in talibus et in similibus miraculis, si divine virtutis pensatur operatio, nullum est miraculum, quia omnia possibile sunt aput Deum. Si autem sanctorum attenditur meritum et fidei dignum, Deus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, hoc per eos operatur bonum, ut impleatur in eis illud dictum ewangelicum: Qui in me credit, opera, que ego facio, et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.”

<sup>53</sup> *Vita minor*, a combination of 265-6 (end of 17) and 267 (end of chapter 18): “Notandum, quod in hiis et consimilibus miraculis, si diuine uirtutis pensatur operatio, nullum est miraculum, quia omnia possibile sunt aput Deum. Si autem sanctorum meritum attenditur et fidei donum, Deus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, hoc per eos operatur bonum, ut impleatur illud dictum ewangelicum: Qui in me credit, opera, que ego facio, et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.” Cf. (but different) Długossius, *Vita*, 43-5 (in Caput VII).

sermon from the fifteenth century, or rather in the abridged legend appended to it (Sermon XVII), repeated the verse from the Gospel of John together with the “greater” miracle of St. Stanislaus.<sup>54</sup>

In this respect, supernatural powers were not only to be admired, but were also a logical consequence of and a reward for the imitation of the virtuous life of Christ and his saints. The presentation of the reward, not only in the form of salvation, but also in the manifestation of supernatural signs, was one of the methods of persuasion, which preachers used in order to attract their listeners to the virtuous life of the imitation of saints. The two aspects, the exemplary and the admirable, were inseparably connected, in the same way as the *meritum* and the *premium* constituted two elements of the saint’s career. On the other hand, even if the saints were somewhat removed from ordinary Christians due to their miracles and heroic conduct, the faithful could rejoice that the saints acted as intermediaries between them and God.<sup>55</sup> The interrelation between the *meritum* and the *premium* is very visible in a sermon on St. Stanislaus from Sankt Florian, in which the two represent the main division of the *thema*.<sup>56</sup> The second point of the sermon returns to the causal relationship between the two: “Where the order is suitable, because the man first has to deserve, and then he is rewarded.” Apostles James and John, the sons of Zebedee, overlooked this logic, when they wanted to be rewarded without showing their merit. Merit is shown in perseverance in the life, if necessary until martyrdom.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Ossolineum 824, f. 204v-205r: “O, quam magnum miraculum fecit Deus omnipotens cum isto beato Episcopo, quod mortuum qui iacuit in sepulcro per tres annos, ita eum suscitavit; et non mirum, quia hoc Deus promisit sanctis suis dicens: Signa que ego facio et vos facietis, et maiora horum facietis [Io. 14,12]. Racione hoc est maius signum quod beatus Stanislaus suscitavit mortuum qui iacuit in sepulcro tribus annis, et Deus suscitavit Lazarum qui iam quatuor diebus. Nonne Deus dedit potestatem sancto Petro quod ubicumque umbra vestimenti eius attingit, ibi omnes infirmos sanabat. Et vestimentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sanavit Marcillam quando fimbriam vestimenti eius tetigit. Sed quia sanctus Stanislaus est noster Episcopus, ergo non dubitemus de eo, cum sit tante potestatis apud Deum, quod nobis impetrabit a Deo quidquid petierimus, ut ipse nos suis meritis perducatur ad regna celestia. Rogemus.” Cf. a mention of St. Paul in the Acts 19,11-12; and for Christ Lc 8, 43-44 and Mt 9,20-22.

<sup>55</sup> Vauchez, “Saints admirables,” 63.

<sup>56</sup> Sankt Florian MS. IX. 262, f. 245v: “Beatus Stanislaus in verbis istis commendatur a duobus: <1> **primo commendatur a vite merito sive dignitatis officio**; <2> **secundo ab amoris premio sive illustri martyrio** cum subditur: *animam suam ponit*.”

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 245v: “Unde ordo iste congruus est, quia homo primo debet mereri, postea remunerari. Unde filiis Zebedei hunc ordinem preposterantibus, dicitur [Mt 20,22 et Mc 10,38] *nescitis quid petatis*. Volebant enim prius regnare, quam mererentur, sed certe [2 Tim 2,5] *nemo coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit*. Unde Apocalypsis: *Vincenti dabo* [Ap 2,17 or 2,7]...”

## 5.2.2 The intercessor and the patron of the community

St. Stanislaus was perceived as a protector of Cracow, the kingdom, and the emerging Polish nation. There is no doubt about the fact that already the *Life* by Vincent of Kielcza depicted St. Stanislaus as a Pole and a patron of the country, the desired restored Kingdom of Poland. The same tendency, enriched with a Humanist patriotic rhetoric, was also clear in the works of Długosz. The lives, the bull of canonisation, and the liturgical works presented Stanislaus as the *prothomartyr Polonorum* and as a saint who belonged especially to the *felix Cracovia*, congratulating Poland on having such a glorious patron.<sup>58</sup> Late medieval sermons continued this emphasis on the collective aspect of his patronage. Many sermons address St. Stanislaus as *noster gloriosus patronus* or *patronus huius regni dignissimus* at the very outset. Some encourage the *felix Cracovia* or *Polonia* to rejoice and celebrate their patron's feast. The cult of saints was also a means of defining the boundaries of community. Already from the early Middle Ages, episcopal saints in particular continued to act as defenders of their cities and protectors of their inhabitants: the cults of bishop saints unified local communities in Gaul at the end of the Roman period,<sup>59</sup> and played a role in the formation of the local identity in Italian cities.<sup>60</sup> The saint's cult often served as means of public expression of patriotic, communal, or national fervor.<sup>61</sup> The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland (*incole huius regni*), the Poles (*Poloni*), and so on, are all identified in sermons on St. Stanislaus; often interchangeably, without any hidden agenda.<sup>62</sup> Rather than the patron of the dynasty, Stanislaus was usually mentioned as the patron of kingdom, country and the emerging nation in sermons.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> See Chapter 1.1, in particular 1.1.2, 1.1.5, where also references to literature on the topic.

<sup>59</sup> Brigitte Beaujard, "Cités, évêques et martyrs en Gaule à la fin de l'époque romaine," in *Fonctions*, 175-191.

<sup>60</sup> Paolo Golinelli, "Il commune italiano e il culto del santo cittadino," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 573-593; idem, "Instituzioni cittadine e culti episcopali in area matildica avanti il sorgere dei comuni," in *Indiscreta sanctitas: Studi sui rapporti tra culti, poteri e società nel pieno Medioevo* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1988), 55-101; Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 705-706.

<sup>61</sup> Michael E. Goodich, "Miracles and Disbelief in the Late Middle Ages," reprinted in his *Lives and Miracles of the Saints*, 23, and 27.

<sup>62</sup> Historians have often discussed the meaning of the words *Regnum Poloniae*, especially with reference to the changing situation in the fourteenth century and the various efforts of the restoration of the kingdom; for example, for the territory and the term of the *Regnum Poloniae*, and for an overview of literature, see Janusz Kurtyka, *Odrodzone królestwo. Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle nowszych badań* (The Restored Kingdom. The Monarchy of Wladislaus Łokietek and Casimir the Great in the Light of the Recent Research) (Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2001), 17-35, 57-75. For the terms *Polonia-Poloni-Polonica lingua* and various other related terms in historical sources, see František Graus, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), 116-129, 182-190.

<sup>63</sup> St. Stanislaus appeared as the patron of the dynasty and its individual members predominantly in the representations connected with their personal devotion, propaganda or legitimisation; see especially Chapter 1.3 for visual representations,

Preachers in Cracow, and throughout Poland, reminded their audiences that Stanislaus was their *sanctus proprius*, urging their listeners to invoke him as their special protector. Jan of Dąbrówka explained in his sermon from the second half of the fifteenth century (Sermon IV): “Because he is ours, Polish, we should love him out of reverence here.”<sup>64</sup> The preacher recalled an authority in support of his claim – a sermon attributed here to St. Ambrose, but at other places ascribed to Maximus Taurinensis, Augustine, or Rabanus Maurus, with a concept well-established in late medieval religion.<sup>65</sup> The citation urged people to venerate especially the martyrs whose relics the particular church possessed. They helped with their prayers to God and they guarded the bodies and souls of the faithful against the devil. One of the possible sources of the citation, Rabanus Maurus, explains it in more detail. He said: *Facile est, fratres, martyrum solemnia celebrare, sed difficile est martyrum passiones imitari*. First, he emphasised that the Christians ought to follow the example of the martyrs’ virtuous life and their perseverance in the face of death for Christ. Only then he turned to intercession, which martyrs could secure when they had achieved their reward in heaven. The two aspects were inextricably connected: Rabanus Maurus maintained that just as the Christians used to join the bones of the saints’ with their bones (the burial *ad sanctos*), we should join them through the imitation of their faith, i.e. we should like what they liked and despise what they despised, we should search for what they searched for, and run away from what they had run away from.<sup>66</sup> The evoked authority, probably known from a *florilegium*, only reiterated the relationship between the *meritum* and *premium* sketched above. Stanislaus is mentioned as the patron of Cracow usually only generally in sermons, without much further discussion or explanation. However, the author of the cited sermon (Sermon IV) complained that Cracow had been sinful and that was why God sent Stanislaus to help them, which he

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where also references to literature. This kind of connotations was missing in sermons for St. Stanislaus’ feastday, but could appear, for example, in sermons on St. Hedwig of Anjou, as a member of the ruling dynasty, or in speeches about the kings on other occasions.

<sup>64</sup> BJ 1635, f. 93v: “Item, quia noster Polonus est, et apud nos debemus eum diligere ex reverencia.” For the entire text of the sermon, see Appendix 5.

<sup>65</sup> BJ 1635, f. 93v-94r: “Cuncti, inquit, martyres devotissime colendi sunt, sed spiritualiter hii reverendi sunt a nobis, quorum reliquias possidemus. Illi alii sancti nos oracionibus adiuvant, hii nobiscum moriantur et in corpore viventes nos custodiunt et de corpore custodientes excipiunt, hii iuvant ne peccemus, hii ne horror inferni invadit. Nam hoc, inquit, a maioribus provisum est, ut sanctorum ossibus nostra ossa sociemus. Unde cum illos tartharus metuit, nos pena non tangit et dum illos Christus illuminat, a nobis tenebre diffugiunt.” The text attributed by the preacher to St. Ambrose is edited under the name of Maximus Taurinensis, *Collectio sermonum antiqua*, CCCM, vol. 219a, sermo 12, v. 26ff. The sermon model was elsewhere attributed to Augustine (“Sermo de martyribus”), e.g. in a Bohemian “Tractatus de suffragiis defunctorum,” an electronic edition at <http://www.etf.cuni.cz/kat-cd/aurora01.htm>. Among others, it is also quoted by Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae de festis praecipuis*, Homilia 25 - In natali sancti Albani martyris, in PL 110, coll. 49-50.

<sup>66</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae de festis praecipuis* (homilia 25 In natali sancti Albani martyris), PL 110, coll.49-50: “et sicut cum eis ossibus parentum nostrorum jungimur, ita et eis fidei imitatione jungamur. Diligamus quod illi dilexerunt, et odiamus quod illi oderunt; quaeramus quod ipsi quaesierunt, et refugiamus quod ipsi refugerunt. ...”

continued to do after his death.<sup>67</sup> Analogically, Sermon LXXIV in the notebook of Nicolaus Tempelfeld of Brzeg from the same milieu and period recalled the same quotation attributed to St. Ambrose, and explained: “among all our brothers born in flesh with us we do not have anybody more dear and beloved than Christ, except this glorious martyr and bishop Blessed Stanislaus, whose feast we celebrate today. In particular, because he is our patron, whose bones rest here with our bones.”<sup>68</sup> Stanislaus is called as *patronus noster* several times throughout the sermon, and the verses of the liturgical hymn *Gaude Mater Polonia* are recalled: *Ergo Felix Cracovia, sacro dotata corpore, Deum, qui fecit omnia, benedic omni tempore.*<sup>69</sup> This sermon probably originated in Cracow.

A number of sermons point out the Polish origin of Stanislaus and his special intercession for the Poles or Cracow, which was also important for the ideology of restoration of the Polish Kingdom in the thirteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Did the political metaphor come up in sermons? Unfortunately, sermons from the period soon after the canonisation are not extant, and the oldest known sermon by Peregrinus is not very telling in this respect (as he focused rather on different aspects). The story about the reintegration of the saint’s body often appeared in sermon manuscripts (i.e. in sermons or in the legends appended after sermons) only as a brief summary of events on the basis of the saint’s lives and liturgical works, without political or other interpretations. Preachers sometimes commented on the events, interpreted them, and explained their religious or non-religious significance. The motif of the division and reintegration of the saint’s body acquired political colouring only rarely in sermons. The works with literary or historiographical ambitions, such as the *Life* of St. Stanislaus with a long historical excursus, the *Life* by Długosz and chronicles, contained the political simile more often than the works of pastoral character like sermons in manuscript. Surely, preachers could bring up the topic, which was an important connotation of this miracle for those who knew the *Vita*, in their actual delivery, even when it is not found in the written text, but there are no traces documenting that they would have done so regularly. Another reason why the motif did not have political implications so often in the fifteenth century could have been that it had become anachronistic after the restoration of the Kingdom.<sup>71</sup> If sermons dealt with it, they favoured other, perhaps more religious aspects of the reintegration motif.

<sup>67</sup> BJ 1635, f. 93v: “Quinque bona ostendit Apostolus habuisse nostrum episcopum, contra quinque mala, que tunc erant in Cracovia, que utinam modo non essent: ... Felix Cracovia, que talem meruit habere patrem et felices in his ipsum imitantes...”

<sup>68</sup> BUWr I F 520, f. 387v: “Inter omnes autem fratres secundum carnem nobiscum natos non habemus nobis amantissimum et carissimum post Christum, nisi hunc gloriosum martyrem et pontificem beatum Stanislaum, cuius festa hodie celebramus. Et maxime quia patronus noster, cuius ossa cum ossibus nostris hic requiescunt.”

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., f. 388r.

<sup>70</sup> For the topic and bibliography, see Chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>71</sup> I was inspired by the hypothesis formulated by Zenon Piech about the iconography of St. Stanislaus; Piech, “Darstellungen,” 130-1, see also Chapter 1.3.2.

Still, sometimes preachers chose to speak about the political implications of the saint's dismemberment, depending on the occasion and audience. Some preachers did not recall the analogy between the saint's body and the kingdom, but only mentioned that King Boleslaus who ended his life in the exile, as well as his dynasty and the kingdom, had been punished for his sin.<sup>72</sup> A Franciscan Observant preacher maintained that St. Stanislaus had been a prophet, whom he compared to the Prophet Samuel in relationship to King Saul [1 Kings 15,23 and 18]. Stanislaus had allegedly foretold the destruction of the kingdom to King Boleslaus, which had happened when he was exiled to Hungary.<sup>73</sup>

One anonymous sermon on the translation feast (Sermon LXXIV) mentioned the simile about the reintegration of the Kingdom of Poland when speaking about the intercession of the patron saint. The preacher stated:

Indeed, we anticipate the future hope to restore our kingdom to the state as it used to be before, thanks to the prayers of this martyr. For when Pope Leo heard at the occasion of his canonisation about the reintegration of the saint's body from the thousand parts into which it had been cut, he uttered this prophecy: In the same way the Kingdom of Poland, divided until now, awaits integrity.<sup>74</sup>

The author combined several events from historiography. He ascribed the prophecy to a Pope Leo, like the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* and other sources of the legend about the refusal to crown to the Poles around year 1000.<sup>75</sup> However, he innovatively connected the event with St. Stanislaus. Unlike earlier sources, the author of this sermon dated "a Pope Leo's" prediction to the period of Stanislaus's canonisation (which would have been around 1253), when the miracle of dismemberment and reintegration had been presented to the Holy See. Thus, the preacher conflated two motifs: the legendary prophecy about the crown and the legend of Stanislaus and his canonisation. Vincent of Kielcza had done likewise in the *Vita maior*, although perhaps in a more skillful way, not forcing a different dating of the events. Nevertheless, it is important that the preacher saw the connection.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Sermon XII in BJ 1626, f. 153r; Sermon XXIX in Kórnik 1122 edited in J. Zathej, "Nowe źródło," 376 with a reference to the *Cronica Polonorum*; BJ 1609, f. 186v-187r (legend, in several copies); Sermon Materl LXXVII in BJ 4915, f. 361v-362v.

<sup>73</sup> Zathej, "Nowe źródło," 376: "ita beatus Stanislaus regi Boleslao predixit excidium regni, quod sic evenit, quia expulsus de suo regno in Ungariam fuit, ut dicit Cronica Polonorum ..."

<sup>74</sup> BUWr I F 520, f. 388v: "Immo ad preces huius martyris futuram spem expectamus nostrum regnum restaurari, ut ante fuit. Audiens enim Leo papa circa canonisationem huius sancti mirabilem corporis in mille partes secti reintegrationem, propheticum ait spiritu: Sic regnum Polonie sectum aduc expectet integritatem."

<sup>75</sup> For the legend, see above, Chapter 1.1.2. The identification of the Pope as a Leo in the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, and after it in the *Vita maior*, is erroneous, which is often explained as a mistake only (the correct should have been Slivester II), but some see behind the name Leo a deliberate connotation with Pope Leo I who allegedly faced Attila; for the hypotheses, see Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, 140, 154-155.



Another text which mentioned the political symbolism of the division and reintegration of the body of St. Stanislaus was the sermon material *De sancto Stanislao Polonorum seu Sarmatarum alumno* in the so-called *Passionale de sanctis* attributed to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria from around 1430.<sup>76</sup> The preacher, who clearly had some historiographical interests as well, reminded his listeners that King Boleslaus II and his successors had lost the kingdom after he had killed Stanislaus. This retribution in the form of the degradation of the kingdom lasted two hundred years, during which the principalities and noblemen were divided and fighting among themselves, because “they did not have either a lord or a king until the king of good memory Wladislaus, the father of Casimir, the present King...”<sup>77</sup> He was the foretold restorer of the kingdom, at least in retrospect. After the description of the scene of the saint’s dismemberment and reintegration, and discussion of retribution for the murder, the destiny of King Boleslaus and his henchmen, the writer recounted a simile of those events with the fate of the kingdom:

“When the king had retreated from the kingdom, robberies started to happen, the kingdom (*regnum* – secular power) got divided in itself, the spiritual power (*sacerdocium*) was oppressed, and all order came into ruins.”<sup>78</sup>

The author said again that the partition and destruction had lasted for 200 years (i.e. three or four generations) before the Lord had restored unity to the kingdom, just as he had granted unity to the body of his saint. The preacher maintained that the restitution of order was the result of St. Stanislaus’s intervention.<sup>79</sup> The story of the division and reintegration of the saint’s body occurred more frequently than other political connotations in the preachers’ manuscripts. Numerous sermons presented the bodily reintegration as the evidence and manifestation of Stanislaus’ sanctity provided by God and heaven, just as the most widespread model sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus of Opole.

<sup>76</sup> Cracow, BCzart, MS. 3413 III, f. 79v-87r. For more details, see Chapter 3.6 and the Appendix.

<sup>77</sup> Cracow, BCzart, MS. 3413 III, f. 80r: “Patet hoc in illo infelici Rege Polonie Boleslao Secundo, vel Largo, qui postquam suum patrem Stanislauum occidit, regnum in se et in sua posteritate perdidit, que... deiectio ... ducentis annis integris perduravit, terris et nobilibus contra se scissis et pugnantibus, diversis tyrannicis in eo multiplicatis, non habentes dominum neque regem usque ad regem bone memorie Wladislaum patrem Kazimiri presentis et moderni scilicet Wladislai predecessoris...” Similarly, also a legend appended to another sermon says that the Polish are said not to have had the crown, which Boleslaus had lost, for two hundred years until the times of King Wladislaus Lokietek: “usque ad tempora Wladislai regis dicti Loketek legimus Polonos non habuisse;” BUWr I F 520, f. 331r; and in the same MS., f. 391r as an explicit of the legend as well: “...coronam eciam quam conculcando infulam presulis ammiserat, quod CC annis usque ad tempora Wladislais regis dicti Lokyethkek legimus Polonos non habuisse, etc.”

<sup>78</sup> Cracow, BCzart, MS. 3413 III, f. 81r: “Recedente igitur rege de regno, latrocinia committuntur, regnum in seipsum dividitur ‘rosztargalo,’ sacerdocium conculcatur, et omnis ordo confuditur.”

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., f. 81r: “Sicque in figura divisi corporis Sancti Stanislai unitas regni dividitur et sciditur, pro conculcata que per Boleslaum pontificali infula et deiecta, sibi et sui potestati [corr. posteritati], immo toti communitati, diadema cecidit et deiectum est ob peccata. Que deiectio perduravit integris annis ducentibus [corr. ducentis], sic quod in filios peccata perutum vindicata sunt, ut dicit Scriptura “usque in terciam et quartam generacionem.” Sed sicut dominica bonitas [...] corpus sancti Stanislai reintegravit et adunat, sic [...] regni coronam et unitatem ipsius regni nobis det eadem gloriosius super ceteras naciones. Non dubium, quin per merita sancti Stanislai, cuius restitutionis tempus, ordinem et processum, si placet vide in annalibus subscriptionem regni regis Wladislai dicti Lokyetek patris Kazimiri.”

The preachers sought to explain the need for and the power of local patrons' intercession. A preacher glossed the sermon *de sancto Stanislao* (Sermon XIII, a redaction of the sermon by John-Jerome) in the margin:

Today all the faithful Christians of this kingdom, and especially the Poles, should thank God, because they have a prelate who speaks on behalf of them to God; they should not fall in despair, and from despair to heresy.<sup>80</sup>

Similarly, a Franciscan Observant from the Kościan convent encouraged all the Polish Christians to address their saintly protector. Paraphrasing the Gospels, he says that the people of Poland, especially those of Cracow, who lived in darkness, saw a light, that is, Saint Stanislaus. He continued to explain that while various kingdoms and regions enjoyed their special saints whose relics they acquired, only Poland did not acquire the relics of its own saint, until God, trying to console them and equate them to other kingdoms, gave St. Stanislaus to them. As a result, a number of people from other countries come to his tomb in Poland.<sup>81</sup> The preacher extolled St. Stanislaus as a special patron of Poland among other regions.

Some authors even used liturgical sources, such as the songs, to build a framework for their sermons, clearly demonstrating how strongly the preaching on the saint's festival was associated with liturgical celebration. An anonymous preacher took the first verses of the rhyming office for Stanislaus' feast as the theme of the sermon (Sermon XXXII), which spread in a collection of sermons on saints: *Dies adest celebris / ad lucem de tenebris / consurge Polonia* and divided his sermon into three parts according to the verses. He urged the hearers, especially the Polish, to rise from the darkness of their sins, following the example of St. Stanislaus in the time of grace. He finished his sermon with several rhetorical questions:

If we celebrate the feast of Lawrence, Vincent, Adalbert, who were martyrs, why not that of Stanislaus, who was also a martyr? If we celebrate Nicholas and Martin, the confessors, and

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<sup>80</sup> MS. Ossolineum 414, f. 245v: "A Deo hodie debent ... omnes veri Christiani huius corone et precipue Poloni, quia habent talem presulem, qui pro eis ... interpellat apud Deum ... oracionem, ne intraverunt in desperationem, de desperationem in heresum."

<sup>81</sup> MS. Kórnik 1122 edited by Zathey, "Nowe źródło," 371: "Non minus iusti et boni Poloni poterant gaudere, quia lucem gaudiosam beatum Stanislauum in solacium et auxilium habere meruerunt. Gaudet Roma de Sancto Petro et Paulo, India de Sancto Thoma et Bartholomeo, Achaya de sancto Andrea et diversa regna de sanctis suis eo quod patronos habere meruerant, qui tamen de eorum gente non fuerunt et hoc ideo quia per eorum reliquias homines de diversis terris ad se venire traxerunt. Sola Polonia sancto suo ad cuius reliquias homines recurrent caruit. Ideoque Deus ipsam volens consolare et ceteris regnis coequare, ei beatum Stanislauum tanquam lucem gaudiosam contulit et ita eam aliis regnis coequavit, unde iam ad limina sancti Stanislai de Ungaria, Bohemia, Moravia, Slezia ceterisque terris concurrunt et beato Stanislao munera cum laudibus offerunt, etiam ergo iusti Poloni magnum gaudium habent, quia hanc lucem beatissimum Stanislauum possident."

Augustine, Jerome and Bernard, the doctors, why not Saint Stanislaus who was also a doctor? If Agnes, Catherine, Margaret, who were virgins, why not Stanislaus, who was also a virgin?<sup>82</sup>

The formulation may have implied a certain contested status of St. Stanislaus. Did this distinction originate in the period immediately around the canonisation or in another period when the cult St. Stanislaus could have been threatened or questioned? An anonymous preacher (Sermon LXXIV) used a similar formulation and compared Stanislaus to other saints from the categories of martyrs, confessors and virgins. He claimed that while in other saints only particular virtues and miracles were present, all of them appeared together in Stanislaus – he could compare with any of those saints, and he accomplished miracles in all phenomena (again a motif borrowed perhaps from Peregrinus).<sup>83</sup>

A sermon for the translation of St. Stanislaus attributed to Jan of Słupca (Sermon LXIX) accentuated the special character of the saint's intercession for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland:

he is to be worthily celebrated especially by the inhabitants of this kingdom, for whose help he is undoubtedly an incessant intercessor in front of God. Who can imagine with how much enthusiasm he intercedes for the people at the Highest for reconciliation? While he lived on the earth, he did not weigh his own life for the wellbeing of his subjects.<sup>84</sup>

He continued to do what he had done during his life after his transition from earth to heaven.<sup>85</sup> This is the message which appeared in the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus and its various redactions, especially in the *exemplum* about the apparition of the bishop at the beginning of the sermon.<sup>86</sup> The scribe added in the margin:

The Church exhorts us, all Poles:  
*Celebret Polonia/ festiva solemnia/  
veneretur inclita/ passionis merita/ sancti Stanislai.  
Quem occidit impia/ Dei pro iusticia/ manus Boleslai.*<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> BJ 1609, f. 186v: “Si enim celebramus festum Laurentii, Vincencii, Adalberti, qui fuerunt martyres, cur non Stanislai, qui etiam fuit martyr? Si Nicolai, Martini, qui fuerunt confessores, si Augustini, Ieronimi, Bernardi, qui fuerunt doctores, cur non Stanislai, qui etiam fuit doctor? Si Agnetis, Catherine, Margarethe, que fuerunt virgines, cur non Stanislai, qui etiam fuit virgo? Et pastor bonus qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, ipsas protegendo, ut patet in eius legenda.” Some variations occurred in several copies of the sermon.

<sup>83</sup> I F 520, f. 327v: “virtutes et miracula in aliis sanctis sunt divisa, in eo sunt collecta, fuit enim martyr, confessor et virgo.” Afterwards examples and exempla followed.

<sup>84</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 148r: “Hodie Sancta Mater Ecclesia letatur de translacione sancti Stanislai, qui presertim ab incolis huius regni digne est glorificandus, pro quibus indubie est in conspectu Dei intercessor assiduus. Quis enim cogitare potest, quanto studio ad placandum altissimum intercedit pro populo, dum existens in terra pro salute subditorum non pensavit vitam propriam...” For entire sermon, see Appendix 5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.: “Ideo namque translatus est de terris ad celos pontifex sanctus *ex hominibus assumptus, ut pro hominibus constitutur ad offerendum dona affectionum et sacrificia oracionum, pro peccatis populorum.*” Cf. Heb 5,1.

<sup>86</sup> See Chapter 4.3.2.1.

<sup>87</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 148r: “Hortatur nos ecclesia Polonos omnes: *Celebret Polonia...*”

This time the scribe mentioned the Poles, and not the inhabitants of the kingdom. They all, i.e. *Polonia*, used to sing on that day the liturgical song which he cited from the rhymed breviary office *Dies adest celebris* composed by Vincent of Kielcza (Matins, First Responsoy and First Verse).<sup>88</sup> The sermon is interspersed with passages from the breviary office and from the sequence *Jesu Christe rex superne*, both attributed to Vincent of Kielcza, in the margin. Jan of Słupca turned again to the “sons of the kingdom” in the development of the second *membrum* of his sermon, when he spoke about the reintegration of the martyr’s body, which

signified the unity and integrity of the Catholic faith, which our father and patron had loved. The sons of this kingdom, who are so feeble in faith, should be ashamed. The seniors of the kingdom, who could hold back many who are arrogant against the faith, but they do not, should fear. What great confusion we shall face if we ponder as trivial the faith, which St. Stanislaus preserved.<sup>89</sup>

He gave a different sense to the reintegration of Stanislaus’ body. He urged his audience to follow the saint and respect his faith in order to win the battle, i.e. the fight for the preservation of the Catholic orthodox faith, probably against the Hussite movement and other heresy. I mentioned similar appeals towards the “secular shepherds” in the previous chapter.<sup>90</sup> In the preacher’s eyes, St. Stanislaus as patron interceded and helped the Poles to make the situation better, or rather, not to deteriorate even more.

Słupca devoted the third part of his sermon to the logical sequence of *meritum-premium*, omnipresent in the preaching on saints, this time expressed by the metaphor of the progress of Stanislaus from labour to peace. The preacher further discussed that life was full of labour and suffering, just as the life of Christ and other figures about whom one could read in the Scriptures. One should thus not complain and murmur about their times.<sup>91</sup> The “good days” were to be seen in the afterlife:

St. Stanislaus knew that, and he desired to see the good days. In order to gain them, he was translated from the earth to heaven, yet not because of himself, but because of us, so that he could intercede for us in the sight of the Highest.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> For the breviary office, see Chapter 1.2.2.

<sup>89</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 149r-v: “Vis scire, quam firmam fidem habuit sanctus Stanislaus? Vide, quod post minutam sectionem corporis eius, partes segregate redierunt ad integritatem, quasi non fuissent partite. Per hoc designabatur, quantum fidei catholice dilexerit unitatem et integritatem pater noster et patronus. Erubescant filii regni huius in fide debiles. Timeant seniores huius regni, qui multos contra fidem insolentes possent cohibere, nec cohibent. Quanta nobis confusio, si fidem, quam sanctus Stanislaus tenuit, levipendemus.” Entire text in Appendix 5.

<sup>90</sup> Chapter 5.1.5.

<sup>91</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 149v-150r: “Dixi tercio, quod sanctus Stanislaus translatus est a labore ad quietem...” For entire text, see Appendix 5.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 150r: “Scivit hec sanctus Stanislaus, ideo dilexit videre dies bonos, quos ut obtineret, translatus est de terra ad celum, non propter se tantum, sed propter nos, ut in conspectu Altissimi pro nobis intercederet.”

The words were supplemented with a quotation from the breviary office in the margin: *De concive celum gaude, de patrono terra plaude, Stanislaus dignus laude, cum sanctis letatur, angelis equatur.*<sup>93</sup> The author further compared St. Stanislaus to the Biblical Joseph, who was sent to save his brothers.<sup>94</sup> The preacher accentuated the utility and effectiveness of the saint's intercession in his words: "Indeed so many sins would have exceeded and would continually emerge in Poland, that the country would not put up with them, unless Blessed Stanislaus had interceded."<sup>95</sup> With the help of Augustine's commentary of the Psalms, a recurrent authority throughout this sermon, the author compared the intercession of St. Stanislaus to Moses, who had dared to offer an exchange to God for the salvation of his people.<sup>96</sup> Jan of Ślupca specified:

What Moses did for the Jews, St. Stanislaus does for the Poles. Whence the Lord says to all Poles today: 'Go to my servant' Stanislaus, 'and offer for yourselves a holocaust.' 'His face I will accept, that folly be not imputed to you.' Job 42,8. But indeed, I am afraid that the saint, who can see our ingratitude and our light-heartedness towards him, would desist from intercession. Or, if he does not desist, we should be afraid that the voice of sins, which have become powerful and cry to Heaven, could prevail over intercession.<sup>97</sup>

Another prefiguration of the patron-saint Stanislaus was the Biblical Job who prayed for his family and friends to God, who accepted his prayer because of his penance. The saint's intercession was usually connected with the activity of the faithful and their conversion to good lives.

The preachers often admonished that it was not enough to ask the saints to pray for us before God, unless we also actively contributed with our conversion, abandoning sins and multiplying our good deeds. Jan of Ślupca illustrated the point with an *exemplum* from the Legend of St. Bartholomew, from which he had even borrowed some formulations in the previous citation: the Saracens scattered the bones of St. Bartholomew when they invaded the island where he was buried; when the saint appeared to a monk and asked him to recollect them, the monk protested and asked why he should collect them or honour them, if the saint had not saved the island from the destruction; to which the

<sup>93</sup> Breviary office *Dies adest celebris*, Lauds Antiphon 2 [variant: stanislaus pari laude/ sanctorum letatur/ meritis equatur.]

<sup>94</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 150r: "Unde potest ad nos dicere, quod dixerat Ioseph ad fratres suos: *Premisit me Deus, ut reservemini super terram, et escas ad vivendum habere possitis, non vestro consilio, sed Dei voluntate huc missus sum* Gen XLV [, 7. 8]." Entire text in Appendix 5.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.: "Tot enim peccata precesserint et iugiter emergunt in Polonia, quot nisi beatus Stanislaus intercederet, terra peccatores non sustineret."

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 150r-v: "Quantum autem valeat intercessio sanctorum, audiamus..." See Appendix 5 for entire text.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., f. 150v: "Quod fecit Moises Iudeis, hoc facit sanctus Stanislaus Polonis. Unde hodie Dominus omnibus Polonis dicit: *Ite ad servum meum Stanislaum, et offerte holocaustum pro vobis, faciem eius suscipiam, ut non imputetur vobis stulticia*, Job ultimo [Job 42, 8]. Sed revera timeo, ne iste sanctus videns nostram ingratitude, et sui levipensionem, ab intercessione desistat. Aut si non desistat, formidandum est, ne peccatis invalescentibus, et usque ad celum clamantibus, vox peccatorum prevaleat intercessioni.

saint replied that God had spared them for a long time thanks to his merits only, but their sins had prevailed and he had not been able to gain God's pardon anymore.<sup>98</sup>

The situation when the saint appeared not to intercede for the community, and thus the utility and efficacy of the saint's intercession, was a recurrent topic. The preachers continued to remind (in sermons, but also in miracle accounts, and so on) that the correct attitude and the virtuous life on the side of the faithful was also needed. Once again, the admirable and the imitable went hand in hand. Jan of Słupca worried in front of his audience:

Therefore, because the sins continually flourish and the veneration of that saint decreases in the hearts of the people, we should be frightened that our sins could call the anger of God upon us...<sup>99</sup>

The preacher closed the sermon by urging his audience: "It remains that we rejoice at his patronage, and reform our lives to the better, so that we can obtain the grace in present and glory in the heavenly kingdom as well."<sup>100</sup> The sermon closes with a liturgical citation once again (from the sequence *Iesu Christe rex superne*).

The sermon on St. Stanislaus by Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach, an Augustinian friar who preached on St. Stanislaus in Wrocław in 1430 (Sermon XLVI), was built entirely on the problem of the occurrence of catastrophes, such as the Hussite threat, although this time the saint was not the only topic discussed.<sup>101</sup> He closed his long sermon with an invitation to turn to St. Stanislaus, the co-patron of the church where he delivered his sermon:

That is why I see and advise that we have a refuge in the saints when we are overwhelmed by these anxieties; and with the biggest and special devotion to our glorious prelate and martyr Stanislaus, so that he considers it worthy to stand in the face of God and speak well of us, in so far as God turns away his indignation from us, and even casts down our enemies, and prostrates their obstinacy by the right hand of his majesty, in so far as we serve him with peaceful mind in the holiness and justice in front of him during all our days, so that we all and each see God of gods in Sion in the end. Amen.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Iacopo da Varazze, "De sancto Bartholomeo," in *Legenda aurea*, vol. 2, 835.

<sup>99</sup> BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 150v-151r: "Quia igitur peccata iugiter crescunt, et reverencia huius sancti in cordibus hominum decrescit, pavendum ne peccata nostra ita provocent indignacionem Dei, quod nec intercessio locum habeat, delebitque nos de superficie terre, et faciet nos in opprobrium *et fabulam cunctis populis. Omnis qui transierit stupebit, et sibi labit, et dicet: Quare sic fecit Dominus huic terre? Respondebuntque: quia dereliquerunt Dominum Deum suum*, III Reg IX [, 7.8.9]."

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., f. 151r: "Quia ergo translatus est sanctus Stanislaus in celum, restat ut eius patrocinio gaudentes, vitam nostram reformemus in melius, ad obtinendum gratiam in presenti, et tandem gloriam in regno celorum. Ad quam nos, etc."

<sup>101</sup> BUWr I F 78, f. 456v-465v. For the author and the discussion of the sermon, see Chapter 3.6.

<sup>102</sup> BUWr I F 78, f. 465v: "Qua propter consultum mihi visum est, ut hiis anxietatibus pressi refugium habeamus ad sanctos, maxime tamen et speciali devocione ad gloriosum presulem et martyrem Stanislaum, ut dignetur stare in conspectu Dei et loqui pro nobis bonum, quatenus avertat Deus indignacionem suam a nobis, hostium quoque nostrorum elidat superbiam, contumaciamque illorum dextera sue maiestatis prosternat quatenus tranquilla mente serviamus illi in sanctitate et iusticia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris, ut tandem omnes et singuli videamus Deum deorum in Syon. Amen."

Thus, the faithful and the whole community were urged to turn to St. Stanislaus, especially (*specialiter*) the Poles, as a number of sermons related.

Another anonymous sermon (Sermon LXX) returned to the problem of patronage and intercession and the occurrence of war. Just as the priests were to pray for the people and mediate between the people and God, the saints prayed for the people. Among other saints St. Stanislaus prayed “for the Kingdom of Poland, that is the people of the Kingdom of Poland,” but they could not turn away or mitigate the wars, plagues and famine, because all those were brought about by the great wickedness of people. In that case, prayers and intercession were useless (referring to Jer 14,11).<sup>103</sup> In the last part of the sermon the author compared St. Stanislaus to the sun, which illuminated, warmed and nurtured.<sup>104</sup> Stanislaus “illuminated with his saintly doctrine (i.e. the preaching) the clergy as well as the common people, and in general the whole of Poland.”<sup>105</sup> He “warmed with the fire of his devotion the cold and hardened hearts of the Poles, and especially the nobles, and incited them to ardent love towards God.”<sup>106</sup> The preacher referred to Poles and Poland in all these points, and closed his sermon similarly: “Without doubt, Blessed Stanislaus was that light, that city on a mountain, that light put upon the candlestick of Poland, which shines to all” [cf. Mt 5,14-15].<sup>107</sup>

Nicolaus of Kozłow (Sermon VIII) also touched on the issue of the patronage of St. Stanislaus in a hagiographical part appended to his sermon. Having described the miraculous reintegration of the martyr’s body and the miracles which had happened thanks to his ring in a general way (supplied with a citation from the *historia rhytmica*), the author did not speak about any other particular miracles. Instead, Nicolaus of Kozłow mentioned another supernatural powers of the saint:

The saint has dazzled with miracles until now, and also concerning the control of the Kingdom of Poland: namely, when the soldiers of the kingdom had to gather and approach the enemy, St. Stanislaus was often seen standing in the sky and blessing the citizens of the kingdom.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> PAN 1707, f. 262v: “Sic eiam beatus Stanislaus patronus noster inter ceteros sanctos et electos Dei orat pro regno Polonie, idest populo regni Polonie. Et [2] Machabeorum XVo [14]: *Hic est fratrum amator, hic est qui multum orat pro populo et pro civitate ista.* Verum tamen non possunt mitigare oracionibus bella, pestilencias et fames, et hoc fit propter magnam maliciam populi. Iuxta illud Jeremie Vo [14,11]: *Noli orare pro populo hoc, nec assumes pro eo laudem et oracionem et non obsistas michi, quoniam non exaudiam te.* Glo(sa): *Non propter te, sed propter illorum maliciam quoniam dimittere nolunt.*”

<sup>104</sup> For a comparison to sun with respect to the pastoral office, see Ch. 5.1.

<sup>105</sup> PAN 1707, f. 263v: “...illuminavit sua sancta doctrina tam clerum quam eiam communem populum et generaliter totam Poloniam.”

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.: “igne sue devocionis calefaciebat frigida et indurata corda Polonorum et maxime nobilium, ipsos ad ardorem amoris Dei excitando.”

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.: “Certe beatus Stanislaus fuit ista lux, ista civitas in monte posita, istud lumen in candelabro Polonie positum omnis lucens.”

<sup>108</sup> BJ 1614, f. 80r: “Multis hic sanctus usque huc coruscavit et coruscat miraculis, eiam circa regni Polonie gubernacionem: Sepe enim cum exercitus regni debebant congregi cum inimicis, sanctus Stanislaus visus est stare in aere dando regnicolis benedicionem.” For the saint as a helper in battles, see František Graus, “Der Heilige als

The saint was renowned for having appeared to help in battles several times by the time Nicolaus wrote this sermon, especially at the recent Battle of Grunwald in 1410, when the Polish-Lithuanian alliance under King Wladislaus II Jagiello defeated the Teutonic Knights.<sup>109</sup> This part of the sermon closed with the words: “We hope in his protection to relieve us in all difficulty and necessity...”<sup>110</sup> The scribe of one copy of the sermon (BJ 1614) inserted one more paragraph before the closing words. It did not appear in the copy by Jan of Słupca (BJ 1354), and it is difficult to say if it belonged to the original composed by Nicolaus of Kozłow or not. Słupca might have left it out intentionally, because it was no longer topical. The author saw the intercession of the patron Stanislaus in other events:

Indeed, we ascribe not to anybody else but to the divine goodness through the intercession of the glorious martyr the fact that when the king of Poland had died, all lands gathered as one, all noblemen agreed and consented in one king, in order to preserve ecclesiastical liberty, to bring about universal peace, for the recovery of the kingdom in all the troubling disposition; the opposites of all those were feared because of the king’s death and because of the most recent causes which are around.<sup>111</sup>

If Nicolaus had delivered the sermon in Basel in 1435, he could have touched upon the issue of the election of the new king, which happened some time ago in Poland. King Wladislaus II Jagiello died on June 1, 1434, and Nicolaus himself delivered a sermon in Basel on the occasion of his commemoration on July 31, praising the late King.<sup>112</sup> The troubling situation to which the preacher alluded could be the ongoing conflict with the Teutonic Order (or the Hussite movement). Wladislaus II Jagiello’s right to the throne had been undermined by the death of his wife Hedwig without an heir in 1399, when he was supported by the nobility of the Lesser Poland and opposed by the gentry of the Greater Poland. Finally, he managed to secure the succession of his sons by Sophia of Halshany through concessions to the Polish nobility: his son Wladislaus III of Varna/Warnencyk was elected King of Poland and crowned on July 25, 1434, although not without problems and opposition. He was

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Schlachtenhelfer. Zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), 330-48.

<sup>109</sup> For the Battle of Grunwald, see Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellónów* (The Policy of the Jagiellonians) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 109-115; for the victorious banners at the shrine of St. Stanislaus, see Rožek, “*Ara patriae*,” 433-460; Maria Kowalczyk, “Grunwald w tradycji kaznodziejsko-kronikarskiej z końca XV wieku” (Grunwald in the Preaching and Chronicle Tradition from the End of the Fifteenth Century), *AC* 19 (1987): 255-273.

<sup>110</sup> BJ 1614, f. 80r: “Cuius eciam patrociniis in omnibus aliis angustiis et necessitatibus relevari speramus, sed et relevamur per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.”

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 80r: “Immo hoc, quod, rege Polonie mortuo, omnes terre invenerunt in unum, omnes nobiles concordaverunt et consenserunt in unum regem, in conservandam ecclesiasticam libertatem, in faciendam communem pacem, in regni recuperacionem, in omni gravaminuti dispositionem, quorum omnium ex regis morte ex proximis causis disponentibus opposita timebantur; non alteri, nisi divine pietati per intercessionem huius gloriosi martyris ascribimus.”

<sup>112</sup> For more about the author and his sermon at Basel, see Chapter 3.6, fn. 123, and fn. 124 for the sermon about King Wladislaus. The paragraph could have been, however, also an addition *ex post* to the sermon written by Nicolaus for the sermon a year earlier, but also in that case, it could have alluded to that particular election.



still a minor by then, and Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, whose envoy Nicolaus was at the council, was the ruling regent.<sup>113</sup>

Another sermon (Sermon XLVII) from the second half of the fifteenth century, which an Observant friar from Kościan copied among the sermons on saints by Nicolaus of Blonia, also honoured St. Stanislaus as the patron of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>114</sup> The preacher used a metaphor of secular lords who had strong knights at their courts. The metaphor of the court for intercession of saints appeared often in sermons for the feast of All Saints.<sup>115</sup> Knights risked death for those who were responsible for other duties, when necessary. The wise servants were honoured with high dignities, like the Biblical Joseph was by the pharaoh.<sup>116</sup> The preacher chose a different moral interpretation than the *Glossa ordinaria*, which interpreted Joseph as a prefiguration of Christ: Christ was the Lord who rewarded his servants, the saints, with great honours:

Christ is the Prince of peace and the Lord of not only the earth, but also everything which is found around him and heaven, about which the Psalms [23,1] say: 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.' He has at his court, that is the Church militant, strong knights, like George, Lawrence, Vincent, who fought bravely for Christ's faith; an outstanding soldier of those was the blessed and glorious martyr and bishop Stanislaus, our patron.<sup>117</sup>

The metaphor of the court and the knights who served their Lord and protected the rest of society, was especially telling to a medieval audience, especially to the knights and layfolk of various walks of life. The martyrs, St. Stanislaus among them, offered their lives for others, just as the knights were expected to do in war. This time it was not the image of the shepherds who offered their lives for their flocks. Christ rewarded his good servants with great honours for their good services, like the pharaoh had rewarded Joseph:

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<sup>113</sup> For the political situation around the death of King Wladislaus II Jagiello, see Karol Olejnik, *Władysław III Warnenczyk (1424-1444)* (Wladislaus III of Varna) (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Archiwum Państwowego "Dokument" w Szczecinie, 1996), for the succession and election, esp. 11-53; Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellónów*, 124-128, 195ff.

<sup>114</sup> Kórník 52, f. 70v-75 on the thema *Magna est gloria eius in salutari tuo* [Ps 20,6].

<sup>115</sup> Bériou, "L'Intercession," as the reference in subchapter 5.2.1 above, footnote 7.

<sup>116</sup> Kórník 52, f. 70v-71r: "Principes seculares dominique terrestres in curiis suis solent habere fortes milites qui se exponunt morti pro ipsis qui sunt intelligentes de cura domestica, secundum illud Proverbiis XV [14,35]: *Acceptus est regi minister intelligens*; sicut etiam dicit idem Proverbiorum XXII [29]: *Vidisti virum velocem in opere suo? coram regibus stabit, nec erit ante ignobiles*, quia sicut intelligentes domini diligunt servos et interdum magnis dignitatibus honorantur, quod figuratum legitur Genesis 41 [42-43 cf.] de rege pharaone, qui novit Iosephum virum intelligentem, eo quod sibi sapienter servivit et sompnum visum exposuit. Magno honore ipsum honoravit: *Acceptit enim anulum de manu sua et tradidit ei, vestivit eum stola byssina et fecit eum ascendere currum suum secundum et procedente preconante clamante, ut omnes ante eum genu flecterent*, et honorem sibi exhiberent."

<sup>117</sup> Kórník 52, f. 71r: "Moraliter. Christus est princeps pacis et dominus non solum terre, sed omni qui in ambitu suo et celi contriuntur, iuxta illud Psalmi [23,1]: *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*. Hic habuit in sua curia, scilicet ecclesia militante, fortes milites, sicut fuerunt Georgius, Laurentius, Vincencius, qui fortiter pro fide Christi pugnaverunt, quorum precipuus fuit beatus et gloriosus martyr et pontifex Stanislaus, patronus noster."

Therefore Christ honoured him greatly in that he made him the patron of the whole Kingdom of Poland and established him now in heaven over all his possessions like a wise knight.<sup>118</sup>

Thus, the preacher maintained that God had established St. Stanislaus as the patron of Kingdom of Poland. The rest of the sermon elaborated the various types of glory that Stanislaus had received from God: temporal, spiritual, and eternal.

A large part of the sermon *Vidi alterum angelum* [Ap 10,1] on St. Adalbert in the collection of sermons of Jan of Dąbrówka is built on the analogies between St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus, whom the preacher compared to two angels. They were companions “in life and office, because both of them were martyrs and bishops.”<sup>119</sup> The two of them were praised as the patrons of two centres of Poland, Cracow and Gniezno. In the preacher’s eyes, they were not competitors,<sup>120</sup> but complementary patrons:

*Primus angelus beatus Adalbertus, predicator, pater et apostolus Polonorum,  
alter beatus Stanislaus, primus martyr Cracovitarum.*

*Primus habet sedem in Gnezne, quam fovet multis beneficiis.*

*Secunda sedes est in Cracovia, cuius ipse extat honor et gloria.*<sup>121</sup>

St. Adalbert, the first angel, preached the word of God and brought Christianity to the Poles, while Stanislaus, the second angel, was the first martyr of the Cracovians. They both accomplished much for the two episcopal sees, helping them and adorning them with honour. Sts. Adalbert and Stanislaus were compared to the two angels who had covered up the arch of God. They enfolded the Church “so that it did not get filthy from the dust of the sins.”<sup>122</sup> They took care especially of the Church of Poland.

Do you not believe that Poland, where there are so many false accusations (sophistries), so much violence, so many unjust laws nowadays, would have stood for so long, if those saints had not veiled it and protected it with their help? Surely, if Moses himself could ask God for reconciliation, so that he, angry, would not destroy the people; how much more those two patrons accomplish, so that we are not destroyed, whether by Ruthenians, etc. Indeed, always, like pious fathers, they have not forgotten the people of their cathedral [bishopric], of their country, and of their flesh [blood]. Theirs, because the flesh of our flesh and a Pole from Poland, and the other a Bohemian from Bohemia.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.: “Ideo ipsum Christus multum honoravit in hoc, quod fecit eum patronum tocius regni Polonie et nunc in celis super omnia bona sua tanquam intelligentem militem eum collocavit.”

<sup>119</sup> BJ 1635, f. 81r: “Item nota, quod beatus Adalbertus socius erat beati Stanislai vita et officio, quia uterque martyr et episcopus, et ideo dicitur alter angelus.” The author drew on a sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus; see chapter 3.6. The entire sermon is edited in Appendix 5.

<sup>120</sup> There are some studies which mention the rivalisation of cults, especially in the earlier period, connected with the efforts of the two sees for supremacy and prestige, see e.g. Graus, *Die Nationenbildung*, 68-9; Mrozowicz, “Die politische Rolle,” 111-125. However, for instance the statutes of Cardinal Oleśnicki from 1436 named Sts. Adalbert, Stanislaus, together with Wenceslas and Florian as the patrons of Cracow in particular; *Statuty synodalne krakowskie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego*, 47. The saints appeared together on some visual representations as well, see Chapter 1.3.

<sup>121</sup> BJ 1635, f. 81r.

<sup>122</sup> BJ 1635, f. 81r: “Isti duo angeli Adalbertus et Stanislaus prefigurati sunt per illos duos angelos, qui alis suis velabant archam Dei, idest ecclesiam, quam isti duo velabant, ne pulvere peccatorum immunderetur.”

<sup>123</sup> BJ 1635, f. 81r: “Credisne, quod Polonia, in qua tot sunt calumnie, tot violencie, tot inique leges, tamdiu substisteret ne eam isti sancti velarent protegendo suo suffragio? Certe, si solus Moyses potuit Deum placare, ne populum iratus deleret, quanto magis isti duo patroni hoc efficiunt, ne delemur, sive per Rutenos etc. Semper enim, sicut pii patres non sunt obliti

The preacher did not doubt that the two saints had always protected the Poles. I discussed above that one of the recurring topics in the preaching had been the doubts of the people regarding whether the saints stood beside them in the difficult times. The clerics explained that had the saints not helped them and prayed for them, the situation would have been even worse than it was. However, the text of the sermon did not hide that the situation in Poland was not without its problems, pointing to many conspiracies and violent acts, probably perpetrated by the nobility, but also emanating from outside Poland. The saints, just as Moses, had always prayed to God not to destroy the people, and that was also why the Polish had not been destroyed by the Ruthenians. More so, because it was their people, the preacher reminded: the people of their bishoprics, of their country and their lineage. In particular St. Stanislaus was a Pole, while St. Adalbert was a Bohemian. The preacher further elaborated on another part of the thematic verse: the angel was strong. St. Adalbert was strong when he led the Bohemians, the Hungarians and the Poles back from heathen idols to the road towards God.<sup>124</sup> Jan of Dąbrówka, possibly the author of this sermon, knew well the lessons from the history of the Poles by Master Vincent, which he commented upon for university students.<sup>125</sup>

Grzegorz of Mysłowice used a figure similar to the Biblical sowing and diffusion of the *granum frumenti*, the grain of wheat, which brings forth fruit when it dies [Jn 12,24-26] (a gospel pericope for the feast of a martyr, and for St. Adalbert as well as Stanislaus, although not often for the latter), in his sermon on St. Stanislaus.<sup>126</sup> The preacher compared the saint, who had become famous, to a grain of mustard, which starts to smell strongly when the grain is ground and rubbed. Similarly, the humble man who had been vexed, tormented and cut to pieces limb by limb started to pour out the odour of his sweetness to the whole world and especially to the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>127</sup> In the fifteenth century the “odour” could be perceived throughout Poland, also thanks to a number of preachers who delivered sermons on St. Stanislaus.

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gentis sue cathedre, sue terre, sue et carnis. Sue, quia caro de carne nostra et Polonus de Polonia, et alter Bohemus de Bohemia.”

<sup>124</sup> BJ 1635, f. 81r: “Item, quia fortis fuit, sive Bohemos, sive Ungaros, sive Polonos ad viam Dei a simulacris reducendo...”

<sup>125</sup> For the author and his *Commentum*, see above Chapter 1.4, and 3.

<sup>126</sup> Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 63; idem, “Liturgiczny kult,” 584, 597. The fertility metaphor is used for martyrs in the Golden Legend as well; Bynum, *Resurrection*, 316. For Grzegorz, see chapter 3.6.

<sup>127</sup> BJ 1357, f. 693r: “Tercio beatus Stanislaus in igne tribulacionis maiorem acquisivit claritatem. Qui enim prius erat ignotus per totum mundum, factus est clarus. Possumus enim ipsum grano sinapis comparare, qui diversis attritus passionibus per totum mundum grana sui martyrii meruit fragrare, et qui ante ea constitutus erat humilis, postea vero, dum est vexatus, laceratus et membratim cesus, per totum mundum et specialiter per regnum Polonie odorem sue suavitatis infudit.” The same motif in the legend by Iacopo da Varazze, “De sancto Petro martyre,” in *Legenda aurea*, 427.

Two aspects of the message related to Stanislaus's sanctity, his exemplary and the admirable, were present in the dossier of collected sermons. A number of sermons tried to preserve the balance between the two, presenting both the saint's *meritum*, which he showed in his life, and the *premium*, with which he was rewarded in heaven, as a pattern of career to everybody was invited. The emphasis on the bishop's life as an exemplar was directed in particular to the clerics, his successors in the office of spiritual shepherds, to whom sermons on St. Stanislaus were preached also on special occasions of clerical gatherings on his feasts. Secular lords were also encouraged to emulate the example of the good shepherd. The saint's imitation of Christ and his martyrdom was often related to his image of the good shepherd as well. Stanislaus was an example of Christian virtue for ordinary Christians as well, in so far as every saint was to be, but these are elements not particular to the preaching on St. Stanislaus, but generic features of preaching on saints. However, within the parable of the good shepherd, so often present in sermons on St. Stanislaus, the figure of the sheep was reserved for them. They were also to imitate their shepherd – it was only natural that the sheep followed their shepherd in everything, as preachers often reminded. A great responsibility was placed on the shoulders of the shepherds, therefore, and the sheep were urged to listen to the voice of their pastors and follow them. Not only for laymen, but also for everybody, the saint also acted as a powerful intercessor, which was demonstrated in numerous miracles and instances of his help in physical and spiritual hardship. Preachers reiterated these examples of his intercession on behalf of individuals and the community. Thus, sermons presented St. Stanislaus both as an achievable role model in life and as an advocate acting from heaven.

## Conclusion

The objective of my study was to supply one of the missing pieces in the mosaic of sources which constructed the image and cult of St. Stanislaus of Cracow in the Middle Ages. The cult of St. Stanislaus has been studied from various viewpoints as the focus of possibly hundreds of studies during the last century, but the sermons and preaching about this saint have been largely neglected, receiving only cursory attention. Recently, many scholars have called attention to the sermons on St. Stanislaus, perhaps motivated by a more general renewed interest in sermon studies which has only reached Central Europe in the last decade. These calls were often limited to tangential footnotes or single sentences but nevertheless evidenced curiosity on the part of historians regarding the content of a dossier of medieval sermons that has remained largely unexplored. My dissertation provides at least a partial response to their expressed interest.

An important outcome of this work is a compendium of medieval sermons and related materials having St. Stanislaus as their subject. I have managed to identify and inventory relevant texts in medieval manuscripts. The repertory served not only as a source for my analysis of sermons in this dissertation, but it can serve a similar function for further studies of not only the cult of St. Stanislaus, but also of preaching in the region, the transmission of manuscript texts, and so on. I have managed to gather 80 different texts (sermons and sermon materials) in 86 various codices, which comprise altogether 129 instances in which St. Stanislaus appeared in sermons in the manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. I have explained already in the Introduction that this is certainly not the final number, and more sermons can be traced in various libraries, especially in regions which were not represented in my enquiry, most particularly the regions east of today's Poland. I have painstakingly gathered the corpus without the help of the usual tools, especially Schneyer's *Repertorium*, which is an indispensable help for Latin sermons in other, more studied, parts of Europe, but was not of much help in my case. Studies of sermons on more local or regional saints would have to be undertaken in a similar way. My enquiry also showed the importance of modern comprehensive catalogues of manuscripts for evaluating precious collections of sources in this region of Europe, suggesting that perhaps a supplement to Schneyer's *Repertorium* is warranted. Studies like this one, in addition to several other recent studies of sermons from this region, could help to identify sermons that exist in Central and Eastern Europe.

Chapter 1 presented the development of the image and cult of St. Stanislaus on the basis of other representations – hagiography, historiographic sources, liturgy, and visual representations. It provided a setting for my further study and familiarised the reader with the topic. I summarised the most important developments in the construction of the saint's image in a chronological way, and described the contribution of particular sources, and their function in the saint's cult. Importantly, the chapter made accessible the results of numerous studies solely in the Polish language to a broader readership. My study demonstrated that although the cult of St. Stanislaus has been frequently studied, some issues will have to be reconsidered: for example, the relationship of the two thirteenth-century lives of St. Stanislaus, which have been traditionally called *Vita maior* and *Vita minor*, their tradition, and their function, and also the manuscript variations. A comprehensive study of the manuscript tradition of hagiographical works pertaining to St. Stanislaus would help to investigate these issues more fully. My enquiry demonstrated that the lives of St. Stanislaus, and their various abridged versions, often appeared in preachers' manuscripts together with sermons. Preachers used various versions of the hagiographic sources about St. Stanislaus, which are often simplified and generalised, overlooking their textual and functional differences. The inclusion of preachers' collections into such enquiry may be very illuminating. This study was also able to show some of the variations in such collections in the chapter devoted to the relation of sermons and hagiography in Chapter 3.

Chapter 1.2 provided an overview of liturgical works related to St. Stanislaus. The studies of Schenk and Dziwisz proved to be indispensable, although a systematic study of the liturgical manuscripts is necessary, one that recognised and explored temporal, geographical and other differences, like the study by Danielski for the liturgy of St. Adalbert.

I then proceeded from preaching as an activity to sermons as written texts preserved in manuscripts. Chapter 2 described the occasions for preaching on the basis of sources other than sermon manuscripts. In order to evaluate the distribution and impact of preaching on the cult of St. Stanislaus, it was necessary to define the feasts of St. Stanislaus, to distinguish between the feast of martyrdom and the feast of translation, and to analyse the status and diffusion of the feasts. The feasts were observed with limited success in isolated places outside Polish lands, which I described concisely in Chapter 2.2.2. I attempted to reconstruct the prescriptions for observance of the feast as comprehensively as possible on the basis of a variety of normative sources and accessible liturgical books. Most importantly, the overview demonstrated the great significance of the feasts of St. Stanislaus especially in Cracow, and also in other Polish dioceses (2.2.1, 2.2.3). The festivities of such elevated status required sermons to be delivered in these areas, not only to a small group of clergy, but

also to a broad public, who were engaged in the celebrations. The overview of the feast observance confirmed my assumption that a variety of sermons designed for various audiences was to be found in preachers' manuscripts, because of the significance of the feasts of St. Stanislaus especially in Cracow and Poland. Chapter 2.2.4 presented an overview of information about the prescriptions for preaching. One of the important contributions of this chapter is the identification of particular opportunities for the delivery of sermons on St. Stanislaus, especially during the annual assemblies of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (and rarely also synods) which took place on the feasts of St. Stanislaus and provided a distinct framework for a special group of sermons on St. Stanislaus – the sermons delivered *ad clericum*.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive overview of the sermon corpus that I managed to gather, a listing of which is presented in the appendices for the first time. The chapter considered a variety of materials in preachers' manuscripts, revealing the sermons in various stages of elaboration, and paying attention to their different forms of transmission and function in codices. Although a number of texts remain anonymous and are difficult to set precisely in time and place, an overview of the authors and users of sermons on St. Stanislaus resulting in some interesting observations. Unfortunately, especially for the period before the turn of the fifteenth century, many sermons have not been preserved, a limitation which does not allow the developments and changes to be tracked over time from the canonisation up to the fifteenth century more thoroughly. However, there is more surviving evidence from the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. A number of persons connected with Cracow University composed or copied sermons on St. Stanislaus, giving further support to Długosz's enthusiastic praise for the university's efforts in training and supplying preachers. In the late fourteenth century the university became a centre of learning for an entire generation of Polish intellectuals, who had studied at Prague University before returning to Poland. A number of these intellectuals would later compose sermons on St. Stanislaus. The university also facilitated the increased production of sermon manuscripts, their exchange, and also an exchange of ideas which formed a repertory of motifs for sermons on St. Stanislaus. These identified authors of sermons were often active between several centres – the university, the cathedral and the city, and sometimes their Order, and so on. Thus, the texts circulated whenever students and alumni from Cracow brought their sermon manuscripts with them to their new prebend, parish or convent. This study indicates that the further study of preaching by such university masters and alumni of the Cracow University promises interesting results.

Chapter 4 is a case study of one of the sermon by Peregrinus of Opole, a Dominican friar, composed at the turn of the fifteenth century. I realised that it would not be possible to analyse all collected sermons in a thoroughgoing manner and chose instead to study this particular one in more

detail. The sermon by Peregrinus is a model sermon from his collection *de sanctis*. It is perhaps the oldest preserved sermon text about St. Stanislaus. At the same time, it was the most widespread sermon on St. Stanislaus in the Middle Ages, and continued to be used by preachers throughout the fifteenth century as well. There are as many as 17 copies and four other redactions of Peregrinus' sermon, and a number of other sermons borrowed various elements from it. I described the sermon in detail, looking for Peregrinus' sources in literature and local hagiography, and demonstrating his method of composition. A part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the sermon's reception in various forms. Some historians had wondered about the reception of the *de sanctis* collection, and this sermon is evidence of the success of Peregrinus' work. Still, the manuscript tradition of Peregrinus' collections awaits more thorough study. The gathered dossier of sermons on St. Stanislaus enabled me to trace borrowings from the sermon by Peregrinus to sermons by other authors, which makes it perhaps the most successful medieval sermon on St. Stanislaus.

The patterns which had already appeared in the sermon by Peregrinus were visible in the entire set of sermons on St. Stanislaus. I focused on two aspects of the representation of sanctity, the admirable and the imitable. This study demonstrated that although St. Stanislaus belonged to the traditional type of saintly bishops and martyrs, which were otherwise declining in popularity in the late Middle Ages, he was also much more. A significant group of sermons presented him as a good shepherd, including a number of sermons on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus*. Some of these sermons were meant particularly for clerical audiences, to whom Stanislaus was presented as a role model in the period of increased efforts to reform the clergy. A number of elements which appeared in sermons on Stanislaus were not specific to this genre, but appeared in sermons on other occasions as well, given the rich tradition of the good shepherd motif. Additionally, St. Stanislaus was also presented as an exemplar to secular lords, and, to a lesser extent, to ordinary Christians. Doctrinal instruction was an important element of the preaching on saints, in some cases even more important in sermons than the moral lesson from the saints' lives. These matters were present in sermons on St. Stanislaus as well, the most important point being perhaps the teaching about the Passion and the Resurrection, which was a natural concern of the sermons about the Good Shepherd, Christ, and corresponded especially to the position of Stanislaus' feast of martyrdom in the Easter period of the liturgical cycle.

The admirable aspect was also represented in sermons on St. Stanislaus. Preachers frequently presented him as an effective protector, a patron not only of individuals, but also of the community of Cracow, of Poland and of the Poles. Preachers usually did not promote the anti-royal aspects of the cult of St. Stanislaus, but rather focused on the elements which had a more unifying purpose. If they



addressed the issue of secular and spiritual power, they usually talked about the ideal balance, extolling the prestige of the Church dignitaries, and urging secular lords to cooperate.

Knowledge of the corpus enabled me to consider new questions and further avenues of research. I identified some themes which deserve more attention in future, such as, for example, comparative studies concerning sermons on other bishop saints, including Sts. Thomas Becket, Adalbert, and other saints canonised in the same period, such as Peter the Martyr. Such studies could shed more light concerning the function and position of such cults in the late Middle Ages. The next objective is an electronic edition of the collected sermons on St. Stanislaus, only a portion of which is presented in the Appendix to the dissertation. A catalogue of the hagiographic motifs related to St. Stanislaus with their occurrences in sermons, but also in other sources, would be fruitful for further analyses of various motifs connected with St. Stanislaus. This dissertation has provided a platform for such enquiries.

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## Appendix 1: The Register of Sermons on St. Stanislaus ordered by Themata

The sermons are identified by their *thema*, the *incipit* (including the *divisio thematis*, which distinguishes the text from other sermons which may have the same *incipit* in some cases where possible), and the *explicit*. The explicit is also important, as it can help identify and distinguish sermon texts, which may have identical or similar *thema* and *incipit*. The name of the author is provided, if he is known. In the cases with uncertain attribution, the author's name is followed by an asterisk\*. The identification data are followed with an indication of manuscripts, and in few cases also editions, in which the sermon texts appear. In a few cases, the circumstances of delivery or special conditions of composition of the sermon are noted.

The texts are presented in the following order for practical reasons: first, the important sermon by Peregrinus of Opole, then other sermons on the same *thema* as the sermon by Peregrinus, *Talis decebat* [Heb 7,26]. Then the texts on the prominent *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10,11] together with other verses from the same pericope [Io. 10,11-16] follow (for the publication, I intend to organise them in chronological order within the group, where possible). A special position of these two groups has sense because of their prominent position among sermons on St. Stanislaus, but also because of their particular discussion in the dissertation. I grouped *themata* from the same biblical verse. After these two groups, the sermons are classified according to *themata* in alphabetical order. The last group is represented by remaining sermons and sermon materials with no *thema*.

Note: In some cases the sermons contained an introductory part, which cannot always be considered a prothematic part in its full sense. In that case I provide the *incipit* and *explicit* of this part as well, in order to make identification of the text easier.

### Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Thema: *Talis enim decebat, ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: *In his verbis tria dicuntur de beato Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas nota, cum dicitur 'pontifex.' Secundo eius sanctitas... Tercio eius felicitas sive mansio...*

Explicit: *...Signa autem incisionis, cum incisus fuerat equus in pelle manserunt pro testimonio.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1617, f. 106v-108v**

**Cracow, Archiwum Prowincji Ojców Dominikanów (Archives of the Province of the Dominican Order in Cracow), L XV 28, 114v-116v**

**BUWr I F 527 f. 249-250**

**BUWr I Q 280, f. 181-183v**

**BUWr I Q 355, f. 121-123v**

**BUWr IV Q 177, f. 164-165**

**BUWr I Q 286, f. 198r-201r**

**BUWr I Q 335, f. 168r-170v**

**Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 442, f. 66r-68v**

**Kórnik I D 53, f. 123v-125v**

**Prague Chapter Library F 65/2, f. 46r-48r**

**Prague Chapter Library F 71, f. 207r-209r**

**Uppsala C 201, f. 196v-198v**

**Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Biblioteka Katedralna (Archdiocesan Archives, Cathedral Library) MS. 24, f. 104v-106v**

Other manuscripts:<sup>1</sup>

**Gdańsk, Biblioteka Miejska PAN (Municipal Library), 2016**

**Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14570, f. 135v<sup>2</sup>**

**Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2948; Clm 9594a; Clm 14 585, f. 210r; Clm 17201; Clm 18706<sup>3</sup>**

Edition: *In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris*. In Peregrini de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. Ed. R. Tatarzyński. Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum PP. Dominicanorum, 1997, 584-591.

Polish translation: In Peregryn z Opola, *Kazania «de tempore» i «de sanctis»*. Ed. J. Wolny and transl. J. Mrukówna. Cracow–Opole: Papieska Akademia Teologiczna, Wydział Historii Kościoła – Opole, Uniwersytet Opolski, 2001, 463-468.

Partial edition/transcription of the Polish glosses in the Gniezno MS.: In *Kazania gnieźnienskie. Podobizna, transliteracja, transkrypcja* (Gniezno Sermons. Form, Transliteration, Transcription), ed. S. Vrtel-Wierczyński, 105-6. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1953.

### Sermon IB: redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

{[Prothema(?)] *Ille autem servus qui cognovit voluntatem domini sui, et non preparavit, et non facit secundum voluntatem ejus, vapulabit multis; qui autem non cognovit, et fecit digna plagis, vapulabit paucis.* [Lc 12,47-48]}

Incipit: *Servus sciens voluntatem domini sui, et facit, accepit cum hoc ab ipso precium suum...*

Explicit: ... *Pro qua etiam sibi celestem hereditatem acquisivit, ut audietis in eius legenda.*

Repetitio thematis: *Idcirco merito incepti verba proposita sic: ‘Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex etc.’*

Incipit sermonis: *In premissis verbis tria nobis proposita de sancto Stanislao. Primo eius dignitas, quia pontifex fuit. Secundo eius sanctitas, cum dicitur sanctus, innocens. Tercio sua felicitas sive mansio, quam protunc habet, cum dicitur ‘excelsior celis factus.’*

Explicit: *Altare insuper consecratum est in eadem Basilica in honore eiusdem martyris in sempiternum memoriale ipsius mirifice sanctitatis. Iam non plus. Sed petamus beatum Stanislaum, ex quo episcopus erat, ut nobis concedere dignetur, qui vivit ac tunc post hoc magna mirabilia facta sunt. Vide de equo mortuo, vide in alphabetum a.b.c.d.e. etc.*

Manuscript:

**Cracow, PAN/PAU Library, MS. 1707, f. 167r-170v**

### Sermon IC: a Redaction of the Sermon by Peregrinus – De s. Bonifacio

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: *In hiis verbis tria dicuntur de sancto Bonifacio. Primo eius dignitas, quia ‘pontifex’ dicitur. Secundo sua sanctitas... Tercio sua felicitas...*

Explicit: ... *passus est vero...anno peregrinationis sue XL, scilicet incarnationis Domini D CC LVo, etc.*

<sup>1</sup> These are the manuscripts that I could not examine and verify.

<sup>2</sup> The two preceding manuscripts contain the sermon on St. Stanislaus according to Peregrinus, *Sermones*.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Polonica w średniowiecznych rękopisach bibliotek monachijskich*, ed. J. Wolny, M. Markowski, Z. Kuksewicz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969).



Manuscript: **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hamilton 50, f. 211-213**

[Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, 560, no. 138: *In festo sancti Bonifatii.*]

Sermon ID: an Old Czech Redaction of the Sermon by Peregrinus

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: - *Tato slova pysse swaty Pawel o swatem Stanislawu a rzka: Slussyasto, aby taky byl biskupem, swaty a newynny, a wysy nebes. W tych slowech mozem trogy wycz znamenaty o swatem Stanyslawye: geho dostogenstwy ... druhe geho swatost ... tehdy geho odplata weczna...*

Explicit: ... *A tak zaprzyahssye ten kuon, giedechu radostnye k swatemu Stanyslawu, a ten dyw kanownykuom powyedechu. Prossmyz etc.*

Manuscript:

**MS. Biblioteka Tarnowskich w Dzikowie (Library of Tarnowski Family in Dzikow), f. 210r-211r - lost after WWII (?)**

Edition: Władysław Wisłocki. "Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne w języku łacińskim i czeskim z początku XV w. podług kodeksu biblioteki hr. Tarnowskich w Dzikowie" (Dominical and Festive Sermons in Latin and Czech Language from the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century in the Codex of the Tarnowski Library in Dzikow). In *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego PAU 3* (1875), 329-335.

The sermon identified by Wisłocki as no. 82 in the part *Sermones de sanctis et festis* (ibid., 277).

Sermon Material IE: A Redaction of the Sermon by Peregrinus – A Hagiographical Fragment

Incipit: *De sancto Stanizlao legitur, quod Boleslaus fuit tantus tyrannus, quod ubicumque transibat in terra...*

Explicit: ...*signa tamen, quibus incisus fuit equus in pelle, pro testimonio manserunt. Rogemus ergo eum.*

Manuscript:

**Uppsala C 324, f. 88r-90r**

Sermon II: Anonymous

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: [Introductory part] *Apostolus in hodierna epistola dicit: Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus... qua sanctitas bene notatur cum dicitur: 'Talis enim decebat etc.' - Hodie mater ecclesia celebrat et peragit diem festum sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris gloriosi ... Et ideo verba premissa bene et convenienter congruunt sibi et sue innocencie, que scribit Apostolus de Christo: [divisio thematis] In quibus sanctus Stanislaus commendatur a tribus: Primo a dignitate quam habuit, quia pontifex extitit cum dicitur: 'Talis decebat ut esset pontifex.' Secundo a sanctitate, innocencie et mundicia... Tercio a beatitudine et celesti mansione, quam consecutus est... Explicit: *Sic anima sancti Stanislai in his quattuor locis fuit cruciata: in capite duorum vulnerum impressione, in sanguine ipsius anime effusione, in corde et toto corpore in ipsius totali secacione. Et ideo merito celis alior factus est etc.**

Manuscript:

**Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450r-451v**

Sermon III: Matthew of Koło/de Colo and Clement VI

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: *Hic, karissimi, iuxta sacrorum canonum instituta illum decet esse pontificem...*

Explicit: *...qui nominat se esse distinctum. Et hoc ex parte recipiendum.*

Manuscript:

**BJ 836, f. 158v-159v**

A redaction of a sermon on St. Nicholas composed by Pope Clement VI (Petrus Roger, Pope 1342-52).

The sermon (Inc.: *Videtur mihi ut illum decet*) is listed in Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, 767 (no. 88). It was delivered in the year 1326 (or 1327?) in Paris. [Quite confusingly, the identical sermon, most probably, is also listed among later sermons in Schneyer, *Repertorium CD* three times: in the collection by Johannes de Cardalhão, no. 57 – identified as a sermon by Petrus Roger; in a collection *Konzilspredigten*, no. 70 under the date Dec 6, 1415; in a collection by Paulus Cholner, no. 104 (from Clm 14590). The most precise reference to the sermon is found in the work of Nighman and Stump, which lists the manuscript copies, including a Cracow manuscript cited here, and supplies their bibliography; Chris Nighman and Phillip Stump, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414-1418)*, available at the website: 2006 BibSite, The Bibliographical Society of America (<http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump>). A description of the register by the same authors is found in "A New Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Speeches Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414-18)," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50 (2006): 71-84; Pope Clement's sermon mentioned on p. 74. The sermon is found in a collection of sermons from the Council of Constance, e.g. in the manuscript BJ 1648 (f. 70r-74r, "De sancto Nicolao pontifice Clementis pape VI").

Sermon IV: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Thema: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* [Heb 7, 26]

Incipit: *Quinque bona ostendit Apostolus habuisse nostrum episcopum, contra quinque mala que tunc erant in Cracovia...*

Explicit: *... filii occiderunt patrem in medio matris.*

Manuscript:

**BJ 1635, f. 93v-94v**

Sermon V: Paul of Zator

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Excellentissimus pastor, Dei Filius, cum non haberet ab eterno quos pasceret, creavit genus humanum...*

Explicit: *... huius vite pastum perveniamus et immittamur ad caulas regni celorum. Quod nobis.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 491, p. 194-197**

**BJ 1506, f. 81-83r**

**BJ 4248, f. 53r-55v**

**BUWr I Q 354, f. 98r-100r**

**Cracow Chapter Library MS. 154, f. 313v-315v**

Sermon VI: Paul of Zator

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Non dudum audivimus, quomodo Dominus noster discipulis de sua resurrectione...*

Explicit: *...ut ab his pascuis temporalibus ad pasqua eterna pervenire valeamus.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 491, p. 197-199**

**BJ 1506, f. 83r-84r**

**BJ 4248, f. 55v-58r**

**BUWr I Q 354, f. 100v-102r**

Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Hoc evangelium legitur de Iesu Christo Domino nostro, qui passus est, mortuus et a morte surrexit...* [Divisio non thematis] *Circa hoc evangelium dicam primo de bonitate Dei, secundo de bonitate Christi, prout est pastor, cuius bonitas hic ex tribus declaratur...*

Explicit: *O, quam bonum et iocundum habitare fratres in unum, quia in tali unitate precipitur remissio peccatorum et acquiritur salus sempiterna. Hanc diligenciam habebat sanctus Stanislaus.*

The sermon (found within a collection of sermons on saints and feasts) is followed by a legend in manuscripts (except for BJ 2364):

- *Beatus Stanislaus, nacione Polonus, ex provincia Cracoviensi processit ... Dominus sanctum suum mirificavit, longitudinem superfugiens narrare omitto. Alia in translacione eius vide.* [a redaction of the *Vita*, MPH 4, 253-283; the same text: BJ 1550, f. 172v-179v]

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1415, f. 198v-201r**

**BJ 2364, f. 276-280**

**Cracow Chapter Library MS. 157, f. 65r-67r**

**Cracow, PAU/PAN Library MS. 1709, f. 145r-151r**

## Sermon VIII: Nicolaus/Mikołaj of Kozłów

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Verba hec originaliter scribuntur Iohannis X et recitative lecta sunt in presentis festivitatis ewangelio. [Prothema:] Quia in Actibus Apostolorum cap. VI [, 4], ubi dicitur: 'Nos vero oracioni et predicacioni insistemus' ... ad matrem gracie cum fiducia accedemus, offerentes ei illud angelicum Ave. [Sermo: thema et incipit] – 'Ego sum pastor bonus' loco et capitulo preallegatis. - Reverendissimi reverendique patres doctores egregii, ceterique domini mei merito honorandi. Cum ex Deo nobis est et causa subsistendi, et ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi...*

Explicit: *... Quam, ut convencius impetremus Matrem, que pastorem bonum concepit, peperit et pavit, humiliter angelica salutacione honoremus, dicentes mente pia et serena: Ave Maria.*

In MS. Oxford Balliol the sermon is truncated at words: *Solum ergo amator virtutis, contemptor honoris, qui ex omnibus in omnibus*||

Circumstances of delivery: martyrdom feast 1435, Council of Basel

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1614, f. 74v-81**

**Oxford, Balliol College MS. 165a, p. 744-748**

## Sermon VIIIB: A Redaction [Absque initio, a different order]

Incipit: *Cum ex Deo nobis sit causa subsistendi et ratio intelligendi et ordo vivendi ... – Ego sum pastor bonus. Que fuerunt verba loco thematis proposita. – In quibus verbis ad enarracionem vite et mortis gloriosi martyris ac pontificis beati Stanislai olim episcopi Cracoviensis ... in omnibus angustiis et necessitatibus speramur relevari, sed et relevamur per Christum...*

Explicit: *... dicentes mente pia et serena. Ave Maria gracia plena.*

Manuscript:

**BJ 1354, p. 182-186**

## Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: [Prothema] *Venerandi [variant Reverendi in Skalka MS.] patres et domini. Culmen sanctitatis beati Stanislai antistitis relatuero mens stuporis raptu in fando perplectitur. [sermo] - Ego sum pastor. - Venerandi patres et domini. Quia hodie gloriosi pastoris nostri beati Stanislai triumphus celebratur, prestat, ut de nobis ipsis sermo reddatur super eo...*

Explicit: *Hoc attendens beatus presul Stanislaus verbo salutis plebem suam edocuit, nec non et corpus suum proprium supererogavit. Nam ut in historia passionis eius legitur...*

The sermon in the collection is followed by a short redaction of the legend of St Stanislaus (which thus represents an integral part of the model text in the collection):

*[Stanislaus presul beatus nacione Polonus de villa que Scepanowicze dicitur prope Cracoviam esse natus. Hic ab infancia Spiritu Sancto repletus studiis liberalibus... Sicque corpus sancti martyris sepulture tradiderunt, Deo gracias egerunt. Ad cuius tumbam multa facta sunt miracula ob tanti presulis merita. Regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo etc.]*

Circumstances of composition: 1409 in the collection *Exemplar salutis*

Manuscripts:

**Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, f. 313v-316v**

**Cracow, Archiwum Klasztoru Ojców Paulinów na Skalce (Archives of the Convent of Pauline Friars at Skalka) MS. B 4, p. 20-34**

**BUWr IV Q 161a, f. 42v-48**

**BUWr I F 567, f. 187r-189r**

**BUWr I F 594, f. 5r-9r**

**Wrocław, Ossolineum, MS. 1490/II, p. 227-237**

**Cracow, Chapter Library 158 – lost with the beginning of the MS.**

Other identified manuscripts of the *Exemplar salutis*, which I have not verified and examined in person:

**Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library, BN) III 4031**

**BJ Acc. 140/51 from Dzikow**

**Kielce, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego (Higher Seminary Library), fund: Chapter Library (hereafter Kielce) 2**

**Warsaw, BN 3018 (- lost?)**

**Berlin, Staats Theol. Fol. 418**

**Sankt Petersburg, Public Library Lat. I Folio 111**

**BUWr I F 595**

### Sermon X: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus* [Io. 10,11]

Incipit: *Quoniam sanctus Stanislaus patronus noster dignissimus, clamat hodie in thematis assumpti verbis de pastoralis bonitate ...*

Explicit [BJ 1638]: *... hic est qui multum orat pro populo et universa sancta civitate, ad quem recurramus, ut nobis gloriam regni celestis impetret. Ad quod regnum nos perducatur.*

Explicit [BJ 1357]: *... et gratiam in presenti, in futuro autem gloriam eternam. Quam nobis ... Spiritus Sanctus.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1638, f. 71-74r**

**BJ 1357, p. 534-538**

### Sermon XI: Anonymous

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis.* [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Fratres dilecti, mater sancta Ecclesia duo festa hodie celebrat de sancto Stanislao annuatim...* [divisio thematis] *Sed quia ad verum pastorem pertinent tria, videlicet doctrina bona, exempla et sancta vita...*

Explicit: *Hoc fecit sanctus Stanislaus, de quo legit, videlicet supra, eius legenda. Quere in primo sexterno.*

Manuscript:

**Kórnik MS. 53, f. 122v-123v**

## Sermon XII: Anonymous

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Sancta mater Ecclesia duo festa celebrat annuatim in laudem et honorem beati Stanislai, martyris et pontificis gloriosi, videlicet passionis tempore pascalis et translacionis... [divisio thematis] in quibus verbis duo sunt notanda: Primo sanctitas beati Stanislai... Secundo nota utilitas populi...*

Explicit: *... interempcionis iniuste beati Stanislai, prout melius patet in ipsius legenda, quam breviter dicam: Sanctus Stanislaus etc.*

Manuscript:

**BJ 1626, f. 152v-153r**

## Sermon XIII: Anonymous (a redaction of the sermon by John-Jerome?)

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: [Introduction/Prothema Part] *Filii carissimi, hodie gloriosi pastoris nostri sancti Stanislai martyris dies celebratur, ut nos hunc pastorem bonis operibus sequeremur... [Thema] Ego sum pastor bonus. [Sermo] In istis igitur verbis sancti evangelii tria tanguntur, que pertinentur ad vitam cuiuslibet boni pastoris, videlicet amor Dei, et proximi, et sui ...*

Explicit: *... Sic sanctus Stanislaus verbo salutis oves edocuit, in fine et corpus proprium pro eisdem penis exposuit, prout in historia legitur.*

Manuscript:

**Wroclaw, Ossolineum MS. 414, 244v-245r**

## Sermon XIV: Anonymous

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: – [Introduction/Prothema Part – cf. Sermon no. LXIV in MS. Ossolineum 414] *Adam et Eva prothoparentes nostri propter peccatum inobediencie de paradiso voluptatis in angustias huius mundi sunt eiecti. ... Sed de miro bonorum fuit beatus pontifex Stanislaus quasi Abel secundus qui pro ouibus suis et ecclesia corpus suum et particulas dedit scindere. Et ergo dicitur bonus pastor, sicut hodiernum evangelium testatur etc. – [Pericopa] Ego sum pastor bonus ... Et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor etc. – [Sermo? –missing development?] Secundum beatum Gregorium et Dominus dicit ‘Negociamini dum venio’ [Lc 19,13] et quod supererogaveris, reddam vobis [Lc 10,35]. Hoc attendans beatus presul Stanislaus verbo salutis plebam suam edocuit, nec non et corpus proprium supererogavit.*

[Legenda] *Nam ut in historia passionis eius legitur, quod Stanislaus presul beatus nacione polonus de villa que dicitur Szczepanovicze prope Cracoviam est natus... salvamque sanam post hoc ad tumbam cum voto quod veneret adduxit. Amen dicant omnia etc...*

Manuscript: **Wroclaw, Chapter Library 43, 153v-154v**

## Sermon XV: Anonymous

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: [Introductio] – *Legitur in Gestis Romanorum: Erat quidam imperator, qui habuit quidam nemus... Ecce care fili, quid fecit iste pastor, idest Christus dominus et salvator noster. Qui de seipso dicit in presenti evangelio et fuerunt verba mea proposita: [Thema] ‘Ego sum pastor bonus’; et subiurgens exponit bonitate dicens: quia ‘pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis.’*

[Sermo] *Et talis bonus pastor fuit Sanctus Episcopus et martyr Stanislaus, qui largiter animam suam pro ovibus suis, pro secundo etiam celestem hereditatem sibi acquisivit. Breviter incepti verba evangelii sit 'Ego sum pastor bonus' [Divisio thematis] pro quo notandum cause licet varie posent assignari que requiruntur ad bonum pastorem, tamen specialiter iste tres pertinent ad quemlibet spiritualem pastorem: Primo, ut cognoscat oves suas, bonas eligendo. Secundo ... ut oves precedat, exempla virtutum ipsis ostendendo. Tercio, ut animam suam ponat pro ovibus suis moriendo...*

Explicit: ... *Sic quod etiam animam suam exemplo Domini sui Iesu Christi pro ovibus suis posuit, pro ergo etiam celeste hereditatem acquisivit, ut patet in eius legenda...*

Manuscript: **Cracow, PAU/PAN Library 1707, f. 171r-172r**

### Sermon XVI: Anonymous

Thema: ***Ego sum pastor bonus.*** [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *In hiis verbis duo sunt facienda, primum est imitacio boni pastoris, puta Christi. Secundo executio cuius ...*

Explicit: ... *et fiat unum ovile et unus pastor. Tunc dicit illud Mt. XXV [34]: 'Venite benedicti, patris mei percipite regnum.'* Ad quod nos perducatur Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

Manuscript: **BUWr I O 117, f. 137r-138v**

### Sermon XVII: Anonymous

Thema: ***Ego sum pastor bonus.*** [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Circa textum est notandum, quod Christus dixit 'Ego sum pastor bonus.' Nota quod ille dicitur esse bonus pastor, qui oves suas bene pascit, a lupo defendit et ad ovile conducit...*

Explicit: [203v] ... *Secundo ut hodie et istud festum est ipsius sancte canonisationis seu translacionis, cuius historia sequitur.*

[Legenda] *Corpus gloriosissimi episcopi beatississimi Stanislai... [expl. 205r] ... ut ipse nos suis meritis perducatur ad regna celestia, rogemus. Translacio sancti Stanislai facta est anno d. MCC53...*

Manuscript: **Wroclaw, Ossolineum, MS 824/I, f. 201r-203v**

### Sermon XVIII: Anonymous

Thema: ***Bonus pastor dat animam*** [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Beatus Stanislaus in verbis istis commendatur a duobus. Primo commendatur a vite merito sive dignitatis officio ...*

Explicit: ... *tam in vita quam in morte. Et nunc beatificavit illum in gloria.*

Manuscript: **Sankt Florian Stiftsbibliothek MS XI. 262, f. 245v-246r**

### Sermon XIX: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

Thema: ***Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis.*** [Io. 10, 11]

Incipit: *Quamvis hec verba possunt summi de Domino Iesu Christo, tamen possunt intelligi de sancto Stanislao...*

Explicit: ... *Quia quemcumque lupo leo pede rapit, moritur. Sic ille quem rapit peccatum moritur eternaliter.*

Manuscript: **Cracow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich MS. 3793 II, p. 273-274**

### Sermon XX: Anonymous

Thema: *Ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me mee* [Io. 10, 14]

Incipit: *Karissimi, legimus in dictis sanctorum Evangelistarum Christus Dominus et redemptor noster dicebat se in parabolis: primo paterfamilias, aliquando regem, aliquando pastorem bonum*

...

Explicit: *... si in ea morietur, vivo ego Dominus animam eius de manu tua requiram*|| [possibly missing end]

Manuscripts: **Wroclaw, Ossolineum, MS. 824, f. 173r-175r**

Preaching materials - Gospel pericopes with glossa and notes: Io. 10, 11-16

### Sermon Material XXI A

[Pericopa] Io.10.11-16; Glossa; (f. 187v-189r:) cf. Schneyer 1, 127, no. 44, T 30 (Albertus de Padua, OESA Postilla)

Incipit: *Istud evangelium habetur Iohannis X. prope principium, et legitur in festo sancti Stanislai, et eciam in prima dominica post octavas pasce.*

Manuscript: **BJ 188, f. 187r**

### Sermon Material XXI B [a longer version of Sermon Material XXI?]

[Pericopa:] In festo s. Stanislai et in prima dominica post oct. Paschae, Io. 10,11-16.

Glossa interlinearis, ordinaria et marginalis cum glossis Polonicis.

Incipit: *Istud evangelium habetur Ioh. X prope principium et legitur in festo sancti Stanislai et eciam in prima dominica post octavas Pasche... – Ego sum pastor bonus [Io. 10,11]. – Nota, quod pastores ecclesie non solum debent exteriora bona ovibus misericorditer inpendere... Nota. Pastoris namque officium est oves pascere... ... non pascantur sicut electi. Unde Gregorius: Pascua electorum sunt vultus Dei Patris etc.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1299, f. 72r**



### Sermon XXII: Anonymous

Thema: *Ante translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [Heb 11,5]<sup>4</sup>

Incipit: *Carissimi, sicut dicit Cassiodorus libro primo Epistolarum, Epistola XXIa 'Nemo potest diligere quod habitatores intelligit non amare.'* ... [Divisio thematis] *In quibus nota tria: Primo ipsius beati Stanislai translacionem gloriosam. Secundo ipsius translacionis testimonium laudabile... Tercio ipsius quantum ad Deum gratam complacenciam...*

Explicit: ... *Concordia proximorum et caritas eterna, vir et mulier sibi consencientes, vir iste est Christus, mulier est anima fidelis que sibi consenciunt, hic per gratiam et in future per gloriam. Ad quam deducat nos etc.*

Manuscript:

**Sandomierz, Seminary Library, MS. 428, f. 81v-83v**

### Sermon XXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Thema: *Ante translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [MS.: *Enoch translatus est. Eccl. 11* - erroneously] [Heb 11,5]

Incipit: *Duplex festum tangitur hic, dic, scilicet Ascensionis et beati Stanislai...*

Explicit: ... *Unde solvitur modo proverbiorum illud clericorum, quod dicitur 'filii occiderunt patrem in medio matris.'*

Manuscript:

**BJ 1635, f. 94v**

### Sermon XXIV: Anonymous

Thema: *Ante translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [MS.: *Testimonium habuit placuisse Deo*] [Heb 11,5]

Incipit: *Hec verba sunt apostoli ad commendacionem Enoch, et bene conveniunt beato Stanislao, cuius hodie festum colimus...*

Explicit: ... *ad invocacionem beati Stanislai omni lesione liberatus est.*

Manuscript: **Prague, Chapter Library F46, f. 80r**

### Sermon XXV: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

Thema: *Assimilatus est filio Dei* [Heb 7,3]

Incipit: *Et hoc in duobus: primo in sancta conversacione, secundo in dolorosa passione.*

Explicit: ... *ita postquam cepit sanctus Stanislaus miraculis coruscare, Boleslaus rex penitencie ductus fugit in Ungariam, et ibidem male decessit, quod in legenda sua habet, etc.*

Manuscript: **BCzart 3793 II, p. 271r-v (inserted smaller page)**

### Sermon XXVI: Anonymous

Thema: *Beatus dives qui inventus sine macula. Stabilita sunt bona illius in Domino.* [Ecci 31, 8. 11] [in MS. erroneously Eccli XIII]

Incipit: [pars 1] *Videmus quod quilibet rex cupit habere servos mundos, qui placent in oculis suis... Hec verba dixit Salomon rex Spiritum Sanctum longe de sancto Stanislao, qui fuit nobiles et dives, quia fuit sine macula, igitur beatus. Pro quo nota, quod quatuor sunt macule detestabiles in lege, qui sine illis invenientur beatus erit...* [pars 2] *Bona sua erunt stabilita in Domino, pro quo nota, quadam stabilita sunt in Domino, quedam in corpore...*

<sup>4</sup> The following texts and manuscripts give various wordings of this biblical verse as the thema. I decided to list them under this verse for easier orientation. See also Appendix 4. [VC: Fide Henoch translatus est ne videret mortem, et non inveniebatur, quia transtulit illum Deus: ante translationem enim testimonium habuit placuisse Deo.]

Explicit: ... *isti sancti noluerunt accipere pecuniam ab hominibus propter curacionem corporis, ut possint stabilire bona sua in Domino, utque in legenda. Rogemus.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1646, f. 237r-239r**

### Sermon XXVII: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

Thema: *Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consumavi, fidem servavi; ideo reposita est michi corona iusticie, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illum diem iustus iudex* [2 Tim 4,7] [in MS. erroneously 2 Tim 4,8]

Incipit: *Seneca: Aliud prelium minime est suscipiendum, nisi cum maior emolimenti [sic] spes quam dampni haberetur. Illud igitur certamen, quod pro Christo certatur, omnio est suscipiendum, quia magnum michi provenit emolimentum, sive vita eterna. Hec igitur verba possunt summi ad honorem beati Stanislai, qui fuit unus de strenuissimis militibus Christi, qui quidem certavit quadrupliciter...*

Explicit: ... *Hanc gloriam obtinuit beatus Stanislaus a Deo. Oremus eum, ut pro nobis intercedat.*

Manuscript: **BCzart 3793 II, p. 274-276**

### Sermon XXVIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Capillus de capite vestro non peribit.* [Lc 21, 18]

Incipit: *Pro verborum deduccione brevissima dicit beatus Augustinus...*

Explicit: ... *Ergo merito a nobis sunt venerandi et honorandi. Sic histories quam habes supra de eius festo post pascha.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I O 123, f. 106r-107v**

### Sermon XXIX: Anonymous

Thema: *Considerate pontificem confessionis nostre* [Heb 3,1-2]

Incipit: *Quamvis Apostolus hec verba proprie locutus sit de Domino nostro Iesu Christo...*

Explicit: *Igitur omnes tribulati petant, ut ipsos de tribulacionibus eripiat etc.*

Manuscript: **Kórník 1122, f. 178v-183**

Edition: Jerzy Zathay, "Nowe źródło do legendy o Bolesławie Śmiałym (z rękopisu Biblioteki Kórnickiej 1122)," *Roczniki biblioteczne* 5 (1961): 365-382.

### Sermon XXX: Anonymous

Thema: *Data est michi corona* [Ap. 6.2] [VC: et vidi et ecce equus albus et qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum et data est ei corona et exivit vincens ut vinceret, in MSS. Ap 2/Ap 3]

Incipit: *Videmus, quod quilibet largus pater familias bene operantibus solvit mercedem conventam. Sic pater celestis servitoribus suis mercedem celestem dabit. ...*

Explicit: ... *Talis fuit sanctus Stanislaus, qui tentacionibus fortiter resistit. Ideo coronam eternam percepit, quam dignetur dare Iesus Christus.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1609, f. 187v-188v**

**BJ 1646, f. 119r-119v**

**Kórník, MS I D 50, f. 74-75**

### Sermon XXXI A: Anonymous

Thema: *Dico vobis amicis meis: Ne terreamini ab his qui occidunt corpus et post hec non habent amplius quid faciant.* [Lc 12,4]

Incipit: *In hiis verbis Salvator noster fidelissimus fideles suos annuat ad tormenta passionis et mortis, propter spem beate retribucionis...* [Divisio thematis] *In predictis igitur verbis ad consolacionem fidelium suorum Dominus tria facit: Nam primo ad tolleranciam passionum eos*

*dulciter allicit... Secundo eos, ne pati expavescent, inducit... Tercio eis equivalentem remuneracionem promittit...*

Explicit: ... *Et non solum fecit corporalia miracula, sed etiam cottidie facit spiritualia, quando sua intercessione nobis impetrat sanitatem nostrarum animarum, remissionem videlicet peccatorum.*

Manuscript:

**I F 650, f. 133v-135r**

### Sermon XXXI B: A Redaction - Anonymous

The sermon lacks integrity, whole portions of the text and some parts are missing, some distinctions not developed. The flow of the sermon is interrupted at a point, and the text continually goes on with a legend of St Stanislaus. The points [2.3.3.6] and whole [3] are completely missing.

[Incipit] identical, the [divisio thematis] and a part of point [1] is missing.

[Explicit sermonis – interrupted] ... [2.3.3.5] *Quinta est, quia electum purgat. Ioh. 15 [.2]: ‘Omnem palmitem, qui fert fructum, purgabit eum, ut fructum plus afferat.’ Unde Gregorii: Quod flagellum grauo, quod lima ferro, quod forvax auro, hoc tribulacio viro iusto. – Sic purgatus est omnimode Sanctus Stanislaus martyr et episcopus Cracoviensis, de quo legenda habetur [Legenda: 227r-228r], quod eleganter [...] et in cultu Christiane religiosus natus, Deo devotus, mente pudicus, corpore castus, habitu reverendus. A parentibus literarum studiis traditus... [explicit legende] Ergo stupefacti omnes altare sic construxerunt et vexillum sue sanctitatis in ecclesia illa mansit.*

Manuscript:

**BUWr I F 605, f. 226v-228r**

### Sermon XXXII: Anonymous

Thema: *Dies adest celebris ad lucem de tenebris consurge Polonia* [Historia Rhythmica - Breviary Office Proper of St Stanislaus, Vespers Antiphon 1]

Incipit: *Hec enim mater ecclesia verba canit ad honorem sancti Stanislai. In quibus tria pro nostra doctrina possumus considerare: Primo exhortacionem... Ideo secundo in verbis premissis dat sancta mater Ecclesia modum surgendi... Tercio dat causam quare surgere debemus...*

Explicit: ... *Si Agnetis, Katherine, Margarethe, que fuerunt virgines, cur non Stanislai, qui etiam fuit virgo et pastor bonus qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, ipsas protegendo, ut patet in eius legenda, etc.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1609, f. 185v-186v**

**BJ 1646, f. 117r-118r**

[the previous two copies akin with each other, and the following two copies related]

These copies have a different explicit:

**Sandomierz 423, f. 184v-185r**

**Kielce 21/3, f. 314v-315r**

[after Kielce MS., variants in other MS.]

Incipit: *In quibus verbis tria pro nostra doctrina debemus considerare...*

Explicit: ... *Si Jeronimi, Augustini, qui fuerunt doctores universalis ecclesie, Et iste noster doctor, et spiritualis patronus, sub cuius vexillo oportet nos regnum celorum intrare. Et specialiter cum Papa canonisans sanctum Stanislaum adhibuit tantam solempnitatem cum candelis et luminibus, quam non legitur circa canonisacionem circa aliorum sanctorum fecisse, et celum etiam vexillum legitur misisse etc. De vita et de cuius passione vide in legenda.*

### Sermon XXXIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Ecce intellet servus meus et exaltabitur et elevabitur et sublimis erit valde* [Isa 52,13]

Incipit: *In hiis verbis tangitur quadruplex status sancti Stanislai...*

Explicit: ... *Qui pro nobis Deum omnipotentem perratur. Ipsum ergo martyrem Dei et pontificem precemur, ut ipse sue beatitudines conferat auxilium et intercedat pro nobis ad Dei Filium, ut in*

*presenti donet nobis gratiam et in futuro gloriam. Et cum hac siccitatem congraventem pluviam. Amen.*

Manuscript: **BCzart 3793 II, p. 1002-1008 et 1013-1014**

#### Sermon XXXIV: Anonymous (Jan of Šlupca?\*)

Thema: *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo.* [Eccli 44,16 – interpolation with Eccli 50,1; Epistle of the Common of Bishop Confessors]

Incipit: [Introductio] *Dicit Fulgencius: In verbis Domini tamquam ditissimis ferculis est copia celestium deliciarum ... Obmissis aliis, de proficientibus hic intenditur quibus sanctus iste sub magnitudine sua proponitur, ut discant sancti et magni fieri sicut ipse.* [Divisio thematis] – *In verbis igitur propositis tria intelliguntur: Primo enim magnus iste pontifex demonstratur, cum dicitur ‘Ecce sacerdos.’ Secundo demonstratus commendatur, cum dicitur ‘sacerdos magnus.’ Tercio commendatus probatur, cum subditur ‘qui in diebus suis placuit Deo.’*

Explicit: ... *Cuius nos participes facere dignetur Iesus Christus Dominus Deus noster per secula et in eternum benedictus. Amen.*

Manuscript: **BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 151r-153v**

#### Sermon XXXV: John Cantius\*

Thema: *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis. adeptus est gloriam in conversione gentis et quasi sol refulgens sic ille effulsit in templo, quasi sol [flos] rosarum in diebus vernis et quasi lilia que sunt in transitu aque et quasi thus redolens in diebus estatis quasi ignis effulgens et thus ardens in igne, quasi vas auri [solidum] ornatum omni lapide precioso, quasi oliva pullulans et cypressus in altitudinem se extollens.* [Eccli 50,1.5.7.8-11]

Incipit: *Sanctus Augustinus tractando illud Psalmus: ‘Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech’ dicit sacerdocium Melchisedech fuisse figuram sacerdotii Christi...*

Explicit: ... *Debet enim prelatus misericors esse ad proximum, sic quod non relinquat iusticiam in correptione viciorum. Dicit enim Gregorius: ‘Correccio tanto maior est adhibenda, quanto magis multiplicantur peccata.’ Qua peccata etc.*

Manuscript: **Vatican, Palat.Lat. 14182, f. 234r-237r**

#### Sermon XXXVI: Anonymous

Thema: *Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradysum terrestre, ut daret disciplinam gentibus.* [Sir 44.16?]<sup>5</sup>

Incipit [after BUWr I F 527]: *Per translacionem Enoch in paradysum terrestrem significatur translacio sancti Stanislai hodie in ecclesia militante...* [alternative incipit BJ 1609: *Legitur quod Enoch ante diluvium fuit homo iustissimus odiens privacionis legis, quem Deus nolens pati inter reprobos ulterius ipsum in paradysum transtulit ...*]

Explicit: ... *Innova igitur sancte Stanislave in nobis signum recordacionis passionis Christi et immuta vitam nostram per tuam intercessionem et post hanc perduc ad eternam. Amen, etc.*

Manuscripts:

**BUWr I F 527, f. 279v-281r**

**BUWr I Q 331, f. 269v-272r**

**BJ 1609, f. 308v-311r**

**Wroclaw, Chapter Library 135, 80v-82r**

<sup>5</sup> A problematic identification: VC: *Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso ut det gentibus penitentiam*; in MS. BJ 1609 erroneously: Gen 5, only Gen 5,22 possibly, although distant: *Et ambulavit Henoch cum Deo*]

### Sermon XXXVII: Anonymous

Thema: *Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso ut daret gentibus disciplinam* [Ecci 44,16].

Incipit: *Legitur quod Enoch ante diluuium fuit homo iustissimus odiens prevaricationis legis...*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1646, f. 233r-234r**

Explicit: ... *Ideo dicitur de eo Sapiencie IIII* [,10] '*Placens Deo factus est dilectus, et inter peccatores translatus est.*' *Quare in autumnno eius celebratur festum patet in legenda eius, quia canonisatus est, quod hic contigisse dicitur.*

**Kórník, MS. I D 50, f. 186-187** [in the MS. thema erroneously as Gen 5, cf. above Sermon no. XXXVI]

Explicit: ... *hec omnia habuit in se sanctus Stanislaus, ideo translatus est de periculoso loco ad securum, de loco laborioso huius mundi in locum quietum celi; ideo dicitur de eo 'Placens Deo factus dilectus et vivens inter peccatores translatus est'* [Sap 4,10], *ad quem locum vite eterne perducatur Iesus Christus.*

### Sermon XXXVIII: Anonymous (A More Distant Redaction of the Sermon XXXVII?)

Thema: *Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso ut daret gentibus disciplinam* [Ecci 44,16].

Incipit: *Legitur, quod Enoch filius Iareth ante diluuium fuit homo iustissimus incedens in viis domini, odiens prevaricationes legis...*

Explicit: ... *et sic per medium incendii transunt sine lesione. Et eciam hodie est festum Cosme et Damiani, ideo vitam eorum videamus infra.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1646, f. 234v-236v**

### Sermon XXXIX: Anonymous

Thema: *Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi corona glorie* [VC: vite] [Apoc 2,10]

Incipit: *Quia infidelitas in hodierno tempore regnat in omni statu hominum...*

Explicit: ... *Item sanctitatem eius probant diverse infirmitates. Sicut contingit cardinali, cum magister Iacobus cum aliis nunciis venisset Romam pro canonisatione beati Stanislai.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1619, f. 313v-315r**

### Sermon XL: Anonymous

Thema: *Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi corona glorie* [VC: vite] [Apoc 2,10]

Incipit: *Sanctus Ieronimus dicit, quod homo, qui vult pugnare et vincere, debet habere tria: primo discrecionem, secundo fortitudinem et tercio audaciam ...*

Explicit: ... *Et cum construxerunt ibi altare in honore sancti Stanislai et statuerunt ibi illud vexillum.* [legend follows]

Manuscripts:

**BJ 2340, f. 157r-160r**

**Skalka B 21, p. 573-582 (and legend 582-585)**

[Incipit legende] – *Sanctus Stanislaus prout Illud nacione Polonus de villa qua dicitur Sczepanoviicze, hic fuit repletus spiritu sancto adhuc in sua infancia...* [explicit legende] ... *et vellet pellem deponere, non invenit eam et sic reversi cum equo ad carucam perveniunt itaque in Cracoviam et meruerunt hic gratiam et post mortem vitam eternam. Ad quam nos perducatur etc.*

Sermon XLI: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Thema: *Fac tibi duos cherubin superductiles ex auro purissimo* [Ex 37,7 or 25, 18]<sup>6</sup>

Incipit: *Duo cherubin sunt beatus Stanislaus et beatus Venceslaus. Expone prius quoniam sunt duo cherubin, quorum est illuminare, purgare et inflammare et quomodo ex auro purissimo per innocenciam et quomodo ductiles per martyrium...*

Explicit: ... *Sic beatus Venceslaus pugnat pro Christo et Stanislaus prophetavit. Item per Simonem et Iudam. Vide in le[genda]. Item per b[eatum] Ven[ceslaum?] et Val[erianum]. Item Iosue et Eleazarum. Appropria, ut vis.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 146r-146v**

Sermon XLII: Anonymous

Thema: *Imitator redemptoris querens dragmam decimam more boni mercatoris margaritam optimam Stanislaus vir amoris corpus penis dans tortoris lucrifacit animam.* [Liturgy Proper: Vespers Antiphon no. 5 for the First Vespers of the translation feast, from the historia rhythmica *Dies adest celebris*, a breviary office proper for the feasts of St Stanislaus. See Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny*, 82.]

Incipit: [Introductio] *Sic canit sancta mater Ecclesia in honorem beati Stanislai pontificis et patroni nostri prestantissimi...* [Divisio thematis] *Beatus igitur Stanislaus imitatus est Christum tripliciter, scilicet in vita... secundo in morte... Tercio post mortem...*

Explicit: ... *Sic igitur ipsum laudantes et glorificantes proficiamus de virtute in virtutem, ut mereamur hic gratiam et in futuro gloriam. Quam nobis etc.*

Manuscript: **Sandomierz, Seminary Library, MS. 428, f. 149v-151v**

Sermon XLIII: Anonymous (Dominican)

Thema: *Innocentem et iustum non interficies* [Dan 13,53]

Incipit: - *Quanto in iudicio in pluribus ex maioribus declinatur a iusticia, tanto a iudicantibus committitur maior culpa immo infertur et multis aliis ...*

Explicit: ... *Sic sancti ab omni miseriam et adversitate securi tum Deo perpetuo iocundantur Psalmis: Exultabunt sancti in gloria letabuntur. Ad quam gloriam nos perducatur.*

Manuscript: **Cracow, Dominican Archives R XV 16, 270v-272v**

Sermon XLIV: Anonymous (Dominican)

Thema: *Iustus quicumque mortus preoccupatus fuit in refugio erit* [MS. erroneously Sap 10] [Sap 4,7]

Incipit: *Deputati veraciter ad aliquem finem vel terram, quibuscumque mediis sive viis deducantur...*

Explicit: ... *et vide quod non solum bonum iuste remanet iustis sed redundabit ad alios devotos eius quibus impendent beneficia glorie. Proverbiorum 10 [2]: 'Iusticia liberabit a morte ipsos et alios devotos.' Quod nobis etc.*

Manuscript: **Cracow, Dominican Archives R XV 16, 269r-270v**

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<sup>6</sup> Unclear identification of the thema. Two possibilities; VC: Ex 37,7: Duos eiam cherubim ex auro ductili, quos posuit ex utraque parte propiciatorii; Ex 25,18: Duos quoque cherubim aureos et productiles facies.

## Sermon XLV: Bartholomew of Jasło

Thema: *Iustus sicut leo* [Prov. 28,1; VC: *fugit impius nemine persequente iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit*]

Incipit: *Summe parens, eterne Deus, vivensque potestas... dona celesti perflans mea carbasa vento. – Quia dicente Apostolo II ad Cor. [3, 5]: non sufficientes simus cogitare aliquid ex nobis... et a quo celum et tota eius natura dependet, ex 12 Metaphysice Aristotelis. – Et hac invocacione premissa, que habetur ex libro quinto [, c. 5] Alani de Antiruffino, quam licet in alio actu hic proposueram ... quem mittam et quis ibit nobis, scilicet ad predicandum, Isaias ultro se obtulit dicens: ‘Ecce ego, mitte me,’ ut patet Is V. – [Thema] Hiis stantibus veniendo ad propositum meum pro induccionem eius recipio hec verba: ‘Iustus sicut leo,’ scribitur Proverbiorum XXVIII. – [Incipit sermonis] Reverendissimi patres, magistri mei et Domini, quia Eccl XI dicitur: ‘Ante mortem non laudes hominem quemquam, ...’ ... In quibusdam verbis duo innuuntur, primum est virtutum multiplicitas... secundum est dignitatis eminencia...*

Explicit: *... studeamus una cum ipso promereri vitam nulli defectui subiacentem, ad quam nos dignetur perducere Iesus Christus Sancte Marie Filius eiusdem semper Virginis ac huius sanctissimi presulis videlicet beati Stanislai precibus exoratus.*

Circumstances of delivery: a sermon *ad clerum* on the martyrdom feast 1391

Manuscript:

**BJ 2192, f. 28r-32r**

Edition and Polish translation:

Kuś, Jan. “Justus sicut leo: Studium z ikonografii św. Stanisława Szczepanowskiego” (A Study on the Iconography of St Stanislaus of Szczepanow). *Rocznik Krakowski* 51 (1987): 9-22.

## Sermon XLVI: Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach (OESA)

Thema: *Loquitur* [Io. 16, 18; VC: *Dicebant ergo, quid est hoc, quod dicit: modicum? nescimus quid loquitur*]

Incipit: *– Diu intra memetipsum disceptato... mox affuit Deo volente verbum, quod et loco thematis institui proponendum videlicet ‘Loquitur’.... Sed quam ut notissimum apud vos puto loqui, officium est oratoris... Loquitur enim, inquit thema, pro cuius impetranda gracia matrem Dei etc. – [Introductio] Multifarie multisque moriis, ut est apud Apostolum Ad Hebre Primo ‘Olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis’ aut per semetipsum, ut exemplar dicam, aut per angelicam creaturam... Et hoc sonare videtur verbum thematis ad nostrum accomodatum propositum, qui dicebatur ‘Loquitur’. [Thema] ‘Loquitur’ est nostrum thema. Loqui quippe est signis sensibilibus exprimere et in noticiam auditoribus deducere ea, que in mente loquentis existunt... [Divisio materie non thematis] Circa quam locucionem calamitatum presencium tria mihi investiganda censeo per ordinem: Primo videlicet, que causa finalis; Secundo, que causa efficiens; Tercio, que causa for(ma)lis.... Erit itaque evidens testimonium erroris sui contra talia fecisse, que et barbarus dedignatur et eo modo, quo mali coloni proprio testimonia contra se date male perdentur. [Conclusio] Verum quidem plura ad huc dicenda sunt iuxta predicta... que disferentur cum ultimo principali ad nunc proxime per me faciendum sermonem, ne sim vobis tedio oracione prolixa. Sed ne expers huius sermonis sit atque exclusus istius ecclesie compatronus Sanctus Stanislaus ad cuius extollenciam intimatus est et pro finali conclusione. In verbis thematis commendatur a tribus, primo ab actu supernie iocunditatis, ... secundo a luce summe claritatis,... tercio ab actu perfecte caritatis...*

Explicit: *... ut tandem omnes et singuli videamus Deum deorum in Syon. Amen.*

A description of the sermon and its manuscript (composition and external appearance) is found in the same manuscript several pages later [a “notabile.”]

Circumstances of delivery: the feast of St. Stanislaus in Wrocław in 1430

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 78, f. 461v-465v**

### Sermon XLVII: Anonymous

Thema: *Magna est gloria eius in salutari tuo* [Ps 20,6]

Incipit: [Introductio/prothematic part?] – *Principes seculares dominique terrestres in curiis suis solent habere fortes milites qui se exponunt morti pro ipsis...* [Divisio thematis] – *In quibus beatus Stanislaus a duobus commendatur: primo ab eminencia dignitatis, secundo ab excellencia sanctitatis...*

Explicit: ... *cum videt Deum facie ad faciem in quo tanquam in speculo relucent et apparent omnia. Ideo convenienter est assumptum pro festo ipsius hoc verbum thematis.*

Manuscript: **Kórnik, MS I D 52, f. 70v-75**

### Sermon XLVIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Nemo enim coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit* [2 Tim 2,5]

Incipit: *Nota quod Sanctus Stanislaus contra triplicem hostem certavit, et vicit eum. Primus eius hostis fuit caro. Secundus mundus. Tercius diabolus...*

Explicit: ... *Sicut iam exaltatus est Sanctus Stanislaus prout ut in vita eius legitur.*

Manuscript: **BJ 2340, f. 154r-157r**

### Sermon XLIX: Anonymous

Thema: *Omne datum optimum* [Jac 1,17]

Incipit: *Karissimi, visum est qualiter Dominus in ewangelio dominicali docuit nos... In summa epistole duo tanguntur: primo ponit bonorum omni utilem receptionem... Secundo subiungit recipiendum congenam dispositionem...*

Explicit: ... *ubi nullum dolorem sustinebimus, ubi summa securitas, summa felicitas, summa libertas, summa iocunditas, ubi similes erimus angelis Dei fulgentes sicut sol et hoc donum adeptus sanctus Stanislaus, cuius hodie agitur sollempnitas etc.*

Manuscript: **Kórnik, MS I D 55, f. 230v-231v**

### Sermon L: Paul of Zator\*

Thema: *Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus* [Heb 5, 1-5]

Incipit: ‘*Qui condolere possit hiis qui errant et ignorant, quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate*’...

Explicit: *In qua Domini visione erit nobis omnis boni plena fruicio. Ps: ‘Adimplebis me leticia cum vultu tuo et saciabor cum apparuerit gloria tua’.*

Manuscript:

**Cracow Chapter Library 154, f. 348r-352v**

### Sermon LI: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

Thema: *Post mortem meam visitabit vos Deus* [Gen 50, 23]

Incipit: *Hec verba dixit Ioseph filibus suis. In quibus quantum ad honorem sancti Stanislai tanguntur tria ...*

Explicit: ... *Et intelligens sibi viam preparatam meritis sancti Stanislai periculum mortis cum equo periter evasit. Alia vero quam plura vide in eius legenda.*



Manuscript: **BCzart 3793 II, p. 1095-1098**

Sermon LII: Anonymous

Thema: *Posuisti domine super caput eius coronam de lapide precioso* [Ps 20,4]

Incipit: *Nota, quod Dominus beatum Stanislaum et quemlibet sanctum duplici corona decoravit; prima hic in presenti... secunda in futuro...*

Explicit: *... Ideo 'multi vocati, pauci electi' etc. Et iste particule interponantur ad sermonem sancti Venceslai quomodo Christus vult, ut memoremus eius passionem.*

Manuscripts:

**BUWr I F 527, f. 281r-282r**

**BUWr I Q 331, f. 272v-274r**

Sermon LIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Primum querite regnum Dei* [Mt 6, 33]

Incipit: *Illud, quod est ultimum in execucione, debet esse primum in intencione...*

Explicit: *... Math V: 'Beati qui persecucionem paciuntur propter iusticiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum.' Hanc persecucionem passus est Sanctus Venceslaus a suo fratre, qui occidit eum, utque in legenda.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I Q 435, f. 115r-116r**

Sermon LIV: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Thema: *Pro iusticia agonisare et pro anima tua et usque ad mortem certa pro iusticia* [Eccli 4, 33]

Incipit: *Pugil fidelis et miles strenuus in sua pugna tria debet habere, scilicet causam legitimam, intencionem rectam, finalem perseveranciam...*

Explicit: *... Ideo fuit de numero illorum, de quibus dicitur Heb. XI [, 37] 'In occisione gladii mortui sunt,' de his omnibus.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1357, p. 533-534**

**BJ 1638, f. 127r-v**

Sermon LV: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Thema: *Probavit me quasi aurum, quod per ignem transit* [Job 23, 10]

Incipit: *Ex his verbis duo colligo, que nobis recommendant beatissimum nostrum patronum Stanislaum, episcopum Cracoviensem: primo, quod ipse per aurum significatur; secundo narratur qualiter fuit probatus...*

Explicit: *... error omnis recesserit et successerit misericordia, claritas, plena suavitas, eterna securitas. Quam nobis etc.*

Manuscripts: **BJ 1357, p. 690-693**

Sermon LVI: Anonymous

Thema: *Probavit me quasi aurum quod per ignem transit* [Job 23, 10]

Incipit: *Beatus Stanislaus fuit aurum propter perfeccionem vite et fuit probatus per examinacionem pene ...*

Explicit: *... et omni affluencia temporalium bonorum recte meritoque contemptentur etc.*

Manuscripts: **BUWr I O 121, f. 289v-291v**

### Sermon LVII: Anonymous

Thema: *Propheta magnus surrexit in nobis* [Lc 7,16]

Incipit: *In verbo proposito beatus Stanislaus quo ad tria commendatur, primo in limpiditate excellentis et magnifice cognicionis, ... secundo in ubertate multiplicis et mirifice fructificacionis... tercio in sublimitate sue dignifice translacionis...*

Explicit: ... *Tercio quia dilecta et dulcorosa, unde Ecclesiastici 'Dilectus Deo et hominibus' etc.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 581, f. 252r-254r**

### Sermon LVIII A: John Cantius?\*/Anonymous (Redaction A)

Thema: *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae* [Sir 50,6; MS. erroneously Eccl. 53]

Incipit: *Sanctus Stanislaus assimilatur nobilioribus planetis propter diversas virtutes quibus fulsit in templo Dei. Primo assimilatur stelle matutine, qua vocatur lucifer, propter quattuor...*

Explicit: ... *Quarto per interposicionem terre. In quo notatur avaricia lucencium in mundo. Ieremie 6 [13] 'a minore usque ad maiorem' etc. Non sic iste sanctus pater Stanislaus conservavit terrena, sed pie in usus pauperum copiosissime exponebat instans oracionibus, ieiuniis et in aliis operibus pietatis se exercens. Sicut eius late legenda ostendit. Iste sol sanctus Stanislaus non solum luxit in vita corporali, sed est post mortem [in vita spirituali in the margin] varia mirabilia operando, sanando egros, cecos illuminavit et sue sanctitatis gloriam innotescendo.*

Manuscript: **Vatican, Lat. Ms. 14182, f. 25r-26r**

### Sermon LVIII B: John Cantius\*/Anonymous (Redaction B)

Incipit: *Ut Deus omnipotens convenienter posset vocare animam sancti Stanislai 'Amice, ascende superius.'* [Lc 14,10]. *Christus eum decoravit virtutibus. Sanctus enim Stanislaus assimilatur nobilioribus planetis propter diversas virtutes, quibus fulsit in templo Dei. Primo assimilatur stelle matutine, qua vocatur lucifer, propter quatuor...*

Explicit: ... *Quarto per terre interposicionem. In quo notatur avaricia prelatorum. Ieremie XVIo: 'A maiore usque ad minorem.'* *Non sic iste sanctus, utque in legenda etc.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I Q 331, f. 195r-197r**

### Sermon LIX: Anonymous

Thema: *Quecumque elegit Dominus, ille sanctus est* [Num 16,7]

Incipit: *Nota quod octo sunt genera hominum in ecclesia, de quibus septem abiciuntur...*

Explicit: ... *Unde qui bene presunt, duplici honore digni sunt, maxime qui laborant in verbo, et doctrina, ut dicitur Thimo[teo]. Si placet habes sermones in communi de uno martyre.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 641, f. 93v-94r**

### Sermon LX: Anonymous

Thema: *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum.* [Mt 7, 21]

Incipit: *Beatus igitur Stanislaus fecit secundum voluntatem omnipotentis Dei et servabit precepta Dei...*

Explicit: ... *Quando ergo homo talia meditatio tunc incenditis igne divini amoris et tamen divino sermone, etc.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I O 121, f. 292r- 284r**

### Sermon LXI: Anonymous

Thema: *Scientes, quod sicut socii passionum estis, sic eritis et consolacionum* [2 Cor 1, 7]

Incipit: [Introductio] *Querens non potest consolari nisi quesitum invenietis... Habens dragmas decem, et si perdidit unam... quia inveni dragmam [Lc 15, 8-9]... Si ergo eum volumus invenire,*

*socii passionum debemus fieri, tunc cum Christo et per Christum possumus consolari. Unde beatus Paulus dicit in epistola hodierna. [Thema] ... [Divisio Thematis] In Christo Iesum Domino nostro, 2 Cor. 1 [7] Sciendum beatus Paulus duo: Tribulatorum a Deo consolacionem; Consolacionis racionem...*

Explicit: ... *sive domus custodire, quia peregrino equum suum iam excoriatum vivum restituit. Rogemus.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 561, f. 226r-228r**

### Sermon LXII: Anonymous

Thema: *Scitote quoniam mirificavit Deus sanctum suum* [Ps 4,4]

Incipit: *Ista verba de propheta David bene conveniunt huic sancto Stanislao, cuius hodie festum celebramus. Dominus enim noster beatum Stanislauum mirabilem fecit in duobus: Primo enim mirabilem fecit in sanctitate vite, secundo in operatione...*

Explicit: ... *et dixit michi: 'Ego sum Stanislaus episcopus Cracoviensis, Deo gracias age et vade in pace,' qui ab illo die amplius nihil mali habuit etc.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1619, f. 313r-v**

### Sermon LXIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Scitote, quoniam mirificavit Deus sanctum suum* [Ps 4,4]

Incipit: *Ista verba dicit David propheta et bene conveniunt beato Stanislao, cuius hodie festum celebramus, quem corpus mirabiliter exaltat et ostendit quia probat eius sanctitatem. Unde sex sunt que probant eius sanctitatem. Ipse Deus, celum, aqua, ignis, mors et omnis infirmitas qua ipse curavit...*

Explicit: ... *Qui procidens ad pedes eius rogare cepit eum ut canonisaret. Hoc miraculum et alia multa fecit in vita sua. Rogemus.*

Manuscript:

**Bratislava, Slovenský Národný Archív, Fond Kapitulná knižnica (Slovak National Archives, Fund Chapter Library) 64, p. 327-328**

### Sermon LXIV: Anonymous

Thema: *Si quis vult venire post me* [Mt 16,24]

Incipit: - [Introduction/Prothema Part – cf. Sermon no. XIV in MS. Wrocław Chapter 43] *Legitur in veteri testamento quod Adam et Eva nostri primi parentes propter peccatum inobediencie de paradiso voluptatis in angustiam huius mundi sunt eiecti. ... Sicque sanctus Stanislaus per martyrium suum portavit crucem suam et secutus est Dominum suum Iesum Christum, prout testatur hodiernum evangelium dicens: [Thema] 'Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me.' Math. XVIo. Que sunt verba evangelii etc. 'Si quis vult venire post me' prout dicit sanctus Petrus apostolus: 'Christus passus est pro nobis, nobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamur vestigia eius.' Prima Petri Iio. [divisio thematis] Et ob hoc tria in hoc evangelio tanguntur, que oportet illos habere, qui volunt Christum sequi digne: primum est libertas arbitrandi... secundum est renunciatio tocius mali. Tercium est imitacio passionis Christi*

...

Explicit: ... *Ideo si talem crucem penitencie tollamus, et sic Christum sequemur, sic sanctus Stanislaus secutus est eum, sicut bonus pastor, qui dedit animam suam pro ovibus suis. Et hoc quando cum luppo crudelissimo Boleslao rege pugnavit, ut continetur in passione eius, sed modo eius passio non recitatur, sed translacio. Ideo eius translacionem breviter transcurramus. [Legenda: Post passionem sancti Stanislai cum iam decem anni essent...]*

Manuscript: **Wrocław, Ossolineum MS 414, f. 287v-289r**

### Sermon LXV: Anonymous

Thema: *Sine me nichil potestis facere* [Io. 15,5]

Incipit: - [Prothema?] *Thema Philosophus VIIo Phisicorum dicit quod 'omnis virtus est forcior se ipsa dispensa spiritualiter.'* [Incipit prothematis] *Sic virtus resistendi peccatis forcior est in vobis...* [Thema] ... [Incipit sermonis] *In dicta evangelii tria inveniuntur: Primo dicit se vitem... Secundo dicens nos habere in eo mansionem ... Tercio subdit mansionis racionem...*

Explicit: ... *'Et verba mea in vobis manserint', idest audienda et implendo, 'quodcumque volueritis peteris et fiet vobis' etc.*

Manuscript: **Cracow, Chapter Library MS 153, f. 69v-72r**

### Sermon LXVI: Stanislaus of Skarbimiria

Thema: *Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis.* [Sir 45,30; VC: ideo statuit ad illum testamentum pacis principem sanctorum et gentis sue ut sit illi in sacerdocium sui dignitas in aeternum; MS. erroneously 45,40]

Incipit: *Gloriosus Deus et in sanctis suis mirabilis superiora, media et infima potenter creavit, sapienter disposuit, racionabiliter disposita gubernavit et gubernat...*

Explicit: ... *iste similiter, quamvis non ita late et tam dure et ecce iuxta tuam sentenciam. Ubi tu es, iam velud 'fidelis servus et prudens' residet in patria. Ad quam.*

Manuscript: **BJ 190, f. 315r-317r**

### Sermon LXVII: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Thema: *Super custodiam meam stabo et figam gradum meum super municionem et contemplaror ut videam quid dicatur.* [Abac 2, 1]

Incipit: *Hec verba possunt esse beati Stanislai, in quibus ad honorem ipsius considero tria: primo custodiam ad se ipsum, ibi 'super custodiam meam stabo.' Secundo calcacionem super mundum, ibi 'Et figam gradum meum super municionem.' Tercio amorem et anhelacionem ad Deum, unde sequitur 'Et contemplaror, ut videam quid dicatur.'*...

Explicit: ... *et sic totum mundum spernam et contemplabor, ut videam gloriam. Ad quam ... dignetur.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1357, f. 693-696**

### Sermon LXVIII: Anonymous

Thema: *Thesaurus desiderabilis in habitaculo iusti* [Prov 21, 20]

Incipit: *Consuetudo amasiorum est, quod semper desiderant cohabitare cum amasiis suis. ... Salomon hec verba dixit de sancto Stanislao, in quo cognovit thesaurum desiderabilem a sanctis, qui inventus est in habitaculo sancti Stanislai, scilicet spiritualis, eternalis, et temporalis...*

Explicit: ... *Item manusibilis, quia nec fures effodiunt, nec furantur, hunc prestare dignetur Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus etc.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1646, f. 239r-240r**

### Sermon LXIX: Jan of Słupca\*

Thema: *Translatus est Israhel de Egipto* [Ex 12,51]

Incipit: [*H*]odie Sancta Mater Ecclesia letatur de translacione sancti Stanislai, qui presertim ab incolis huius regni digne est glorificandus. ... In cuius translacione tria notantur: Primo, quod Sanctus Stanislaus translatus est a temporalitate ad eternitatem. Secundo ab umbra ad claritatem. Tercio a labore ad quietem. ...

Explicit: ... *Quia ergo translatus est sanctus Stanislaus in celum, restat ut eius patrocinio gaudentes, vitam nostram reformemus in melius, ad obtinendum gratiam in presenti, et tandem gloriam in regnocolorum. Ad quam nos, etc.*

Manuscript: **BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 148r-151r**

### Sermon LXX: Anonymous

Thema: *Vidi alterum angelum descendentem* [Ap 10,1]

[Prothema:] – *Sacra scriptura habet duplicem intellectum scilicet literalem et misticum... Sed antequam educemus hunc ignem salutem gloriosissimam Virginis Mariam flexis genibus...*

[Thema] *Vidi..* [Incipit] – *In verbis istis beati Johannes apostoli tria beatum Stanislaum recommendancia...*

Explicit: ... *Et alios multos post mortem suam immo etiam bestias restituit vite pristinae et plures submersos infirmosque infinitos, et presertim Cardinalem, qui contradicebat eius translacioni, que translacio facta est hoc modo.*

Manuscript: **Cracow PAN/PAU, 1707, f. 262r-263v**

### Sermon LXXI: Anonymous

Thema: *Vidi alterum angelum descendentem* [Ap 10,1]

Incipit: *Apostolus inter ceteras visiones quas tibi Deus dignatus est ostendere sive revelare ‘vidit angelum descendentem,’ de quo in verbis premissis dicit ‘Vidi.’ Inquit ‘angelus’, ille designat beatum Stanislaum, de quo tria hic tanguntur: Primo tangit vite sanctitatem in hoc quia angelo eum comparat... Secundo tangit eius premium... Tercio exprimit nostram utilitatem ...*

Explicit: ... *Sic noster sol beatus Stanislaus multos in anima et corpora vivificavit, infirmos sanando, mortuos suscitando, obsessos a demonio liberando. Et sicut sol est magne virtutis in miraculis faciendis, sic etiam beatus Stanislaus.*

Manuscript: **Uppsala, C 383, f. 126r-v**

### Sermon LXXII: Anonymous

Thema: *Vincenti dabo manna absconditum et dabo calculum candidum* [Ap 2,17]

Incipit: *Vidimus quod quilibet servus libenter domino serviret, cuius labores parvi essent et honor equalis domino suo...*

Explicit: ... *sed cum dabitur nobis calculus, id est, corpus glorificatum, in quo erit confirmacio, quia scriptum nomen apparebit quod sumus filii Dei perpetui, qualis fuit et mire est sanctus Stanislaus etc.*

Manuscripts:

**BJ 1609, f. 189r-190r**

**BJ 1646, f. 119v-120v**

### Sermon LXXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Thema: *Virgam virtutis tue* [Ps 109,2]

Incipit: *Virga dicitur beatus Stanislaus propter rationes: Primo quantum ad electionem episcopalem, quia ut Aaron dic. Secundo quantum ad miraculorum operationem. Tercio quantum ad clemencie comparacionem seu gratie restitutionem...*

Explicit: ... *sic beatus Stanislaus est virga summe clemencie et pietatis inclinatur per regem Assuerum, idest Christum omnibus invocantibus eum in quacumque neccesse, dic miracula.*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 146v**

Sermons with Unclear Themata:

Sermon LXXIV: Anonymous – unclear thema

[Thema: unclear - ?]

[Incipit:] – *David rex sanctus et propheta eximius, cum in medio tribulacionum et angustiarum multarum cecidio a populi geretur unitatis et amoris utilitatem cum admiracione compensans, suspirans exclamavit dicens* [Thema?] “*Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*” [Ps 132,1]. *Racio, quia unitas fratrum onera gravia facit levia... ‘Hic est qui multum orat pro populo et civitate ista,’ in Macchabeorum* [2 Macc 15, 14]. ... *Gloriosus pontifex et martyr sanctus Stanislaus...*

Explicit: ... *Sic enim patronorum et omnium sanctorum suffragia sentiemus et gratiam Dei obtinebimus in presenti et tamen gloriam in vita eterna.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 520, f. 387r-389r**

Sermon LXXV: Anonymous – unclear thema

Thema: *Secundum Catonis testimonium:* [Thema:] ‘*Non te collaudes nec fratres ipsum. Hoc enim faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis*’. [Caton disticha Liber II, 16]

Incipit: - *Ideo quidam interrogatus Philosophus: ‘quid est, quod non convenit...’ ... - Ego sum pastor bonus...* [Thema? – verse quoted in the middle of the text]

Explicit: ...*et nunc caput et manus, que principaliter disecta erant, integra sunt, utque vita.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I F 520, f. 326v-328v**

Sermons (sermon materials) with no or missing thema:

Sermon Material LXXVI: Stanislaus de Skarbimiria\*

Incipit: *Celebritas sancti patris episcopi et martyris Stanislai Polonorum patroni tam spiritualibus personis, maxime prelati et predicatoribus quibuslibet, quam etiam laicis in omnium statui maxime in supremo ut regibus vel ducibus positus, imo quilibet fidei, est palpabilis admonicio... Quod ut clarius presentatur, vita et processus cum incidentibus sub brevitate videatur.* [Incipit vita et processus:] *Poloni fidem receperunt...*

Manuscript: **BCzart 3413, f. 69v-83r**

Sermon Material LXXVII: “Vita et sermo cum fine” - Vita sancti Stanislai in XII capitula

Manuscripts:

**BJ 4915, f. 350r-367r**

**BCzart 3793 III, p. 1449-78.**

Sermon LXXVIII: A Truncated Sermon With No Beginning and No End

[individual, truncated, without the beginning and the end, at the end of the manuscript]:

|| *prodigium ad penitentiam provocabat... et iussit eas mitti in universum mundum.* ||

Manuscript: **Kielce MS. 42/24, f. 242r-242v**

Other materials:

Sermon on St Adalbert with references to St Stanislaus:

Thema: *Vidi alterum angelum descendantem de celo amictum nube et iris in capite eius et facies eius sicut sol.* [Ap 10,1]

Incipit: *In verbo isto ostenditur de sancto [Ad]Alberto, qualis sit genere, qualem domum habeat, qualem vestem, qualem coronam, et qualem faciem...*

Explicit: ... *Quod autem fuerit iste sanctus sicut angelus, hoc probat Deus, hoc celum, hoc aqua etc. Quere in sermone Stanislai et potes de utroque adaptare et de Floriano, qui fuit angelus et fortis, quod patet, quia sponte se Christianum est confessus, ligate lapide in flumen proiectus; unde et princeps militum fuit.*

Manuscripts: **BJ 1635, f. 80v**

A Note on a Sermon on St Stanislaus: Anonymous

Thema: *[Carissimi,] Obsecro vos tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis, quae militant adversus animam...* [1 Pt 2,11]

position – May feast – only a note

A note concerning a sermon on the feast of martyrdom of St Stanislaus on May 8, referring to a sermon on this verse from the Thesaurus Novum. [?] It is followed by a sermon for the Fourth Sunday after Easter.

The verse comes from the epistle for the Third Sunday after Easter. A sermon notebook/diary?

*Item de sancto Stanislao. Obsecro vos tanquam advenas et peregrinos etc.*

*Cetera ex epistolis Thezauri Novi ibi require.*

Manuscript: **BUWr I Q 435, f. 249v** [*item de sancto Stanislao*]

## Appendix 2: The List of Manuscripts containing Sermons and Sermon Materials on St. Stanislaus

These manuscripts are classified according to their present location in libraries and archives. First, the locations throughout Poland (starting with Cracow and Wrocław as the most important reservoirs of manuscripts containing sermons on St. Stanislaus), followed with locations abroad, and ending with manuscripts which I have identified but not examined either in person or in copy.

Each entry lists sermon texts which appear in the manuscript (identified by their corresponding numbers from the *Register of Sermons*). I provided the actual titles and rubrics of the particular sermon texts in the particular manuscript – they appear in square brackets (the citations from the MS. in cursive); if there are no rubrics, I tried to identify the liturgical occasion of the sermon, i.e. the feast of martyrdom or the feast of translation, on the basis of other features, e.g. the position within the collection.

Beside the sermons, which are inventoried in the *Register of Sermons* as well, I indicated where a legend/legends of St. Stanislaus occur in the manuscript, with the incipit and the explicit. Thus, the entries show when the manuscript contains more sermons on the saint, how they are ordered and if it contains a legend of the saint as well.

The “Manuscript description” contains the following basic information: the language, dating, material, size, number of folios, as far as I was able to gather the information. I do not offer a full catalogue description of the manuscripts, but only a summary of information useful for this work. Each entry refers to the catalogue description of the manuscript if there is one. For some manuscripts full and modern catalogue descriptions exist, in some cases these remain to be desired and one has to rely on fragmentary entries in old manuscript catalogues (this is indicated in the footnotes, where necessary), supported with the examination of particular manuscripts, or their copies in scan or microfilm.

Besides the manuscripts which contain the sermons inventoried in the *Register of Sermons*, the list contains other manuscripts which were used in the dissertation:

the manuscripts with sermons on other occasions which mention St. Stanislaus

the manuscripts with sermon collections which do not contain a sermon on St. Stanislaus, but a legend instead, within a sermon collection

These manuscripts are described in smaller font.

### Cracow, Jagiellonian University Library<sup>7</sup>

#### **BJ 188**

f. 187r [position: translation]: Sermon Material XXI (A)

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., ca. 1400, paper and parchment, 30x22.5cm, f. I+313.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 1, 189-196.

The manuscript from the turn of the fifteenth century, which served as a preaching aid, belonged to Jacob of Wiślica. It contains Gospel pericopes *de tempore* and *de sanctis* with marginal and interlinear gloss, sometimes with other additions (f. 2r-303r). Some sermons are added in the margins and in the remaining pages: they are by various authors, among them Peregrinus of Opole and Albertus of Padua, OESA (his *Postilla super evangelia dominicalia*).

<sup>7</sup> I could rely on the modern detailed and exhaustive catalogue descriptions of manuscripts up to the MS. BJ 1415. For the following manuscripts, only short descriptions in the old catalogue of Wisłocki exist. Besides that I examined the manuscripts myself.



### **BJ 190**

f. 315r-317r [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: translation]: Sermon LXVI: Stanislaus of Skarbimiria

Manuscript description:

Lat., ca. 1415-1420, paper and parchment, 30.5x21.5cm, f. 384+1.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 1, 218-233.

Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, 29-30.

The manuscript contains a collection of 94 sermons *de tempore et de sanctis* by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria in liturgical order (f. 126r-364r), which is extant in this unique copy. Besides that the codex contains a collection of sermons *super Credo* (f. 1-125v) and some additional sermons by the same author (f. 364r-384r). The scribe was perhaps Stanislaus Ioannis de Miechovia – *notarius Stanislai de Skarbimiria*. The manuscript was put together, perhaps on an order, together with other large codices with works of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (BJ 191, 193) around 1415. All these codices originated in Cracow for the use of the same unknown possessor; they could have possibly been a part of the library of Nicolaus of Kozłów, whose notes are found in the margin in one of the codices; but there are marginal notes also by other identified hands from the university milieu.

### **BJ 491**

p. 194-197 [*De sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon V: Paul of Zator

p. 197-199 [*Secundus ad idem*]: Sermon VI: Paul of Zator

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-ex, pap., 31x21.5cm, p. 480.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 3, 109-110.

Władysław Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 1, 155-6.

The sermon on St. Stanislaus is a part of the collection of sermons by Paul of Zator. Besides that, the codex contains miscellaneous works and sermons: some sermons by Jan of Słupca, a fragment of a commentary of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, some fragments of theological texts, but also canon law materials (decretals, indices, and so on), a list of Polish kings, and a concordance of the Old and New Testaments. The codex originated in Cracow in the late fifteenth century and was used in the university milieu: it was partially written by and belonged to Jacob of Gostynin, a professor of theology, who studied in Cracow from 1472 (died in 1506; see Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału*, 201-2). There are several hands, but a number of sermons, including the sermons of Zator, were copied by Jacobus of Gostynin. The owner bequeathed the volume to the theological library of the Collegium Maius in Cracow, and for the use of Bernard of Nysa, which is documented by a note (p.1), written by Nicholas of Szadek: *Iste liber datus est ad librariam theologorum Maioris Colegii artistarum per doctorem Iacobum de Gosthynyn, sacre theologie professorem. Oretur pro eo. Ad usum doctori Bernardi.*

### **BJ 836**

f. 158v-159v [no rubric, position: individual]: Sermon III: Matthew of Koło/de Colo/Clement VI

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger., pol., XIV-ex/XV-in, pap., 29x20.5cm, f. 159.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 6, 335-338.

The miscellaneous volume contains the work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum* (f. 1-147, 155-157r), some notes *de pestilencia* (f. 148v-151r), an astrological table (*Figura prognostici astrologici cum signis planetarum et zodiaci*, f. 152v), and on the remaining pages the sermon about St. Stanislaus (f. 158v-159v) followed by a note on preaching by Matthias of Colo, and a short list (or a dictionary) of the names of the herbs in Latin, German and Polish written by him on one of the covers (f. II). The volume was put together in a German monastery in the late fourteenth century and perhaps used there. Matthias of Colo probably brought the volume from Prague to Cracow in the early fifteenth century. Then, around 1441 the codex belonged to the library of the Collegium, which is documented by a note: *Proprietas rerum m[agistri] Mathie de Colo pro collegio*.

#### **BJ 1272**

f. 28r-31r: A mention of St Stanislaus in: *Sermo in decollacione sancti Iohannis Reverendi magistri Iohannis Franckenstein [Non licet habere uxorem fratris tui. - Sic virginitatis speculum, pudicie titulus, castitatis exemplum, beatissimus videlicet Baptista Iohannes dicebat Herodi... Mc 6... ]*

f. 28v-29r: ... *Similiter beatus Thomas Canthuariensis Episcopus pro ... ecclesie sue iuribus deffendendis est martyr effectus est gloriosissimus. Insuper beatus Stanislaus emptam pro cultu divino, ampliando villam ostendit rite se emisse eam ac possedissee per suscitacionem mortui eciam...*

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1444-1450, pap., 30.2x21cm, f. 289+III.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 8, 15-44.

#### **BJ 1299**

f. 72r-v: Sermon Material XXI B

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., ca. 1400, pap., 31x22cm, f. 109+II.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 8, 154-181.

The manuscript is similar to the contemporary MS. BJ 188 from the same milieu: likewise, it contains pericopes of the Gospels *de tempore et de sanctis* for a liturgical year cycle, together with the marginal and interlinear gloss, and various sermon fragments (including those by Peregrinus of Opole, and some *exempla*).

#### **BJ 1354**

p.182-186 [*De sancto Stanislao - martyrdom*]: Sermon VIIIB: Redaction (Mikołaj of Kozłow)

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1453-1462, pap., 31x21.5cm, p. 488+f. II.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9 (forthcoming).<sup>8</sup>

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, 337.

The miscellanous volume contains various preaching aids (such as a concordance of the Bible and the works of Gregory the Great, the *Regula pastoralis* by Gregory the Great, Jerome's Epistles, Augustine's *Regula ad servos Dei*) and various sermons: mostly conciliar, but also synodal sermons

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<sup>8</sup> I was allowed to use the descriptions of these manuscripts from the volume of the catalogue in preparation for publication, for which I would like to thank Dr Włodzimierz Zega, one of the authors.

and sermons *ad clerum* (from Cracow, Prague, including sermons by Matthew of Cracow), university speeches by various authors (including a number of sermons by Jan Elgot); *quaestiones* and notes. Jan of Słupca copied the texts in between 1453-62, in his characteristic small and neat handwriting in one column, for his personal use in preaching. The texts were bound together in a volume after 1462. Słupca donated the volume to the library of theologians at the university, where it was further used by others (a note on f. 1r: *Pastorale Gregorii cum aliis sermonibus etc. per doctorem Ioannem de Słupcza datum*).

### **BJ 1357**

p. 533-534 [*De sancto Stanislao sermo*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon LIV: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

p. 534-538 [*De s. Stanislao*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon X: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

p. 690-693 [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: translation]: Sermon LV: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

p. 693-696 [*Secundus sermo de eodem*, position: translation]: Sermon LXVII: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1457, pap., 32x20cm, p. 782+f. III.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9 (forthcoming).

The volume contains various works by Gregorius Cieniawa de Mysłowice alias de Zawada: *Sermones de tempore* (p. 1-298); sermons *de dedicacione* (p. 298-307); sermons on commemoration of the dead (p. 307-313); passion of Christ (p. 317-356); *Sermones de sanctis* (p. 363-753); and sermons *de novo sacerdote* and *ad clerum* (p. 753-761). The manuscript was copied by Peter of Kurowo in 1457 and the codex was bound between 1457 and 1473 in Poznań. Peter of Kurowo was a student of the university in Cracow from 1455 and copied sermons most probably for his own use. The following destiny of the volume is documented in possession notes: *Liber Petri de Curowo nec non sacerdotis domini Rogalynsky, canonici Poznaniensis. Per prefatum Petrum mutuatus ac comunicatus venerabili magistro Andree de Poznania, katedralis ecclesie Poznaniensis perpetuo vicario, pro tunc vicedecano, promotori, benefactori singularissimo*. A later note: *Super quem prefatum librum recepi sex florenos Vngaricales in auro, feria tertia ipso die beati Andree apostoli [30 XI] sub anno Domini millesimo CCCCLXX<sup>o</sup> tercio presentibus testibus, videlicet honorabilibus Nicolao de Clodawa, graciali et Andrea de Zyrnyky, altarista in ecclesia cathedrali Poznaniensi*. The hand of Ioannis Beber de Osswyanczym: *Anno Christi 1495 inventus inter libros derelictos per magistrum Albertum de Brudzevo per executores testamenti eiusdem. Legatus est librerie theologorum Maioris Collegii Artistarum sub condicione, si quis proprietatem non allegaverit ad eundem, quia nulli iniuriari per hoc intendebat*.

### **BJ 1389**

f. 144v: A mention of St Stanislaus - *De sancto Stanislao patrono nostro predicetur evangelium: Ego sum pastor bonus cum ipsius legenda*. [in between *De sancto Mattheo* and *De sancto Wencelao* – position: translation?]

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1432, pap., cm 30x21, f. 289+II.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9 (forthcoming).

The volume consists of several separate parts, which were bound together then, one of them being Nicolaus Wigandi *Sermones de sanctis* with a colophon from 1432 (f. 1r-158v). Besides that the volume contains other preaching aids: various saints' lives and exempla (including also, for example *Scala celi* by Jean Gobi) (f. 161r-274r), and an alphabetical table of sermons of James of Varazze (f. 276r-288r). The codex belonged to a certain friar Georgius (f. 1r) from a unidentified convent in Cracow.

### **BJ 1415**

f. 189v-201r [Sermo de s. Stanislao, position: martyrdom]: Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca

f. 201r-205r: Sequitur vita sancti Stanislai: - *Beatus Stanislaus, nacione Polonus, ex provincia Cracoviensi processit... Dominus sanctum suum mirificavit, longitudinem superfugiens narrare omitto. Alia in translacione eius vide.* [a redaction of the Vita, MPH 4, 253-283; the same text : BJ 1550, f. 172v-179v]

#### Manuscript Description:

Lat., 1466 (as the collection), pap., 31×20.5 cm, f. 309+II.

*Catalogus BJ*, vol. 9 (forthcoming).

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 350.

The codex consisted of two parts: besides sermons on saints (with saints' lives, from St Andrew to St Catherine, Dedication) attributed to doctor Słupca (f. 136-307v), it contained an unidentified collection *de tempore* (f. 1r-128v). The collection *de sanctis* ends with a colophon from 1466, which referred probably to the copying of the collection by Jacob of Dirszaw (Dzierzaw, Tczew), a student of the university (f. 308v): *Expliciunt Sermones de sanctis, compilati per venerabilem virum maystrum [alia manu: Iohannem; canc.: Mathiam] de Slubcza, sacre theologie professorem in Studio alme Universitatis Cracoviensis, scripti per me Iacobum de Dirszaw. Et sunt finiti proxima dominica infra Ascensionem Domini [18 V] hora fere XXII, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto.* The manuscript belonged to Master Bernard of Nysa of the university in Cracow (who bequeathed the volume to Matthias of Szydłow, another doctor of the university) (f. Ir): *Iste liber est magistri Bernardi Mikisch de Nissa, in quo continentur duplices sermones, videlicet de tempore et de sanctis. Isti de sanctis doctori Iohanni Slupcza modo canonico Cracoviensi ascribuntur;* and (f. 1r) *Datus testamentaliter doctori Mathie de Szydłow per doctorem Bernardum de Nissa etc.* The collection on saints contains some legends from the Golden Legend, a sermon for Annunciation by Paul of Zator (present in his collection), and a sermon on St Michael Archangel attributed to Grzegorz of Mysłowice (also in BJ 1357) as well.

### **BJ 1506**

f. 81-83r: Sermon V: Paul of Zator

f. 83r-84r [no rubric, no title]: Sermon VI: Paul of Zator

#### Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2 (1469?), pap., 2o.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1.

The manuscript contains a sermon collection *de sanctis* by Paul of Zator (f. 1-181), and possibly belonged to Jan of Słupca's library (Wielgus, *Średniowieczna łacińskojęzyczna bibliotyka*, 105). The collection ends with an interesting colophon, which dates to 1469 (f. 181): *Expliciunt sermones per universum anni circulum venerabilis ac egregii viri doctoris Pauli dive ac memorie bone patris de Zathor pronuntiati Cracovie in areiopagio nec non pauperum gymnasio per reverendum baccalarium Andream de Gabin et sunt finiti ipso die Veneris proximo post Ascensionis anno Domini MCCCCLXIX (12.5.1469).*

**BJ 1550**

f. 182v(=172v?)-190(180r) [legend]: [*S*]anctus autem Stanislaus ut annales principum Polonie...

## Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 29.5x21.5cm, f. 247+III.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 378.

The volume contains *collaciones*, and a collection entitled as *sermones de sanctis*, which contains many legends only (f. 53r: *Incipiunt sermones de sanctis egregii viri magistri Thome doctoris theologie et primo de sancto Andrea*). The collection is supplemented with an alphabetical register with page references. Interestingly, there is another register at the beginning of the volume, with a note ЦТАНІСЛАФВЗ in cyrillic. The book belonged to a certain Master Peter *de Warbika* (f. 13).

**BJ 1609**

f. 185v-186 [*Stanislai sancti sermo*]: Sermon XXXII: Anonymous

f. 186v-187v: *Legenda sancti Stanislai: - Stanislaus nobilis genere nacione polonus ex provincia Crac. de villa...*

f. 187v-188v [*Secundus sermo sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon XXX: Anonymous

f. 189r-190r [*Tercius sermo sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon LXXII: Anonymous

f. 308v-311r [*In translacione sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon XXXVI: Anonymous

f. 311r-v: *Historia in translacionis sancti Stanislai: - Cum iam magister Iacobus cum aliis magistris venisset Romam...*

## Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (1458, 1466), pap., 31.5x22cm, f. 373+II.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 390.

The volume contains *Sermones et legendae de sanctis* (f. 1-365r), *Passio Christi* (f. 367r-371v), and a moral treatise *Octo species turpitudinis*. The works were copied by various hands. A colophon dates the collection to 1466 (f. 365r): *Et sic est finis huius operis anno 1466 scriptor mente pia deprecit Ave Maria*. The Passion of Christ, which is also found in the manuscript book, was completed several years earlier, interestingly, in Szczepanów, that is, in the alleged place of birth of St. Stanislaus (f. 371v): *Finita est Passio secundum quatuor ewangelistas, ista omnia completa sunt in Szczepanow alias in villa, ubi S. Stanislaus est natus a.d. 1458*. There is no information as to the place of writing down of the sermon collection. The codex belonged to the parish church of St. Andrew in Wroczymowicze later (possession note on f. 1r).

**BJ 1613**

f. 321r-322v (p. 631) [legend]: *De translacione s Stanislai: Post passionem sancti Stanislai...*

## Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 31x21cm and less, f. 347 + III.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 391.

The miscellaneous volume contains various preaching and pastoral works: a *quadragesimale* and a *de tempore* collection, sermons *de sanctis* (which, however, comprise only legends in many cases), a moral treatise, an explication of divine offices, and a collection of *Corpus iuris civilis* with indices and tables.

**BJ 1614**

f. 74v-81 [*Sermo sancti Stanislai in Concilio Basiliensi, factus in Concilio per Nicolaum Kozłowister [Kozłowski] Sacre Theologie magistrum Canonicum Cracovien.*]: Sermon VIII: Mikołaj of Kozłów

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (second quarter), pap., 2o, p. 591+II.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 391.

The manuscript, copied by various hands, contains various conciliar treatises and sermons from the Council of Basel, including several sermons by Nicolaus of Kozłow. The manuscript may have been brought from Basel, and may have originally belonged to Kozłowski. According to a later possession note it belonged to Master Andrew of Labyszyn, canon of Cracow (f. 1: *Liber mgri Andree de Labyszyn, canonici Cracoviensis*).

### **BJ 1617**

f. 106v-108v [*s. Stanislai* – later, margin]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (1423), pap., 29x21 cm, f. 216.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 391.

Peregrinus, *Sermones*, XXX-XXXI.

Wolny, “Laciński zbiór kazań,” 185-186.

The manuscript contains several model sermon collections according to its description: Peregrinus *de sanctis, de sanctis* by Matthew of Cracow, *Sermones Contracti de sanctis*. At the end of the manuscript an older quire (fourteenth century) with an unfinished fragment of the *Vita maior* of St Stanislaus was appended (f. 206-216). The manuscript was probably written in Cracow, according to Wolny and the editors. Wolny claimed that there were two circles by Peregrinus in the codex: the sermons that were missing in the first cycle were included in the second one. The sermon on St Stanislaus is included in the second part of the manuscript. The first part of the codex (1-139v) contains besides Peregrinus' sermons (identified by editors of Peregrinus' collection) the sermons by other various authors, excerpts from the *Legenda aurea*, a sermon by Contractus, a sermon by William Perald, and so on. Another part (until f. 205) contains the works of Mathew of Cracow, Contractus, and other authors. The third part of the codex, the cycle attributed to Contractus, ends with an index (f. 204v-205r) and an explicit dating the cycle into the year 1423. Another hand added a note: *de sancto Adalberto et Stanislao, Venceslao non habuntur...* The codex is too large to have been used as a portable preaching aid, but was probably rather used in a convent or a similar place. It was written by several hands in two columns.

### **BJ 1619**

f. 313r-v [*Sermo de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon LXII: Anonymous

f. 314r-315r [*Aliter*, follows: *De sancto Iohanne Ewangelista*]: Sermon XXXIX: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., 1407 (some parts probably later), pap., 29x21.5cm, f. 343 + II.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 392.

The volume contains sermons de tempore and de sanctis. There is a colophon on f. 218 written by Matthew of Grochowo, a vicar in Kczyzna in 1407 (*Explicit hic liber per manus Mathee de Grochowo, presbiteri, tunc temporis vicarii in Kczyzna, in die s. Thome apostoli sub a.d. 1407*), but other sermons, including the sermon on St. Stanislaus, continue after that. A possession note states that another parish priest bought the volume in 1438 (*Iohannes... Nicolaus, presbiter de Skoryeszyn, emit... dominica infra octavas Assumptionis Marie pro sexagena... pro festo Nativitatis domini 1438*). He used it perhaps again for preaching in parish, just as its scribe. Polish glosses are

interspersed in the manuscript, and a Polish song Bogurodzica is glued to the back cover, as well as some short pastoral texts (prayers, for confession, etc.).

### **BJ 1626**

f. 64r-67r: a mention of St. Stanislaus (f. 64v) in a sermon/postilla on the thema *Ego sum pastor bonus* without a title

f. 152v-153r [*Sermo de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon XII: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-med, pap., 2o, f. 158.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 394.

The manuscript is a preacher's notebook containing various sermons. The sermon on St. Stanislaus follows only after a colophon stating that Gregorius of Pylcza bought the manuscript in 1449 (f.151r: *Finitum hoc opus in vigilia nativitatis Iesu Christi anno eiusdem 1449... Iste est liber Gregoriis de pylcza pro viginti gr. per eum comparatus*).

### **BJ 1635**

f. 80v [*Adalberti*]: Sermon on St. Adalbert with references to St Stanislaus

f. 93v-94v [*Sermo s. Stanislai?*]: Sermon IV: Jan of Dąbrówka?\*

f. 94v: Sermon XXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka?\*

f. 146r-146v [*Sancti Stanislai martyris*]: Sermon XLI: Jan of Dąbrówka?\*

f. 146v [no rubric, no title]: Sermon LXXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka (?)\*

Manuscript description:

Lat., pap., XV (before 1472), 28.5x21.5cm, f. 317+ II.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 396.

The first part of the manuscript is a preacher's notebook containing sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* written by Jan of Dąbrówka (f. 1-184), perhaps reflecting his actual preaching practice, or a preparation for it, which he could also have re-used for preaching again. The sermons have glosses in the margin at places, some words and passages are underlined and rubricated. The second part is comprised of various acts of the Council of Basel (f. 189-317).

### **BJ 1638**

f. 71-74r [*De sancto Stanislao sermo*]: Sermon X: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

f. 127r-v [*De sancto Stanislao* - ? translation]: Sermon LIV: Grzegorz of Mysłowice

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 2o, f. 317.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 396.

The collection of sermons on saints was copied in the second half of the fifteenth century (dating to 1469 on f. 1) and bought by Master Stanislaus of Gorkij in 1491 (*Magistri Stanislai de Gorkij, comparatus 1491*). The volume also belonged to a parish priest, Andrew of Szucha, at some point (*Hic liber est Andree de Szucha, plebani de Slupsko, pro eiusdem ecclesia legatus*).

### **BJ 1646**

- f. 117r-118r [no title, rubric thema, position: martyrdom]: Sermon XXXII: Anonymous
- f. 118r-119r: (*Ut patet in legenda sua etc.*) [Legenda]: - *Stanislaus nobilis progenie nacionis Polonus ex provincia Cracoviensi oriundus ex villa que dicitur Szczepanow... Boleslaus aut postmodum in languorem cecidit et in amencia filio venenu propinavit et sic malus cum tota domo interiit, quia Deus pro sanctis suis pugnavit etc.*
- f. 119r-119v [no title, position: martyrdom]: Sermon XXX: Anonymous
- f. 119v-120v [no title, position: martyrdom]: Sermon LXXII: Anonymous
- f. 233r-234r [no title, position: translation]: Sermon XXXVII: Anonymous
- f. 234r-234v (*Quare in autumnno eius celebratus festum patet in legenda eius, quia canonisatus est, quod hic contigisse dicitur*) [Legenda - translation:] – *Cum magister Iacobus cum aliis magistris venisset Romam pro canonisacione sancti Stanislai... ibi aduc hodierna die iacet.*
- f. 234v-236v [no title, position: translation feast]: Sermon XXXVIII (XXXVIIB?): Anonymous
- f. 236v-237r: (*Et eciam hodie est festum Cosme et Damiani, ideo vitam eorum videamus infra*) [Legenda] – *Kosmas et Damianus germani fratres ex religiosa matre Theodora...*
- f. 237r-239r [no title, position: translation]: Sermon XXVI: Anonymous
- f. 239r-240r [no title, position: translation]: Sermon LXVIII: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-in, pap., 2o, f. 288+I.

Wisłocki, *Katalog* 1, 396.

The manuscript is comprised of a collection of sermons on saints with legends in the order of a liturgical year. The volume is composed of quires with catchwords, written in one column in neat handwriting. It was written down by a certain Peter (f. 288r: *Per petrum de optima nakyel*). An interesting note in Polish written by a different hand expresses some doubts about the authorship of James of Varazze, if the unclear note refers to the content of the volume (f. 288v: *niewijem by thone iacoby de vorayne xyegi napisal thone iesli pisal ... authoru ych*).

### **BJ 1670**

f. 120r-123r: A mention of St. Stanislaus (f. 121r) in a sermon for the *Feria VI in Parasceve* on the *thema Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum* [Mt 10,7; Lc 8] from a collection attributed to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria

### **BJ 2192**

f. 28r-32r [no title, martyrdom]: Sermon XLV: Bartholomew of Jasło

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 23x15cm, f. 139+II.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 525-5.

Kuś, "Justus sicut leo," 9-22.

Kowalczyk, "Bartłomiej z Jasła," in *Materialy*, 14-15.

The manuscript is mostly an autograph of Bartholomew of Jasło. It contains various works of his, related to his studies and teaching activities at the universities of Prague and Cracow: treatises *Ad celebrantes missam*, *De ignorancia*, some theological questions, his speeches for graduation ceremonies, his expositions from the faculty of arts, university sermons and speeches, sermons *ad clerum*, latin songs.



**BJ 2340**

f. 154r-157r [*De s. Sthanislao – sic!*]: Sermon XLVIII: Anonymous

f. 157r-160r [*Alius de eodem*]: Sermon XL: Anonymous

f. 160r-162 [*Stanislay - legend*]: *Stanislay. – Sanctus Stanislaus fuit Polonus nacione de villa qua dicitur Szczepanowicze prope Cracoviam, hic fuit repletus Spiritu Sancto adhuc in sua infancia...*

Manuscript description:

Lat., pap., 1476, 4o, f. 346+IV.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 2.

Elżbieta Belczarowa, *Glosy polskie w łacińskich kazaniach średniowiecznych* (Polish Glosses in Medieval Latin Sermons), vol. 3 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe DWN, 1997), 70-71.

The volume is comprised of a collection of sermons *de tempore et de sanctis*, interspersed with Polish glosses. The colophon at the end of the volume is dated to 1476 (f. 330: *Sub a.d. 1476 est finitus iste liber*).

**BJ 2364**

f. 276-280 [*In die sancti Adalberti vel Stanislai*]: Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca

Manuscript description:

Lat., Polish glosses, XV (1468?), pap., 4o, f. 456.

Wisłocki, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 624.

Belczarowa, *Glosy polskie*, vol. 3, 70.

Brückner, *Drobne zabytki*, 275.

The manuscript contains a collection of sermons *de tempore et de sanctis*, with Polish glosses. Wisłocki dated the collection to 1468, but it may be only a date of the delivery of one of the sermons, which is noted in the manuscript (f. 310r: *Sermo ad clerum factus in missa Universitatis Cracoviensis feria 5 Penthecostes 1468*). The sermons were noted down by several hands, and the sermons were probably composed and preached by various authors. One of the authors was Nicolaus, a Franciscan friar and a professor of theology (f. 86r: *Fratris Nicolai ordinis fratrum minorum, sacre theologie professoris*). There are some Polish glosses.

**BJ 2366**

f. 621v: A mention of St Stanislaus in notes for sermon for the Passion Sunday (f. 617r-618v) and then again a sermon with the same beginning (f. 619r-624v) – the leaves are not in order (?)

The manuscript, a personal notebook, belonged to Dąbrówka's library. It contains a collection *de tempore et de sanctis*.

**BJ 4246**

f. 139v: [legenda] *De sancto Stanislao. - Beatus autem Stanislaus ut annales...*

f. 296-302v: [legenda] *Translacio Stanislai*

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 31x21.5cm, f. 355.

*Inventarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* (Inventory of the Manuscripts of Jagiellonian Library), 4175-5175. Cracow: Nakładem Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1938 (hereafter *Inventarz rękopisów BJ*).

Although the volume is entitled as *Sermones et legendae de sanctis*, it contains only legends.

**BJ 4248**

f. 53r-55v [*Primus de sancto Stanislao sermo*]: Sermon V: Paul of Zator

f. 55v-58v [*Secundus ad idem*]: Sermon VI: Paul of Zator

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (1469), pap., 22x16cm, f. 293.

*Inventarz rękopisów BJ.*

The volume is comprised of a *collection de sanctis* by Paul of Zator without the beginning and end. The collection was copied by several hands. The colophon at the end of the collection dates to 1469 (f. 288v): *Expliciunt sermones de sanctis, per bone memorie decretorum doctorem canonicum et predicatorem maioris ecclesie Cracoviensis, Paulum de Zathor, collecti per egregium virum s. theologii professorem, Johannem de Slupcza; tanquam suum executorem, cuidam Andree de Gabyn, arcium bacc., ad pronuntiandum traditi per eumque inchoati feria secunda in septuagesima terminatique sabato in octava s. Stanislai a.d. 1469. Orate pro eis.*

### **BJ 4915**

f. 350r-367r (= p. 6) [*De sancto Stanislao vita et sermo, cum fine*]: Sermon Material LXXVII: “Vita et sermo cum fine” - Vita sancti Stanislai in XII capitula

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1502 (and 1496), pap., 21x13.5 cm, f. 367 (incunabula: CCCXXVII).

*Inventarz rękopisów BJ.*

The volume is bound together of two parts: an *incunabula* with the *Legenda aurea* (*Jacobi de Voragine Lombardica hystoria, civitate Argentinensi 1496*) and a manuscript part with legends/sermons on saints, including a *vita et sermo* on St. Stanislaus by a Franciscan Observant, which is a compilation of the *Life* by Długosz (p. 26: *Sub anno nativitatis Domini 1502 hec vita gloriosi patroni nostri s. Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis et martyris finita post oracionem ante festum s. Anthonii, patroni nostri, ipsa die dominica, qua cantatur Dominus Muminacio malicie per me fratrem Eivangelistam de Solzarii ordinis fratrum Minorum de observancia, serve Dei memento semper mei etc.*).

### **BJ Acc. 67/54<sup>9</sup>**

f. 148r-151r [*De translacione sancti Stanislai Sermo, translation*]: Sermon LXIX: Anonymous (Jan of Słupca?)

f. 151r-153v [*Alius sermo de eodem*]: Sermon XXXIV: Anonymous (Jan of Słupca?)

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-ex, pap., 4o, f. 238.

The sermon collection with a title *Aestivale opus et autumnale de sanctis divi Johannis de Slupcza sacre theologie professoris etc.*, containing sermons from the Nativity of St John the Baptist until St. Catherine’s Day, occupies the first part of the volume (f. 3r-200r), with a colophon dating to 1493. The remaining part of the volume is filled with sermons on Dedication and the dignity of priests (f. 237v: *Per Ricardum. Anno gracie 1493 XXII Augusti*). The owner of the codex, Matthias of Luthomirsko, a vicar and canon of Cracow cathedral, bequeathed it to the Augustinian convent of St. Catherine in Kazimierz, a part of Cracow today (f. 2r: *Liber Matthei de Luthomirsko vicarii perpetui Canoniat. Ecclesie Cathedralis Cracov testamentaliter per eum legatus cum aliis duobus*

<sup>9</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Włodzimierz Zega for pointing out this MS. to me.

*de sanctis et quatuor de tempore, omnibus septem voluminibus coequalibus eiusdem manus Ecclesie conventuali... Sancte Katherine virginis gloriose, in Kazimiria Civitate diocesis Cracoviensis.*)

## Cracow, Chapter Library<sup>10</sup>

### MS 149

p. 455: A mention of St Stanislaus in a sermon for *Dominica secunda post Pascha* (p. 450-461): [Thema] *Christus passus est pro nobis etc. Pt 2. ... In anima passus est beatus Iohannes apostolus..., beatus Martinus, beatus Nicolaus et omnes confessores. In corpore autem passus est beatus Laurencius, beatus Stephanus, beatus Bartholomeus, beatus Stanislaus. Omnes apostoli et omnes martyres sunt passi...*

### MS 153

f. 69v-72r [small script title margin: *De sancto Stanislao*, position: martyrdom, follows: *De ascensione Domini*]: Sermon LXV: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (before 1454), pap., 2o, f. 275.

I. Polkowski. *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej* (The Catalogue of the Chapter Manuscripts of Cracow Cathedral), vol. 1. Cracow: "Czas" Kluczyckiego, 1884, 109.

The manuscript contains a sermon collection *de sanctis* (liturgical order: St Andrew-St Catherine, f. 1-227), followed by a collection of sermons *de commune sanctorum* (f. 228-275) and other sermons (which have a different numbering, perhaps coming from a different collection). The colophon at the end of the sermons (f. 275v): *Expliciunt addiciones ad sermones etc. A.d. 1454, etc.*

### MS 154

f. 313v-315v [*Stanislai martyris patroni*, originally for martyrdom, here among the martyrs?]:

Sermon V: Paul of Zator

f. 348r-352v [*Translacio S. Stanislai*, sermon outline, a separate quire no.30]: Sermon L: Paul of Zator?\*

f. 352v-354r: *Legenda* [fragments, miracles, empty lines and spaces for additions]

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 31.5x21.5cm, f. 492.

Polkowski, *Katalog*, 109-110.

The volume is a collection of sermons by various authors written by several hands, with a number of sermons attributed to Paul of Zator (in the heading of the sermon in manuscript), who wrote down some of them himself. Some sermons are attributed to James of Varazze. The manuscript contains a series of sermons *de conceptione Marie* and other Mariological sermons in the first part (f. 16: *Isti sermones supradicti scilicet de conceptione Marie sunt Domini Pauli professoris sacre theologie et in decretis doctoris in Castro Cracoviensi predicatoris prefulgentissimi.*); the remaining large portion of the volume is occupied by sermons *de sanctis*. Some of the sermons are written in a developed form, others are only schemes and notes for sermons; some legends are also present. The volume is organised partially thematically, according to various types of saints. Some of the sextern quires are thematic; some pages interspersed through the volume are empty. It was

<sup>10</sup> The old catalogue of Polkowski provided only short characteristics of manuscripts. I examined the manuscripts in person.

perhaps Paul of Zator or somebody close to him who collected and organised the sermons in the volume: in this order, with headings, numbering, marginal notes, and with a register at the beginning of the book.

### **MS 157**

f. 65r-67r (p. 129-133) [*De sancto Stanislao* – martyrdom, position and content]: **Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca**

f. 67r-70r (p. 133-139): *Legenda s. Stanislai: - Beatus Stanislaus nacione Polonus ex provincia Cracoviensi... postquam vero anno decimo ad Ecclesiam beati Wenceslai corpus eius fuit translatum. Quot et quantis signis Dominus sanctum suum mirificavit, longitudine superfugiens narrare obmitto, alia in translacione eius vide.*

(the same explicit of the legend in the MS. Cracow PAU 1709 and Cracow Chapter 157).

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 30x23cm, f. 166

Polkowski, *Katalog*, 109-110.

This is a collection of sermons on saints (and some legends) attributed to Jan of Słupca, which is preserved in several other copies. The whole collection is written by one hand in two columns.

### **MS 158**

The lost folios at the beginning of the MS. before f. 11: **Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 29.5 x 21.5 cm, f. 252.

Polkowski, *Katalog*, 110.

The beginning of the miscellaneous manuscript (until f. 11r) is lost nowadays due to the damaged state of the manuscript, but Polkowski saw and catalogued a sermon on St. Stanislaus at the beginning of the volume. The first part of the volume (until f. 110) is occupied by a collection of sermons on saints with short legends, which is a copy of the collection *Exemplar salutis* (not acknowledged by Polkowski, but listed among the copies by Brücker, *Kazania*, vol. 1, 50 and vol. 2, 356). The colophon at the end of the collection dated to 1409 is identical with other copies of the collection *Exemplar salutis*. The sermons are written in two neat columns. The rest of the volume contains various theological works. The manuscript belonged to the library of the Cathedral Chapter in Cracow.

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| <b>Cracow, Pauline Order Archives at Skalka Monastery<sup>11</sup></b> |
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### **B 4**

p. 20-34 [*De sancto Stanislao*, within the collection *Exemplar salutis*]: **Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague** [margins: fragments of miracles]

Manuscript description:

Lat., around 1410, pap., 21.5 x 14.5 cm, p. 610.

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<sup>11</sup> The catalogue provides good and quite detailed description of the manuscripts. I examined the manuscripts in person as well.

Zofia Kowalska-Urbankowa and Janusz Zbudniewek, "Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Paulinów w Krakowie na Skałce" (Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Library of Pauline Order at Skalka in Cracow), *Studia Claromontana* 8 (1987), 283-285.

The codex contains basically the standard version of the collection *Exemplar salutis* by John-Jerome of Prague (p. 1-602), including the Prologue and the colophon (identical with other copies). The whole collection was copied by one scribe, in one column. The remaining pages of the manuscript are filled with fragments of sermons about preachers and prelates, which were written by a different hand (p. 603-610). Manuscript contains numerous marginal and interlinear glosses, corrections by the copyist and also additions by the second hand, and occasional Polish glosses. In the sixteenth century the manuscript belonged to the Pauline Monastery at Skałka.

### **B 21**

p. 175-182 [a fragment of the *Vita* of St. Stanislaus (cf. MPH 4, 384-389, 399) De s. Stanislao]: – *Post passionem beati Stanislai cum iam anni decimi... (p. 180) ... summo pontifici deferentur. – Cum vero in conspectu sedis apostolice... et post hoc vitam eternam, ad quam nos.* [position: in between *De sancto Mattheo* and *De s. Michaelis archangelo* – translation feast]

p. 573-582 [*De s. Stanislao* – position: martyrdom – in between *De s. Cruce* and *In rogacionibus sermo*]: Sermon XL: Anonymous

p. 582-585 [*Vita*]: – *Sanctus Stanislaus fuit nacione Polonus de villa que dicitur Szczepanowycze... in Cracovia et meruerunt hic gratiam et post mortem vitam eternam, ad quam nos perducat etc.*

Manuscript description:

Lat., Polish glosses, around 1475, pap., 21x15.5cm, p. 630.

Zofia Kowalska-Urbankowa and Janusz Zbudniewek, "Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Paulinów w Krakowie na Skałce," 342-351.

The cycle, or at least a part of it, could be a different redaction of the cycle of sermons from BJ 2340. The collection contains sermons on saints with short lives, and occasionally sermons *de tempore*. The manuscript was copied by several scribes, possibly in Cracow; it was bound in Cracow. The Polish glosses in the margins.

## **Cracow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich<sup>12</sup>**

### **MS 3413 III**

f. 1-3: *Prologus*

f. 21v-23v: *De sancto Thoma Cantuariensi*

f. 69v-83r [*De sancto Stanislao Polonorum seu Sarmatarum alumno*]: Sermon LXXVI: Stanislaus de Skarbimiria (?)\*

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 29.5x21cm, f. 232.

<sup>12</sup> There is a provisional catalogue of the manuscripts available at the Czartoryski Library. I have examined the microfilms of the manuscripts as well.

*Katalog wydruk z komputera - Tymczasowy katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki książąt Czart. Sygn. 1682-3653* (Catalogue Printout from Computer – Provisional catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Library of Czartoryski Princes) (Cracow, 1984-1995), 199ff. Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbmierza*, 24-26.

This is a collection called in the manuscript: *Passionale Stanislai de Scarbimiria cum optimis doctrinis popularibus* from 1430.

### **MS 3793 II**

p. 271r-v [inserted smaller]: Sermon XXV: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

p. 273-274 [*De s Stanislao*]: Sermon XIX: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

p. 274-276 [*Secundus sermo de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon XXVII: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

p. 1002-1008 et 1013-1014 [*De sancto Stanislao pontifice et martyre, Circa vitam sancti Stanislai Thema*]: Sermon XXXIII: Anonymous

p. 1095-1098 [*De translacione Sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon LI: Anonymous Franciscan Observant

p. 1449-78: Sermon Material LXXVII: “Vita et sermo cum fine” - Vita sancti Stanislai in XII capitula

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-ex, pap., p. 1580 + I.

*Katalog wydruk z komputera - Tymczasowy katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki książąt Czart. Sygn. 2317-3982* (Cracow, 1984-1995).

The sizeable manuscript book contains a number of various works and preaching materials: sermons *de sanctis* and *de tempore*, exempla, and fragments of the Bible (on the parchment, p. 1575-6). The fact that a sermon called St. Bernardino as the *beatissimus pater noster* (p. 1014) points to its Franciscan Observant provenance. Some leaves bound into the volume are of smaller size (e.g. one of the sermons on St. Stanislaus).

## **Cracow, Archives of the Dominican Province<sup>13</sup>**

### **R XV 16**

f. 269r-270v [*De sancto Colomano, Stanislao vel Venceslao*]: Sermon XLIV: Anonymous (Dominican)

f. 270v-272v [*Secundus de sancto Colomano Stanislao*]: Sermon XLIII: Anonymous (Dominican)

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 15x22cm, f. 436.

Z. Włodek, “Inventaire des manuscrits médiévaux latins, philosophiques et théologiques de la Bibliothèque des Pères Dominicains de Cracovie,” *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 14 (1970), 174.

<sup>13</sup> The catalogue of Włodek provides basic characteristics of the manuscripts only. I examined the manuscripts in person as well.

The volume consists of *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (f. 1-323) and sermons *de commune sanctorum* (f. 325-436). The manuscript written by several hands from the Dominican library in Ratibor is found in Cracow since 1946.

### **L XV 28**

f. 114v-116v: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 21x30 cm, f. 133.

Zofia Włodek, "Inventaire des manuscrits médiévaux latins, philosophiques et théologiques de la Bibliothèque des Pères Dominicains de Cracovie," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 14 (1970), 177-178.

The manuscript belonged to the library of the Dominican convent in Lviv. Besides Peregrinus' *de sanctis* (unfinished), it contains a model collection *de tempore*. It is also too large to have been used as a portable preaching aid.

**Cracow, PAU/PAN Library<sup>14</sup>**

### **MS. 1707**

f. 167r-170v [*Sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon IB: redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus from f. 168v and 170r-v: margins – legend fragments: - *Post hec rex Boleslaus prophanus et impius exercitu congregavit et Russiam repugnavit...*

f. 171r-172r [*Sermo secundus*]: Sermon XV: Anonymous

f. 172r-173v [... ut patet in eius legenda]: - *Stanislaus secundum interpretationem sui nominis dicitur quasi stans in laude Dei... Ecce beatus Episcopus et martyr Stanislaus, ut tradunt libri annales principum et regum Polonie nacione fuit Polonus ex provincia Cracoviensis processit ex nobilibus parentibus oriundus...* [damaged?: sancti Alexii]

f. 174r: *Exemplum de translacione sancti Stanislai. Facta est post beati Stanislai passionem cum iam anni decimi volverunt...*

f. 262r-263v [*De translacione Sancti Stanislai vel quando vis*]: Sermon LXX: Anonymous

f. 263r upper margin: a short fragment of the legend/liturgy

Manuscript description:

Lat., Polish glosses, mid-XV, pap., 21.8x15cm, f. 357.

*Katalog rękopisów PAU, Dodatek 1* (The Catalogue of Manuscripts of the PAU Library, Addition 1) (Cracow 1912), 23-4.

Ewa Zielińska, "Biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku w drugiej połowie XV w.," 109.

Eadem, *Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku*, 110.

A collection *de sanctis*, quires with *custodes* (a "Stanislaus quire" - "p" – f. 167r-178v), put together later. There are also some cross-references pointing to sermon materials copied in different sexterns. The manuscript is damaged, with leaves falling out. There is a register of sermons on f. 284v, including the sermons on St. Stanislaus (identified as no. *Dccci*). The sermons are numbered

<sup>14</sup> The old catalogue provides only very brief and insufficient information concerning the manuscripts. I examined the manuscripts in person.

throughout the manuscript with the same hand. The codex belonged the the library of the convent of Regular Canons in Kraśnik. The manuscript contains Polish glosses, marginal and interlinear.

### **MS. 1709**

f. 145r-151r [*De s. Stanislao sermo*, position: martyrdom]: **Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca**

f. 151r-159v: [legenda] - *Beatus Stanislaus natione Polonus ex provincia Crac. processit oriundus de villa dicta Scepanow, secundum seculi dignitatem honestis parentibus progenitus... postquam vero anno decimo ad Ecclesiam beati Venceslai corpus eius fuit translatum. Quot et quantis signis mirabilibus Dominus sanctum suum mirificavit longitudinem superfugens narrare obmitto. Alia in translacione eius vide.*

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., XV-med, pap., 21.5x15cm, f. 386.

*Katalog rękopisów PAU, Dodatek 1, 24.*

Ewa Zielińska, "Biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku w drugiej połowie XV w.," 109.

Eadem, *Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych w Kraśniku*, 110.

The codex belonged the the library of the convent of Regular Canons in Kraśnik. A collection of Latin sermons on saints and feasts, with legends, perhaps related to the collection of Jan of Słupca in BJ 1415.

**Wrocław, University Library<sup>15</sup>**

### **IF 78**

f. 456v-465v [*Excerptum sermonis de sancto Stanislao facti anno domini 1430.*]: **Sermon XLVI: Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach (OESA)**

f. 472r-v: Notabile [- *Sermo prefatus de sancto Stanislao in originali quem manu propria scripsit actor eiusdem sermonis frater Johannes Sculteti continet sex folia et medium cum novem rigis... Ista est dispositio sermonis memorati, quo frater Johannes Sculteti cavillabatur contra nationem invehendo Bohemicam.*]

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1 and 2 (1461, 1447, 1467, 1440), pap., 30x20.5cm, f. I+523.

*Die handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Breslau*, vol. 1 (Verzeichnis der Handschriften im Deutschen Reich Teil. 1.), ed. H. A. Kruss (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1938), 77-81.

Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 60.

The manuscript belonged to the personal library of Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg. Szelińska (*Biblioteki*, 60) calls the MS. the "most interesting manuscript": the sermons by Jan Sculteti are mixed with the works of Lucan and Silvestris and treatises about the Hussites by Jan of Rokycany and others. The manuscript was partially written in Brzeg in 1440, partially at Cracow University in 1461. The manuscript is bound out of several independent parts. The part 5 of the codex contained various sermons, including several sermons by Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach: a synodal sermon on the feast of St. Vincent from 1430 (f. 447-452); a sermon on the dedication of St. John's Church

<sup>15</sup> The old catalogue of Gober provides relatively good description of the manuscripts, although not a complete catalogue description of the contents of the manuscripts. I examined manuscripts either in person in original or in microfilm.



in Wrocław from 1427 (f. 450-453, 455r-458r); a sermon on St. Dorothy from 1431 (f. 453-6); a sermon on St. Augustine from Sunday delivered in the “summer” refectory of the monastery of St. Wenceslas, *vulgariter* of St. Dorothy, in 1430 around 9 o’clock (f. 460v-464), a sermon on St. Dorothy from 1430 (f. 464-7).

After Tempelfeld, the volume belonged to Johannes Medici alias Patzker, who studied in Paris and was a canon in Wrocław (f. I: *Hoc volumen comparavit, incorporari, ornari et ligare de novo fecit venerabilis vir dominus Johannes Medici alias Patzker, preclarissimi studii Parisiensis arcium magister, prepositus et canonicus s. Johannis ac cantor s. Crucis ecclesiarum Wratisl.*). The manuscript then belonged to the Dominican convent in Wrocław.

### **IF 520**

f. 326v-328v [*divi Stanislai*, position: martyrdom, vita follows]: **Sermon LXXV: Anonymous**  
f. 328v-331r [legend]: - *Beatus Stanislaus nacione Polonus ex provincia Cracoviensi fuit oriundus de nobili prosapia... usque ad tempora Vladislai regis dicti Loketek legimus Polonos non habuisse.*

f. 387r-389r [*De translacione s. Stanislai*, also position]: **Sermon LXXIV: Anonymous**  
f. 389r-391r [legend – identical with the one for the martyrdom in the same collection]: - *Beatus Stanislaus nacione Polonus ex provincia Cracoviensi... usque ad tempora Wladislai regis dicti Lokyethk legimus Polonos non habuisse, etc.*

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV - 2 (po 1453), pap., 30.5x21 cm, f. 425.

W. Göber, *Katalog der Handschriften der ehemaligen Universitätsbibliothek Breslau* (vols. 1-26, Wrocław, in manuscript, 1920-1944) (hereafter *Göber-Katalog*), vol. 3, 376-377.

The codex contained various materials for preaching, including sermons *de tempore per circulum anni*, the history of the three magi, a collection of sermons on saints (f. 245-415, liturgical order from St. Andrew to Dedication), a sermon on dedication and on the Presentation of Mary. The book contained some sermons by Mikołaj of Kozłów. The manuscript belonged to the personal library of Mikolaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg (Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 60) and to the Dominican library in Wrocław.

### **IF 527**

f. 1 [a fragment]: *In translacione Stanislai: - Post passionem beati Stanislai ...*  
f. 249-250 [*Stanislai martyris sermo*, follows: *Translacio Dominici*]: **Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP**  
f. 279v-281r [*De translacione sancti Stanislai*]: **Sermon XXXVI: Anonymous**  
f. 281r-282r [*Alia particula de sancto Stanislao*, follows: *Venceslai martyris*]: **Sermon LII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., XV - 2, pap., 30x20 cm, f. 314.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 3, 390-391.

The manuscript book belonged to the Dominican convent of St. Wenceslas in Wrocław. It contained as many as three sermons on St Stanislaus within the collection ordered according to liturgical collection: Peregrinus’ sermon for the May feast and two other sermons for the feast of translation. It also contains several model sermon collections: Silvanus’ *Linea salutis*, Peregrinus’ *de tempore* and *de sanctis*. As the collection ascribed to Peregrinus contained also other two sermons on St Stanislaus, it was probably supplemente and interpolated with sermons by various authors. The

front and the back cover contain various fragments and prayers inside. Polish glosses at places. Again, it was probably rather used in a convent due to its size. The script is quite neat and readable, in two columns.

### **IF 561**

f. 226r-228r [*De sancto Stanislao sermo ut patet intuenti*; Sequitur decem milia martyrum sermo, May feast]: **Sermon LXI: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger., XV-1 (1437), pap., 30.5x21.5cm, f. I+317.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 433-4.

Świerk, *Biblioteka Żagań*, 61.

The manuscript contains two sermon collections attributed to “Paluster”: *Sermones epistolarum auctoris Palustri per circulum anni* (f. 1r-173v) and a collection of sermons on saints (f. 173v-297v), supplemented with an alphabetical topical index (f. 297-299v). The collections have a colophon from 1437 (297v): *Explicit Paluster de tempore et de sanctis cum vita sanctorum breviter pronuncianda, rescriptus per manus etc. anno domini Mo CCCCo XXXVIIo feria quinta ante festum Laurentii martyris*. The remaining pages of the volume are filled with several other sermons – various (e.g. on dedication, St Wenceslas, Mary Magdalen, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross). The manuscript book belonged to friar Augustine Thammo of Koźuchów (de Freynstad), who bequeathed it to the convent of the Canons Regular in Żagań, together with other codices of his (altogether six). He died in the convent around 1450.

### **IF 567**

f. 187r-189r [no title]: **Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1 (1415), pap., 30x21 cm, f. 257.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 441-2.

The library of the Monastery of the Canons Regular at Piasek in Wrocław possessed a copy of *Exemplar salutis* as well, in a miscellaneous codex from the first half of the fifteenth century (together with a *quadragesimale*, a Passion of Christ – copied in 1405, the *dicta* of Grosseteste, and some other fragments). Certain *Martinus pauperus* copied the collection probably very shortly after its completion (some time before 1416, most probably; another – earlier – part of the manuscript was copied in 1405). The manuscript belonged to a certain *Johannes novus sacerdos*, and *Johannes Persona* bought it from him in 1416.

### **IF 581**

f. 252r-254r [*Translacio Stanislai*, follows: Johannes Baptista]: **Sermon LVII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2, pap., 31x21.5cm, f. 380.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 466.

The manuscript consists of two parts: *Sermones quadragesimales* (the compiler signalled that he had used the Postilla of Jordanus and Vigandus; a part belongs to the *quadragesimale* of Johannes Gorini de S. Geminiano according to Göber, f. 1-202v), and various sermons on saints and the

Virgin Mary (f. 203-380v). In the second half of the fifteenth century the MS. belonged to the library of the Church and Chapter of St. John the Baptist in Nysa (inner front cover: *Liber ecclesie sive capituli s. Johannis Baptiste Nissensis*).

### **IF 594**

f. 5r-9r [*Sermo de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1 (1420), pap., 30x21cm, f. 199.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 482-3.

This pastoral miscellany contains a copy of the collection *Exemplar salutis* and various other preaching and pastoral works, including *Dialogus de ratione et consciencia* by Matthew of Cracow, sermons on sacerdotal dignity, on saints, a treatise on sacraments, some *quaestiones cum responsione*, and *Johannis Hus Proposicio*. The *Exemplar salutis* was copied at an unidentified location in 1420 (f. 133r: *Explicit liber Exemplar salutis datur per Johnem Silvanum editus per manus cuiusdam Pizkb.[?] ubi et finitus in crastino sancte crucis exaltacionis Anno Domini Mo CCCCo duodecimo*). The volume belonged to the Dominican library in Wrocław.

### **IF 605**

f. 226v-227r [margin *De beato Stanislao* – follows legend] [*Göber*: Behandelt s. Stanislaus mr. Et episcopus Cracoviensis: *De martyribus*, continuens legenda Stanislaus]: Sermon XXXI B: A

Redaction - Anonymous

227r-228r: legend [continuously after the sermon]

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger. (marginal glosses), XV-1, pap., 30.5x21cm, f. 320.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 498-9.

Świerk, *Biblioteka Żagań*, 47-8, 96.

The manuscript is comprised of two sermon collections. The first is a collection of sermons on saints mixed with sermons *de tempore, per circulum anni* (f. 3-243, including sermons by various authors, e.g. Henricus of Frimaria, James of Varazze, Nicolaus Hirschberg, and some legends on saints; from St. Andrew to St. Catherine). The second part of the volume (f. 244-320v) is occupied by James of Varazze's sermons *de tempore (pars hiemalis)*. The scribe, Jacob of Prussia, may have belonged to the scribes under Abbot Henry III of Żagań according to Świerk (a note on f. 243, lower margin: *Hec omnia frater Iacobus de Prussia quando et ut potuit sua manu conscripsit*). The sermons were sent by the Żagań convent to the prepository at Zielona Góra (f. 2: *Sermones isti legati pro loco prepositure Grunenbergensis*).

### **IF 641**

f. 93v-94v [*De sancto Stanislao*; follows: *De decem milia militum martyrum, De martyribus 2x*]:

Sermon LIX: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger. (marginal glosses), XV-1 (1426), pap., 30.5x21cm, f. I+215.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 568-570.

Szelińska, *Biblioteki*, 66-7, 78.

The volume contains various sermons and preaching aids: sermons on the Virgin Mary, an excerpt from the *Historia scholastica* and *Speculum historiale* (colophon: 1426, *per N[icolaum] de*

Luckow), sermons on a new priest and on the All Souls, sermons on saints (a cycle from St. Andrew to St. Catherine, f. 24-191), on the common of the saints (f. 192-213), and a register of sermons (f. 214r).

Świerk (*Biblioteka Żagań*) noticed the “puzzling history of the wanderings” of the volume: it belonged to Thomas Wetziger of Paczkow, a beneficiary of an altar in Preszow/Prešov, which Świerk claims to be located in Bohemia, but which could actually be in eastern Slovakia. He must have had good relation towards the convent of Regular Canons in Kłodzko – he bequeathed the MS. to the convent in a testament (f. I): *Iste liber est domini T.W. de P. Presbiteri Wratislaviensis dyocesis, quem ex speciali amore postolucionem sui carnis testamentaliter legat pro monasterio BMV can.reg. in Glog/Glocz A.D. 1486 in die Barnabe apostoli.*

The previous note is supplemented with a note *pro domino Niccolao Hebag[?] plebano in Peterwicz*. Another note named as the owner Master Jan, a preacher of Żagań, who is most probably identical with the scribe of Żagań, Master Jan Wecziger of Paczkow, a brother of Thomas Wecziger: *Liber iste pertinet ad dominum Thomam Wetziger de Patzkovia presbiterum degentem in Epperics [?] altaristam ibidem accomodatus michi [!] germano suo gracia studii [videlicet fratri Ioanni predicatori ibidem 1496 – added later] usus et utilitatis proph.anno XI, quando me personaliter visitavit cum sororio hic in Sagan*. The MS. belonged to the library of the Regular Canons in Żagań (library signature, the eighteenth century).

### **IF 650**

f. 133v: a mention of St. Stanislaus in a sermon preceding the sermon on St. Stanislaus

f. 133v-135r [*De sancto Stanislao*]: **Sermon XXXI A: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, pap., 31x21.5cm, f. 324.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 4, 589.

Świerk, *Biblioteka Żagań*, 54-5.

The manuscript contains mainly a collection of sermons on saints in liturgical cycle from St. Andrew to St. Catherine (f. 1-300), supplemented with sermons on the dead (f. 300-324v). The volume belonged to Master Vincent Costan of Żagań, who donated it together with several other codices (probably his whole personal library, altogether 11 MSS.) to the convent of Zielona Góra (Grunenberg) in 1448. According to Świerk, Vincent was from a burgher family from Żagań, he probably started his studies in Prague (1408), then studied in Leipzig (1418) – where he graduated as a master of arts in 1419.

### **IQ 280**

f. 181-183v: **Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP**

Manuscript description:

Lat., II. mid- XV, parchment, 21.5x14 cm, f. 257.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 42.

The manuscript book has a smaller format. It belonged to the Franciscan convent in Ratibor (f. 1: *Pro conventu Ratiboriensi fratrum Minorum ad sanctum Wenceslaum*). It contains model sermon collections: *de tempore super evangelia per circulum anni* (f. 1-145v) and *de sanctis per annum* (f. 146-257) with a confusing explicit: *Explicit linea salutis*, because *Linea salutis* was a temporal cycle by John-Jerome of Prague. The collection ascribed to John-Jerome of Prague is rather a miscellaneous sermon collection.

### **I Q 286**

f. 198r-201r: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger. (glosses), 1467, pap., 21x15cm, f. 466.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 49-50.

The manuscript belonged to the library of the Augustinian Canons in Sagan (Żagań). It contains model sermon texts and some other preaching materials: a collection *de tempore* ascribed to Peregrinus, a collection *de sanctis* also attributed to Peregrinus (expl. with a sermon on St. Catherine, f. 262v), then several shorter materials (*Remedia contra pestilenciam*, *Passio*) and several short sermons and sermon notes and excerpts (also from f. 347r *sermones speciales secundum ordinem – de communis* and others, *de Corpore Christi*). After the end of the *de sanctis* as though several other beginnings of *de sanctis* cycle, unfinished. The codex contains German glosses. The script is rather swift – working. Various hands. Sometimes marginal glosses containing citations or various notes (esp. on the low margin). Sometimes cross-references to other sermons: e.g. *Sermo, qui sequitur et deberet hic locum habere, scilicet ‘Simile est regnum celorum homini regi [Mt 22,2], quere post quinque folia cum sequentibus ‘de tempore’ usque ad finem. Or Secuntur sermones dedicacione ecclesie licet hic locum ne habeant, etc.*

### **I Q 331**

f. 195r-197r [*De sancto Stanislao sermo*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon LVIII B: John Cantius\*/Anonymous

f. 269v-272r [*De translacione sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon XXXVI: Anonymous

f. 272v-274r [*Alter sermo; Et iste particule interponantur ad sermonem sancti Wenceslai quomodo Christus vult, ut memoremus eius passionem*]: Sermon LII: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., XV-2, pap., 21.5x15cm, f. 335.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 112.

Świerk, *Biblioteka Żagań*, 113.

The manuscript contains sermons on saints *per circulum anni*. It contains a Polish translation of an antiphon *Salve regina* and some Polish glosses from the second half of the fifteenth century. It has a register, and contains cross-references. The codex first belonged to the prepository in Nowogrod Bobrzański, then to the conventual library of Żagań Canons Regular.

### **I Q 335**

f. 168r-170v [*Sermo de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, pap., 21.5x14.5cm, f. 341.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 117.

The codex is uniform – it was probably envisaged as a homogeneous collection from the beginning. It is entitled on the front cover *Sermones mixti positi de Contracto et Peregrino*. The script is professionally looking, rubricated initials and beginnings of some sentences. The manuscript

belonged to the library of the Canons Regular in Sagan (Żagań). The codex has got a register at the end.

### **I Q 354**

f. 98r-100r [*Primus de sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon V: Paul of Zator

f. 100v-102r [*Secundus de eodem*]: Sermon VI: Paul of Zator

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 21.5x15.5 cm, f. 255.

Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften oberschlesischer Autoren in der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau/Wrocław* (Heidelberg: Palatina Verlag, 2000), 68-71 (esp. 71).

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 153.

The codex is homogeneous – it is a collection of sermons ascribed to Master Paul of Zator (*Sermones de sanctis magistri Pauli de Zator*, f. 1-255). The two sermons on St Stanislaus by Paul of Zator appear in other copies of Zator's collection as well. The volume belonged to the library of the Dominicans in Wrocław.

### **I Q 355**

f. 121-123v [*Stanislai martyris*, follows: *Francisci confessoris*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XIV-2, perg., 18.5x14 cm, f. 187.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 16, 154.

The book belonged to the Cistercian monastery in Henryków. This is one of the older copies of the sermon on St. Stanislaus by Peregrinus. The MS. included *Sermones diversi*, *Sermones de sanctis* (f. 68-186v, attributed to Peregrinus) and a medical receipt. It has a small portable format. The script is fourteenth-century professional looking, neat. The text is organised in two columns, with frames and lines pre-marked.

### **I Q 435**

f. 115r-116r [*de sancto Stanislao*, translation feast?-St. Wenceslas mentioned]: Sermon LIII: Anonymous

249v: [*item de sancto Stanislao*] *Obsecro vos tamquam advenas et peregrinos...*, position – May feast – only a note

f. 492v-494v: – *Sequitur historia sancti Stanislai [- Stanislaus genere Polonus, fide catholicus... per biduum super sepulcrum permansit. Rogemus Dominum Deum. Item octavo anno episcopatus sui sub rege Boleslao ad martyrii palmam pervenit iii ydus aprilis ... post octavas pasche, qua cantatur 'Surrexit pastor bonus sub Gregorio pape.]*

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2 (1460-71), pap. + perg., 22x15cm, f. IV+553+7.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 17, 283.

The book is a voluminous collection of sermons (mostly sermons on saints and feasts, but entitled as *Sermones de tempore CLXX*) and materials for preaching, sometimes only schematic outlines. The texts were put down during a period between 1460-1471, most probably in Wrocław, and in a Dominican environment. Most of the codex was written by one scribe in a non-decorative handwriting which would imply a personal use. Some quires were written by other hands and were probably originally used independently. A register is located at the beginning of the codex (f. Iir-Vr). The manuscript belonged to the Dominican library in Wrocław. The codex could have been bound together from various booklets used independently before, maybe booklets belonging to a preacher for his personal use - a sermon notebook/diary.

#### **IV Q 161a**

f. 42v-48 [De sancto Stanislao]: Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger., XV-1 (1430?), pap., 21x15 cm, f. 224.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 22, 39-42.

John-Jerome's sermon is copied probably not within his whole collection (there is no prologue, only some sermons), but individually, within a different collection, which is called *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (f. 1). It contains sermons on saints and *de commune*, not in liturgical order as a whole. A register is located at the beginning of the manuscript. The codex contains some texts (booklets) in German. Some quires (texts) are in German, e.g. life of St. Hedwig. After the sermon collection (from f. 153) – *versus super totam Bibliam*, and a treatise On devotion, Passion of Christ. Besides sermons the manuscript contains other preaching aids like treatises about Bible, devotion and passion.

#### **IV Q 177**

f. 164-165: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., Ger., XV-1, pap., 21.5x15.5cm, f. II+ 316.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 22, 90-93.

The manuscript contains German glosses (interlinear and marginal), and also German texts (at the beginning). It belonged to the library of the Augustinian Canons in Wrocław. Among the texts there are: sermons on saints, various religious texts (prayers, legends, sermons etc.). The manuscript contains numerous leaves of smaller format. It appears to contain several cycles of the sermons *de sanctis*, not necessarily ordered, although it seems to be ordered according to the liturgical calendar mostly. It most probably contained sermons also by other authors than Peregrinus. It could have been put together from separately used parts or quires. Most of the codex was written by one hand, in swift cursive in one column, with numerous and heavy abbreviations. The same hand wrote also the German glosses. Towards the end of the manuscript, some texts (leaves) written by another hand, looking more professional, with fewer abbreviations in two columns, were included. A register of topics is found at the end of the codex. The manuscript was probably copied to be used by its scribe and his fellow friars, for portable uses as well.

The sermon on St Stanislaus has also numerous and heavy abbreviations and was written by a German-speaking hand (who also wrote the German texts and glosses throughout the codex). It is the whole standard text (with the corrections compared to the modern edition, more correct than the edition as for the meaning), seems to have no significant modifications.

**IO 117**

f. 137r-138v [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: martyrdom, follows: **De ascensione Domini**]:  
**Sermon XVI: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1 (1427), pap., 15x10.5cm, f. 213.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 24, 301.

The manuscript is of a very small, *octavo*, portable format. The first part (f. 1-100) is occupied by sermons *de tempore per annum* (from Advent to the 25<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity), finished in 1427 (f. 100: *Et sic est finis breviarii dominicalis anno millesimo CCCCXX septimo in die crastino sancti Mauricii et sociorum eius.*). The second part (f. 101-213v) contains sermons on saints *per annum* (from St. Andrew to St. Catherine, followed from f. 187v with several other sermons without order). The codex may have belonged to the chapter of Nysa.

**IO 121**

f. 284r-288 [*De sancto Stanislao legenda*]: legend [- *Beatus Stanislaus, ut annales gestorum Polonie tangunt...*]

[f. 288v-289v: Dominica tercia post octavas pasce]

f. 289v-291v [*De sancto Stanislao sermo*]: **Sermon LVI: Anonymous**

f. 292r-294r [*Prologus de sancto Stanislao*]: **Sermon LX: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2, pap., 15.5x10.5cm, f. 353.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 24, 308-313.

The codex belonged to the library of the Canons Regular in Żagań. The small portable codex contained various preaching materials: an extract from the passion of capistran (f. 14r-31r); sermons on saints and *de tempore* mixed, including a number of sermons by Simon of Cremona – mostly *de tempore*, and sermons on saints by Leonardus de Utino, with legends from the *Golden Legend*, and some *exempla*). It has a register with references to quires. In the register (f. Ir) also *De sancto Georgio vel Stanislao Ego sum vitis XIXc*, but it is a sermon on St. Mark in the codex. In the register (f. Iv) also *Legenda de sancto Stanislao, De sancto Stanislao in XXIII sexterno, Alius de sancto Stanislao in XXIII sexterno*. There is also another register, which is located at the end of the first one: *Rubrica super sermones huius libelli* (f. 1r-13v), which provides the *thema* and the topic of the sermons.

**IO 123**

f. 106r-107v [*In translacione Sancti Stanislai*]: **Sermon XXVIII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2, pap., 15.5x11.5cm, f. 460.

*Göber-Katalog*, vol. 24, 317-318.

A collection of various sermons with *exempla* and legends in the order of a liturgical year. A provenance note from the second half of the fifteenth century (*Et ego Nicolaus quondam Petri de wanpine[?]*). The book has a small *octavo* format suitable for portable uses.



**MS 414/II**

f. 244v-245r [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon XIII: Anonymous (a redaction of the sermon by John-Jerome?)

f. 245r-246v: the legend follows, with Polish words in the text [*Sanctus Stanislaus Episcopus Cracoviensis natione Polonus de villa Sczepanowycze prope Cracoviam est natus... Sicque corpus sancti Stanislai pontificis et martyris sepulture tradentes Deo gracias egerunt, circa eius sepulcrum multa miracula sunt facta ut audietis post modum de eius translacione. Et sic sanctus Stanislaus secutus est Iesum Christum sicut bonus pastor dans animam suam pro ovibus suis et sic mortem perdidit, et vitam eternam per eius preces Dominus noster Iesus Christus dignetur nos perducere.*]

f. 287v-289r [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: translation]: Sermon LXIV: Anonymous

f. 289r-290r [legend follows immediately, appended to the sermon]: translation legend [- *Post passionem sancti Stanislai cum iam decem anni essent et corpus sancti Stanislai in ecclesia sancti Michaelis quieverat ... Petamus igitur sanctum Stanislaum, ut ipse dignetur nobis impetrare a Deo sanitatem anime et corporis, et ut per ipsius suffragia possumus adipisci regna celestia, que nobis dignetur prestare Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.*]

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol. (glosses), XV, pap., 2o, f. 354.

Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*, vol. 2 (Lviv: Ossolineum, 1886) (Cathalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Ossolinae Leopoliensis vol.2), 469.

The manuscript was written by several hands. The text of the sermons on St .Stanislaus (and other texts) contains Polish words, which are translations of Latin words inside the text, in the course of narration of the sermon and the legend. The volume contains: *sermones dominicales* (f. 1-185), a collection of sermons on feasts and saints (f. 185v-191, 345-351), another collection of sermons on feasts and saints (f. 192-226v), a treatise on confession and contrition, a treatise *De chorea* and other pastoral works, another collection of sermons on feasts and saints, including the sermon on St. Stanislaus (f. 239-341) – *Sermones dominicales et festivales*, which is a reworking of the sermons by John-Jerome (*Linea salutis, Exemplar salutis*), according to Brückner, *Kazania*, vol. 3, 168ff.

**MS. 824/ I**

f. 173r-175r [*Sermo in festo S.Stanislai* – written on the upper margin with a later hand]: Sermon XX: Anonymous [truncated?]

f. 201r-203r [*De sancto Stanislao*, from the content: translation, position: translation, follows De sancto Wenceslao]: Sermon XVII: Anonymous

f. 203r-205r: [historia “canonisationis seu translacionis”, no title, missing initial] - [Q]uot corpus gloriosissimi episcopi beatissimi Stanislai postquam occisus fuit per ympiissimum et per Tyrannissimum Regem Boleslaum ... Sed quia sanctus Stanislaus est noster Episcopus, ergo non dubitemus de eo, cum sit tante potestatis apud Deum, quod nobis impetrabit a Deo quidquid pecierimus [corr: petierimus], ut ipse nos suis meritis perducatur ad regna celestia. Rogemus. Translacio sancti Stanislai facta est anno domini millesimo cmo quinquagesimo tercio, cui successit Wyschek Episcopus.

<sup>16</sup> The catalogue of Kętrzyński provides only basic information concerning the manuscripts. I examined the manuscripts in microfilm.

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol. (glosses), XV-med, pap., 4o, f. 418.

Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*, vol. 2, 271-2.  
Jacek Wiesolowski, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV-XVw.* (Wrocław 1967), 92 and fn. 11.

Banaszkiewicz. "Czarna i biała legenda," esp. 360.

The manuscript is written by various hands. It contains various pastoral and theological works: treatises *De confessione*, *De chorea*, *De templo Dei*, *Remedia luxurie*, *Tractatulus de penitencia* [colophon f. 68: *per manus Iohannis de Wyelopole*], *De penitencia et peccatis*, and questiones *Quare et propter que homo in ecclesia Dei debet orare Deum* (f. 86 expl.: *Est finis per venerabilem virum sacre theologie professorem Stephanum de Palatsch*), *Ecclesia universalis non potest errare* (expl. 94v: *Scripta per Iohannem Stenidensem, studentem alme universitatis studii Cracoviensis et finita die Iovis, tercia mensis Iulii, hora vesperorum A.D. 1438 in commodo domus Gregorii Bartusii in Kazimiria.*), *Disputacio clerici cum Iudeo contra Iudeos*, exposition of Our Father and others, *De peccatis* (expl. 172v); sermons on saints and feasts (interspersed from f. 173ff.), *De persecucione Iudeorum Vratislaviensium A.D. 1453* (f. 233-236, ed. MPH 4, 1-5), *Historia originalis super tradimento Nicolai pape V...*(*copiata per me Petrum Bolestam de Siradia civitate diocesis Gneznensis, peregrinum pauperem sancti Iacobi Zebedei de fine mundi, in domo strenui viri domini Iohannis Noss, omnium pauperum presbyterorum et peregrinorum iustorum et aliorum egenorum provisoris et altoris, ipso die s. Aegidii abbatis anno eodem 1453*, f. 236-42); *Henrici [Erici] Sbignei de Gora tractatulus contra cruciferos regni Polonie invasores* (f. 242-57v: *finitus A.D. 1456 in mense Maio*, ed. in MPH 4, 143-205); *Cautele circa missam observande, Legenda de s. Burcardo*.

The manuscript contains various pastoral treatises, historical works and some works connected with university environment (*questiones, disputacio*, etc.). The sermon on St. Stanislaus was copied by a student, Bolesta of Sieradz, around 1453.

### **MS. 1490/II**

p. 227-237 [*De sancto Stanislao*]: **Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, pap., 2o, p. 504.

Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*, vol. 2.

Brückner, *Kazania*, vol. 1, 49.

The manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century contained both the temporal (p. 1-195, *Linea salutis*, the colophon dated to 1432) and the sanctoral (p. 215-504, *Exemplar salutis*) collection; and then some sermons and legends by a later hand until the end of the codex. It belonged to the library of the Carmelitan Convent in Poznań.

**Wrocław, Chapter Library**<sup>17</sup>

### **MS. 43**

f. 153v-154v [*De sancto Stanislao martyre et pontifice*]: **Sermon XIV: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

<sup>17</sup> The catalogue does not provide full descriptions. I examined the manuscripts in person in original.

Lat., pol., XV-med, 2o, f. 232.

Wincenty Urban, "Rękopisy kaznodziejskie Biblioteki Kapitulnej we Wrocławiu" (Sermon Manuscripts of the Chapter Library in Wrocław), *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 3 (1973), 251.

The manuscript contains sermons *de sanctis* and *de tempore*, two collections or cycles, written by different hands. Besides sermons it also contains some notes about confession, fragments of prayers in Polish, and so on, i.e. pastoral aids; and some notes on local events from the mid-fifteenth century Silesia (dates of death, etc.).

### **MS. 135**

f. 80v – 82r [*De translacione sancti Stanislai martyris*]: Sermon XXXVI: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1464 (and earlier), pap., 21x31.5cm, f. 236.

Urban, "Rękopisy kaznodziejskie Biblioteki Kapitulnej we Wrocławiu," 251.

The pastoral miscellany consists of several units, i.e. several collections of sermons: a collection of sermons on saints and feasts, a collection attributed to *Conradus*, sermons on Sunday Gospels, and so on. The collection *Conradus* was copied in 1424 and bought by *Johannes de Dobczyn* (f. 225v). According to a note at the back cover the book later belonged to an Augustinian friar from Wrocław.

### **MS. 697**

f. 166r-167v [legend]: – *Stanislaus propter vite mundiciam et sanctitatis excellenciam in episcopum...*

f. 288r-289r [legend – identical, although the incipit different]: – *Beatus Stanislaus studiis literarum traditus ...*

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 21.5x31.5cm, f. 446.

Wincenty Urban, "Rękopisy kaznodziejskie Biblioteki Kapitulnej we Wrocławiu," 265.

The large manuscript containing *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (mixed) is written by one hand, with a register. Instead of sermons there are only legends for some saints.

**Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN (Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences)<sup>18</sup>**

### **ID 50**

f. 74-75 [*De sancto Stanislao – martyrdom*]: Sermon XXX: Anonymous

f. 186-187 [*Stanislaus – translation*]: Sermon XXXVII: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2 (1476-78?), pap., 14x11cm, f. 267.

Jerzy Zathy, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej* (The Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of the Library in Kórnik) (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow: Ossolineum, 1963), 141-153.

<sup>18</sup> The catalogue descriptions by Zathy are complete and exhaustive (although sometimes lacks full incipit and explicit of the sermon texts). I relied on the catalogue descriptions and examined the scans of the texts of sermons on St. Stanislaus.

It is a codex of a small portable format, written by several scribes. It contains sermons on saints: by Nicolaus of Blonie; by Peregrinus – allegedly – including the two sermons on Stanislaus; by James of Varazze, Bernardino, and anonymous. The provenance note, which is of a later date than the copy, signals a Franciscan Observant milieu: (f.1) *Simon frater ord.min.[de Observancia?]*. It also contains sermons on St. Bernardino and St. Claire. It originated possibly in the Observant Franciscan convent in Kościan.

### **ID 52**

f. 70v-75 [*Stanislai sancti sermo*]: **Sermon XLVII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., XV-2 (before 1484), pap., 21x15cm, f. 398.

Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, 161-171.

The manuscript belonged to the library of the Franciscan Observant Convent in Kościan (*Iste liber est loci Costensis ad S.Mariam de Angelis concessus ad usum fratris Johannis de Prussia predicatoris et confessoris ordinis minorum de observancia per me fratrem Michaelem alias Bal ord min de obs eiusdem vicarium provincie imeritum 1484.*). The collection which contains a sermon on St. Stanislaus (f. 14-187) is entitled as “Sermons on saints by Mikołaj of Blonia” (*pars aestivalis*), who is the author of most sermons within this textual unit.

### **ID 53**

f. 122v-123v [*De sancto Stanislao*]: **Sermon XI: Anonymous**

f. 123v-125v [*Alius sermo de sancto Stanislao sequitur*]: **Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP**

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol. (glosses), XV-2 (1463 and later), 31.3x21.5cm, f. 349.

Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, 171-187.

Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie*, 51-52, 446 (a short description).

The manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century is composed of three parts written by various hands (one of the hands is identified as Jacob, the vicar in Psarskie – the first part, 1463 explicit) in various years after 1463. It contains several separate collections: sermons on saints of Hieronymus of Prague (identified in the catalogue, *Exemplar salutis*, but it differs from the complete collection preserved in some mss.) (f. 1-78), *sermones festivales* (f. 79-161v) out of which some are sermons of Peregrinus, but mostly various; and the third part is the collection of sermons for Sundays (f. 162-349, a complete cycle, truncated at the end, cf. e.g. MS. Warsaw, BN 3021), which is attributed to Piotr of Miłosław (a study of the collection by Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie*). The miscellaneous festival part includes two sermons on St Stanislaus side by side: an anonymous sermon on *Ego sum pastor bonus* and a copy of Peregrinus’ sermon. The part is rather heterogeneous (probably not according to liturgical cycle, but quires may have functioned separately). The sermons on St. Stanislaus are written in cursive in one column (ms. until f. 161v), probably for personal rather than “library” use (but Zathey: some parts more bookish, in two columns). At the end of the first Stanislaus sermon cross-reference to his legend “in the first sextern” (which is not found in this manuscript: *De quo legit videlicet supra eius legenda, quere in primo sexterno*). Sometimes Polish glosses – marginal, interlinear and inside the text as well.

### **ID 55**

f. 230v-231v [martyrdom, *Epistola in festum sancti Stanislai*, 1463 or 1475]: Sermon XLIX: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger., 1474-77, pap., 30.7x21cm, f. 396.

Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, 207-220.

The manuscript, written by several scribes, contains several different works. The sermon on St. Stanislaus is found in the part *Sermones dominicales in evangelias* (f. 174-303), which probably contains sermons from a particular liturgical year, which Zathey identified as 1463/4 or 1474. Besides this sermon collection, or a sermon diary, the manuscript part of the composite codex contains the legend of three magi, quadragesimal sermons, sermons for some special circumstances, and some short sermons and texts. The first part of the composite book (f. 1-173) is formed by incunabula of Turrecremata's *Expositio super toto Psaltero* from 1474. The volume belonged to a certain Johannes Pszarski, who donated it to the convent of Srem (f. 1r: *A honesto viro Joanne Pszarski Conventui donatus*, f. 1v *Hic liber conventus Sremensis*).

### **1122 (olim VI 250)**

f. 178v-183 [*Sermo de beato Stanislao Polonorum Patrono*]: Sermon XXIX: Anonymous

Edition:

Jerzy Zathey, "Nowe źródło do legendy o Bolesławie Śmiałym (z rękopisu Biblioteki Kórnickiej 1122)," *Roczniki biblioteczne* 5 (1961): 365-382.

Manuscript description:

Lat., pol., XV-ex, pap. and parchment, 15.5x11 cm, f. 268 + 2.

Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, 511-524.

The miscellaneous codex is written by several hands, mainly by a Franciscan Observant, Paweł of Łomża, then belonged most probably to the convent of Kościan. The sermon on St Stanislaus is not a part of any ordered sermon collection. The manuscript contains besides the sermon some short treatises and works of pastoral use, exempla, a selection of various privileges for the Franciscan Observants and other fragments. The content as well as the small size of the book corresponds to the design for personal use, especially in pastoral activity.

**Sandomierz, Seminary Library<sup>19</sup>**

### **MS 423**

f. 184v-185r [*De sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon XXXII: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV (1413), pap. and parchment, 29x21cm, f. 256+II.

Walenty Wójcik, "Cenniejsze rękopisy biblioteki Seminarium duchownego w Sandomierzu" (The Valuable Manuscripts of the library of the Seminary in Sandomierz), *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 4 (1962), 283-4.

<sup>19</sup> I would like to thank to the staff of the Seminary Library in Sandomierz for making the copies available to me. As for the description of the manuscripts, I relied on the incomplete descriptions in the catalogue of Wójcik.

The manuscript contains various materials for preaching: a collection *Linea salutis* (f. 1-115), notes, various pericopes, a random collection of sermons by various authors for various circumstances written by various scribes – Štěkna, Prociva, Benesius, Cacabi de s. Ioanne (f. 122-244); then the dialogue of St. Anselm with the Virgin Mary, the Passion of Christ by Anselm, etc. The volume belonged to an unidentified convent and was used by several friars (f. 256v: *Liber pro usu fratri Martino per patrem Marianum Vycewicz* [?]; *Liber pro usu fratri... datum per patrem Vitum*).

### **MS 428**

f. 81v-83v [*De translacione sancti Stanislai*]: **Sermon XXII: Anonymous**

f. 149v -151v [*De sancto Stanislao patrono meo*]: **Sermon XLII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2, pap., 31x21.5cm, f. 160.

Wójcik, “Cenniejsze rękopisy biblioteki Seminarium duchownego w Sandomierzu,” 284-5.

The volume contains a shorter collection of sermons *dominicales* and *festivales* (f. 1-49) and a collection of sermons on saints (f. 51-158), attributed to Nicolaus Wigandi. The sermons (at least the first collection) were collected by a chanter from Przemyśl who graduated from Prague (*Incipiunt sermones dominicales et festivales collecti a domino Cantore ecclesie Premislensis et magistro artium studii condam* [!] *Prahensis Dominus ipse est salus in ventre Virginis per carnem assumptus*).

**Kielce, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego (Higher Seminary Library), fund Biblioteka Kapitulna (Chapter Library)<sup>20</sup>**

### **MS 21/3**

f. 314v-315r [*De sancto Stanislao in Maio*]: **Sermon XXXII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, pap., 30x21.5cm, f. 397.

Jerzy Wolny, “Inventaire des manuscrits théologiques médiévaux de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre à Kielce,” *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 16 (1971), 45-7.

The manuscript contains various preaching and pastoral materials: *Sermones super evangelia dominicalia* and *Sermones in epistolas dominicales* by Guillelmus Peraldus (f. 1-174v, f. 175-239v), a collection of sermons *de sanctis* by various authors (f. 240r-339v; for example sermons by Joannes Protiva de Nova Villa, Joannes Štěkna, Cacabus, Benasius – Bohemian authors from the Prague University; and sermons by Peregrinus of Opole); and a *Passio Iesu Christi* (f. 340r-397v). The volume probably belonged to an alumnus of the Prague University. In the sixteenth century, the book belonged to the collegiate Church of the Virgin Mary in Kielce (*Liber ecclesie collegiate Sanctae Mariae Kielcensis 1571*).

<sup>20</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Krzysztof Bracha and his student Tomasz Ossowski for sending me the copies of these manuscripts. The library uses double signatures of the manuscripts, the second number refers to the catalogue by Wolny.

### **MS 42/24**

f. 242r-242v [individual, truncated, without the beginning and the end, at the end of the manuscript]: Sermon LXXVIII: A Truncated Sermon With No Beginning and No End || *prodigium ad penitentiam provocabat... et iussit eas mitti in universum mundum.*||

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, pap., 31.5x22cm, f. 242.

Wolny, "Inventaire des manuscrits théologiques médiévaux de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre à Kielce," 68-9.

The volume contains sermons and pastoral materials: a collection of *Postilla super evangelia et epistolas dominicales* attributed to Antonius de Parma (f. 1-231r), a list of *casus prohibentes*, materials on interdict, on the heretics, the calendar of Cracow diocese, various marriage cases (f.231r-242r). The last page of the codex contains a sermon on St. Stanislaus without a beginning and an end (f. 242v). The volume also belonged to the collegiate Church of the Virgin Mary in Kielce in the sixteenth century (*Liber ecclesie collegiate Sanctae Mariae Kielcensis*).

**Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Biblioteka Katedralna (Archdiocesan Archives, Cathedral Library)**

### **MS 24**

f. 104v-106v: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., Pol., pap., XV (f. 96r: 1436), 28.5x21.5 cm, f. 190+ II perg.

Peregrinus, *Sermones*, XXXI-XXXII; Wolny, "Łaciński zbiór," 180-238.

*Kazania gnieźnienskie. Podobizna, transliteracja, transkrypcja* (Gniezno Sermons. Form, Transliteration, Transcription), ed. S. Vrtel-Wierczyński (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1953).

Wolny maintained that it had been written in the milieu of Cracow (and the same branch as BJ 1617 and Dominican BUWr I F 594). The manuscript contains 95 Latin sermons by 4 scribes (70 Peregrinus *de sanctis* sermons, some copied twice – like Becket), extracts from the *Legenda aurea*. Besides that the manuscript contains also 10 sermons in Polish (one hand, large script, probably translations and reworked versions of Peregrinus *de sanctis*) and Polish glosses (with the same hand as the text), continuous Polish texts on the margins. The two protecting parchment leaves contain a thirteenth-century calendar and 4 smaller leaves with Polish fifteenth-century prayers sewed in the back part.

## Manuscripts outside Poland

### Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek<sup>21</sup>

#### MS. 442

f. 66r-68v [*De sancto Stanislao sermo*, follows: *Dominici confessoris*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XIV (after 1305), parchment, 22x16cm, f. 132.

R. Helssig. *Katalog der lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig*, vol. 1: *Die theologische Handschriften*, pars 1. Leipzig 1926-1935, 712-716.

Peregrinus, *Sermones*, XVI.

The codex belonged to the Cistercian cloister in Meissen (Cella Sancte Marie). The codex is of a possibly portable format. The script is professional looking in two columns, the whole collection is written by one hand. It is the oldest known copy of Peregrinus *de sanctis*. Various shorter texts and fragments have been put down on the inside covers and on the last leaf after the sermon collection. Some pages have additional texts on margins written by different hand (mostly in Latin, sometimes isolated words translated into German), by the same scribe as the shorter notes in the beginning and at the end of the codex. The explicit dates the end of the collection into 1305.

### Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek<sup>22</sup>

#### C 201

f. 196v-198v [*De sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV, pap., 22x15 cm, f. 219.

M. Andersson-Schmitt and M. Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung. Handschriftenbeschreibungen*, 3: C 201-300 (Stockholm: Almqvist u. Wiksell International, 1990), 5-6.

Some leaves of smaller size, uneven size. The manuscript is written by five different hands. The manuscript book contains Ps.-Bonaventure's (Guilelmus de Lancea) *Dieta salutis* (1-108v), *Passio* (109r-132v), a fragment of the *Sermones de tempore* (132r-142v), Peregrinus' *de sanctis* (identified so in the catalogue) without the beginning and the end, partially corresponding to Schneyer's list, with interpolated other sermons, including Polish saints. The provenance and the history of the manuscript is unknown. The sermon is written in one column, quite well-readable script.

#### C 324

<sup>21</sup> I examined the microfilm of the manuscript, which the Universitätsbibliothek kindly borrowed to me.

<sup>22</sup> I would like to thank Jurgita Kunsmanaitė for ordering the scans of MSS. from Uppsala. The catalogue descriptions in the modern catalogue are complete and exhaustive.



f. 88r-90r [*Stanislai/De sancto Stanizlao*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon/Sermon Material IE: A Redaction of the Sermon by Peregrinus – A Hagiographical Fragment

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-1, paper and parchment, 21x14.5cm, f. 358.

M. Andersson-Schmitt and M. Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung. Handschriftenbeschreibungen*, 4: C 301-400 (Stockholm: Almqvist u. Wiksell International, 1991), 165-177.

The manuscript belonged to the conventual library in Vadstena, but had been probably bound elsewhere. The codex contains a sermon collection *de sanctis* (*Vorago de sanctis*, in liturgical order, Andrew-Catherine-commune sanctorum-dedication, f. 2r-257v) and *de tempore* (f. 257v-341r; *Hic est finis libri qui dicitur vorago. Explicit liber vorago de sanctis et de tempore.*). A register of sermons (with short summaries) is located at the end of the codex (f. 341r-354v). There is a register of sermons on saints on the inner back cover written most probably by Michael Nicolai. Some sermons are long and developed, others are only outlines, for some saints there is only a short legend instead of a sermon.

### **C 383**

f. 126r-v [*De sancto Stanislao*, position: martyrdom]: Sermon LXXI: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., XIV-2, parchment, 24.5x18cm, f. 234.

Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala* 4, 514-530.

After two individual sermons, a collection on saints and feasts by James of Varazze (*vorago de sanctis*), which contains also sermons by other authors like Johannes Herolt and Contractus (f. 2r-213v, from St. Andrew to St. Catherine). Afterwards – a short varied collection on saints. The collection ascribed to Varazze was bought by a certain Otto of Wrocław according to a provenience note (f. 233v: *Istum Jacobinum Emi ego otto Wratis[lavensis]*), then it belonged also to the library in Warmia (f. 1r: *Liber Bibliotheca Varmiensis*). The catalogue identified the script as belonging to a Frauenburger canon Otto de Russyn.

**Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Fond Metropolitní Kapitulní knihovna u sv. Víta (Archives of the Prague Castle, Fund Metropolitan Chapter Library of St. Vitus)<sup>23</sup>**

### **F 46**

f. 80r [*Stanislai martyris*, follows: De ascensione, position: martyrdom]: Sermon XXIV: Anonymous

Manuscript description:

Lat., Czech glosses, XIV-1 (1328), 15.5x22 cm, f. 132.

A. Patera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapituly pražské 2* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1922), 45-46.

The manuscript contains mnemonic verses for the truths of the faith, then (2r-70v) sermons for Sundays dated by colophon to 1328, several sermons on saints (f. 71r-90v) followed by some

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Petra Mutlová for ordering the copies of these MSS.

exempla, and other sermons (on Ten Commandments, penitence, etc., then again on saints and Virgin Mary. The manuscript belonged to a Johannes de Cubito (f. Ir: *Liber magistri Johannis de Cubito*).

### **F 65/2**

f. 46r-48r [*Stanislai martyris*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., Czech, XIV-2, pap., 21.5x14.5 cm, f. 116.

A. Patera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapituly pražské*, 57-58.

The whole codex is occupied by a collection of sermons on saints (*Sermones de sanctis boni*), with some additions. Czech words are found in the text in several places. The manuscript originated rather early, in the second half of the fourteenth century, probably in Bohemia. The first sermon on St Andrew indicates that it could be Peregrinus' collection (although its explicit is different), but it has to be verified. The text is written in two columns. The codex is of smaller portable size. The script is neatly looking, perhaps professional fourteenth-century, lines pre-drawn, in two columns.

### **F 71**

f. 207r-209r [*De sancto Stanislao*]: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

Manuscript description:

Lat., Czech glosses, XIV-2, parchment, 20.5x13.5 cm, f. 223.

A. Patera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapituly pražské* 2, 60-61.

The manuscript is entitled *Prothemata sermonum*, and it contains materials for sermons on saints and feasts. The incipit of the collection is not identical with the beginning of the collection attributed to Peregrinus in the lists of Wolny or Schneyer. The size suggests also portable uses. The parchment codex is rather old, from the second half of the fourteenth century. Professionally looking script, lines pre-drawn, in two columns. It contains Czech marginal glosses in several places and a Czech prayer text (*Mocz Boha Otcze wssemohueczyeho...*).

**Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library)<sup>24</sup>**

### **Cod. Lat. 50**

f. 313v-316v [no title]: Sermon IX: John-Jerome of Prague

Manuscript description:

Lat., ger., XV-1, pap., 31.5 x 22.6 cm, f. 488.

Mezey, *Codices Latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestiensis*, 76-82.

Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské*, vol. 2, 79-83, no. 245.

The manuscript is a composite codex, bound out of several parts. A miscellany from the first half of the fifteenth century contains the collection *Exemplar salutis*, including the sermon on St. Stanislaus. Besides John-Jerome's collection, the manuscript contains various pastoral works, which could be used as preaching aids, e.g. by John Milicius, Augustine, Hugh of St. Victor, Anselm, Pseudo-Isidore, Bonaventure, Honorius Augustodunensis, and so on. The manuscript

<sup>24</sup> I relied on the catalogue descriptions of Mezey and Sopko and also examined the manuscripts in original in person.

consists of several individually conceived parts; quires written within the span of several years by several hands were put together in the Scepusian region (Spiš, present-day Slovakia). A part was written by John, parish priest of Lubicca (*Johannes plebanus in Leubitz*), who probably had the quires bound together and used the manuscript. The codex belonged to the Charterhouse of Lechnitz for a certain period. The codex (the collection *Exemplar salutis*) was probably copied not long after John-Jerome published his work, although the dating into 1409 concerns the completion of the collection by John-Jerome, rather than the date when the scribe finished copying it.<sup>25</sup>

### **Cod. Lat. 75**

f. 450r-451v [no title]: **Sermon II: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-2 (1467-1472), pap., 31.3x21.2 cm, f. 474.

Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*, vol. 2, 112-114.

Mezey, *Codices Latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestiensis*, 132-135.

The codex is a miscellaneous manuscript. The sermon on St. Stanislaus is located individually among other works (in between *Speculum humanae saluacionis* and a work of Guillaume of Auvergne), not within a collection of sermons. Other works include sermons by Pope Gregory, Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, various theological treatises and aids, Aquinas' *Quodlibet*. The manuscript is written by various hands, probably simultaneously in one region, maybe in Spiš territory or in Poland. One of the scribes and an owner of the codex was most probably a student of the university of Cracow, who brought the booklets from Cracow to the territory of today's Slovakia. The volume belonged to John of Kežmarok, a parish priest in Menhartzdorff [a provenance note from the late fifteenth century: (f.1) *Volumen Johannis de Kesz margt plebani in Menhartzdorff in quo continentur isti libri...*].

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| <b>Bratislava, Slovenský Národný Archív, Fond Kapitulná knižnica (National Archives, Chapter Library)<sup>26</sup></b> |
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### **Chapter Library MS 64**

p. 327-328 [*S. Stanisslao* (sic!)]: **Sermon LXIII: Anonymous**

Manuscript description:

Lat., XIV-2, pap., 29.3x21.4cm, f. 170.

Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*, vol. 1, 91-92.

The manuscript, which belonged to the library of Bratislava chapter, is most probably of Bohemian provenance (Sopko on the basis of script and the presence of sermons on Bohemian and Polish patron saints, and also on the basis of fourteenth-century records of payments from Moravian territory on the inner cover). The codex was found in the chapter library in Bratislava before 1425, listed in the repertory of books as *Aurum sub fymo* (*Aurum sub fimo super epistolas et ewangelia*). The codex could have been partially written in Bratislava, or brought as a whole there. The codex is written by three scribes. It served as a preaching aid. The codex consists of two parts: *Aurum sub fimo super epistolas et ewangelia* from the mid-fourteenth century (f. 1-85, a register f. 85v-89v, an explicit by the author: *Istos sermones compilavi et predicavi ego frater ex tribus litteris nomen*

<sup>25</sup> Both Sopko and Mezey dated maintained that this date referred to the completion of the copying by the scribe. However, an identical colophon is found in the MS. Cracow Chapter 158, f. 110.

<sup>26</sup> I relied on Sopko's description and examined the manuscript in microfilm.

*compositum habens eo tempore etc.*) and a collection of sermons on saints from the late fourteenth century (f. 90-162). The second part was called by Sopko *Peregrini Oppoliensis Sermones de sanctis*, but it appears to contain not only sermons by Peregrinus. Peregrinus is not the author of the sermon on St. Stanislaus found here (it is not identical with the sermon on St. Stanislaus attributed to Peregrinus of Opole).

### Vatican Library<sup>27</sup>

#### Lat. Ms. 14182

f. 13(r-v): excerpts of the life of St. Stanislaus [cf. *Vita maior* II 20 - III 1 (afterdeath events, paraphrased and abridged), and miracles *Vita maior* III 24, 25, 10, 16, 20, 46].

f. 25r-26r [*In die sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon LVIII A: John Cantius?\*/Anonymous (Redaction A)

f. 108v, 108r, 107r (in this order): “Sancti Stanislai miraculum” (cf. *Vita maior*, II, 1-6, 374-378).

f. 234r-237r [*In die sancti Stanislai*]: Sermon XXXV: John Cantius?\*

#### Manuscript description:

Lat., Polish glosses, XV (around 1430-38), pap., 22.5x15.5cm, f. 281+2+II.

Zawadzki, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna świętego Jana Kantego*, 163-170.

Romanus Maria Zawadzki, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum s. Ioannis Cantii qui in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana asservantur* (Cracow: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1997).

The codex includes more than a hundred various sermons, mostly anonymous (but also by St. Augustine or Franciscan Contractus), which were not arranged as a liturgical cycle (some thematic quires, though). The codex also contains a number of sermons by university teachers and colleagues of John Cantius (Nicolaus of Kozłow - especially, Jan Elgot, Nicolaus Scultetus of Konradswalde). A miscellaneous manuscript, a preacher's notebook, contains various preaching materials written in the 1430s by the hand of Cantius. Cantius had the codex bound together from various separate booklets that he had copied or written and repeatedly used in the course of years. Some of the sermons were most probably composed by Cantius himself, some schemes and numerous glosses, draft writing. Cantius copied also a number of fragments and excerpts from various narrative texts (the Golden Legend, Ludolf's of Saxony *Vita Christi*, and so on), including short fragments about St. Stanislaus.

### Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek<sup>28</sup>

#### MS XI. 262

f. 245v-246r [no title]: Sermon XVIII: Anonymous

#### Manuscript description:

Lat., German glosses, XIV-1 (1330-50), parchment, 21.5x14cm, f. 252.

Albin Czerny, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian* (Linz: Ebenhöch, 1871), 109-110.

Wójcik, *Twórczość kaznodziejska dominikanina Marcina Polaka*, 86-89 (a detailed catalogue description and a discussion).

The manuscript contains sermon collections by Dominican Martinus Polonus: *de tempore* (f. 3r-145r) and *de sanctis* (f. 146r-245v). A sermon on St. Stanislaus, written by another scribe, is located individually after the end of the collection, outside any sermon collection. The manuscript has got a

<sup>27</sup> I would like to thank Lala Etleva for ordering the copies of the MS. Zawadzki's descriptions are reliable.

<sup>28</sup> I would like to thank Dr Dagmara Wójcik for informing me about this sermon and borrowing scan of the text. I relied on her description of the manuscript.

register (f. 1r-2v). An index (*Tabula sermonum*, f. 247r-251v) and also a sermon by Voragine on the Holy Trinity (f. 252r-v) were added with different hands later. The manuscript, written altogether by four hands belonged to the library of the Canons Regular in Sankt Florian, where existed a limited liturgical cult of St. Stanislaus. The manuscript was used in preaching practice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which is testified by numerous marginal notes.

#### **Oxford, Balliol College<sup>29</sup>**

##### **Balliol College 165a**

p. 744-748 [*Sermo Nicolai Kosoloski doctoris in theologia de Polonia predicatus Dominica post Pasca*]: Sermon VIII: Mikołaj of Kozłow [Expl.: ... *contemptor honorum qui ex omnibus in omnibus*. (the sermon is abrupted after 5 pages)]

Manuscript description:

Lat., XV-med, pap., 29.2x21cm, p. 892.

R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 155-164 (esp. 162).

Stanisław Kot, "Anglo-polonica. Angielskie źródła rękopiśmienne do dziejów stosunków kulturalnych Polski z Anglią" (Anglo-polonica. English Manuscript Sources for the History of Cultural Relations of Poland and England) (Warsaw 1935, odbitka z (a separate from) *Nauka Polska*, vol. 20) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo kasy im. Mianowskiego Instytutu popierania nauki, 1935), 56-57.

Markowski, "Mikołaj z Kozłowa," in *Materialy i studia*, vol. 5, 76-141.

The manuscript contains a collection of sermons from the Council of Basel. Bishop William Grey, Guarino's pupil, brought the manuscript together with other manuscripts from Italy in the fifteenth century, and donated it to the Balliol College later. There is no donor's inscription in this manuscript, but there is a dedication in MS. 164 and 166a, which are related to this MS. Besides the fragment of the sermon on St. Stanislaus, it contains another sermon by Kozłowski (f. 475-497: *Sequitur magistri Iohannis Kasiloski de Polonia, Inc.: Ministerium iusticie habundat in gloria.*).

#### **Oxford, Bodleian Library**

##### **Hamilton 50**

f. 211-213 [*De sancto Bonifacio*]: Sermon IC: a redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus – De s. Bonifacio

Manuscript description:

Lat., 1375, pap., 20.5x14.5cm, f. 260.

A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford libraries*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 82.

Schneyer, *Repertorium von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, 548-574 (the MS. used for the description of the contents of the collection by Peregrinus).

<sup>29</sup> I would like to thank David Movrin for sending me the copies of the sermons from the Oxford manuscripts, before I have been able to examine them in person during my research stay in London.

The manuscript containing a collection of sermons by Peregrinus comes from the Benedictines in Erfurt (f. 1: *Liber sancti Petri in Erfordia*). The collection was copied in 1375 (f. 254: *Anno domini MoCCCXLXX quinto completus est liber iste per manus fratris Heinrici Rossinges...*). The text is written in one column.

**Biblioteka Tarnowskich w Dzikowie (Library of Tarnowski Family in Dzikow) – dissolved during WWII**

**MS. lost after WWII (?) – data based on the description by Wislocki**

f. 210r-211r [*Stanislai*]: Sermon ID: an Old Czech Redaction of the sermon by Peregrinus

Manuscript description and edition of some texts:

Lat., Czech, XV-in, pap., 31.5x22cm, f. 229+I.

Władysław Wisłocki, “Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne w języku łacińskim i czeskim z początku XV w. podług kodeksu biblioteki hr. Tarnowskich w Dzikowie” (Dominical and Festive Sermons in Latin and Czech Language from the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century in the Codex of the Tarnowski Library in Dzikow), in *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego PAU* 3 (1875), 329-335.

The medieval manuscript of unknown provenance was kept in the Library of the Tarnowski Family before the Second World War. The manuscript got lost during the WWII when the funds of the private aristocratic collection were partially destroyed and partially dispersed in various libraries (a part in Ossolineum, but also in BJ).<sup>30</sup> The codex has either been destroyed or is nowadays kept in an unknown location.

The manuscript originated in the first half of the fifteenth century, around 1420. It contained a Latin sermon collection *de tempore* (f. 2-123, 221-229) and a collection *de sanctis* (f. 124-221) in Czech language. It was copied in Olomouc diocese and belonged successively to several Czech preachers, then it got to Hungary. It got to Poland at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century; it belonged to a (unknown) Idzi of Dobrzyn; afterwards the MS. got to the Library of Tarnowski Family in Dzikow. The codex allegedly had a note describing the sermons as of a preacher in Wiślica in 1420, which however is not a reliable information (There was a marginal note from the nineteenth century on f. 124 at the beginning of the Czech sermons. Wisłocki did not consider it reliable and rejected Polish Wiślica as the place of origin of the sermons). The manuscript was written by four different scribes: three scribes wrote parallelly in the same period. Wisłocki argued that they with joint labours around 1420 copied the sermons (a homogeneous collection) from an original, which was of an older date. Wisłocki also thought that all these sermons, both Latin and Czech, had been composed by one author, who was a Czech.

Wisłocki argued from the content and order of the collection *de sanctis et festis* that the collection, i.e. the original and the model for the scribes of this manuscript, was written in the diocese of Olomouc either in 1390 or 1401. However, his argumentation has got some weak points.

The fourth scribe copied four sermons on St. Ladislaus and a sermon on Sts. Cosmas and Damian on the vacant pages in the codex some time later - Wisłocki maintained that a part of the manuscript was put down by a Slovak, an inhabitant of a north-western part of the Hungarian Kingdom (on the basis of some references as *nobis Ungaris*, etc.), where Czech functioned as written language of the vernacular.

<sup>30</sup> Michał Marczak, *Biblioteka Tarnowskich w Dzikowie* (The Library of Tarnowski Family in Dzikow) (Cracow: nakł. Biblioteki Dzikowskiej, 1921). A study devoted to the history of the funds during the WWII, its librarian's efforts to save the funds and their destiny afterwards by Adam F. Baran, *Bibliotekarz z Dzikowa: dr Michał Marczak (1886-1945)* (A Librarian from Dzikow: dr Michał Marczak (1886-1945) (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996).

Other identified manuscripts with sermons on St. Stanislaus

The following list contains manuscripts which contain sermons on St. Stanislaus on the basis of the information from other sources and literature, but which I did not have chance to verify and examine the details of the sermons. This list can help in future investigation.

**Gniezno, Archdiocesan Archives, Cathedral Library**

MS 15, p. 4-11

MS 1028, p. 291-293

MS 1033, p. 418, p. 419-432

**Warsaw, National Library**

MS (IV) 3023, f. 334v-335v

MS (IV) 3024, f. 230 (formerly: Lat F I 496)

MS (IV) 3018 (formerly: Lat F I 468), *Exemplar salutis* f. 1-85 – Stanislaus???

MS (IV) 3021 (formerly: Lat F I 497), in the sermon on Dominica quarta post octavas, f. 73: Exemplum de s. Stanislao et rege Boleslao

**Gdańsk, Municipal Library**

MS Mar. F 58, p. 18

MS 2016: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

**Lublin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego**

Ms. 14

**Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**

Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 14570, f. 135v: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

**Munich, Staatsbibliothek**

Clm 14 585, f. 210r

Clm 2948

Clm 9594a

Clm 17201

Clm 18706

All manuscripts: Sermon I: Peregrinus of Opole, OP

## Appendix 3: Register of Identified Authors of Sermons on St. Stanislaus

The numbers of the sermon texts refer to the *Register of Sermons*. The asterisk after the number of a sermon indicates that the attribution is uncertain.

The last column indicates if the sermon texts of the particular author are arranged within a sermon collection.

| Author                                  | Author's Dates     | Sermon Texts                  | Collection |
|---|--------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Peregrinus of Opole</b>              | (ca. 1260-1333)    | I                             | yes        |
| <b>Bartholomew of Jasło</b>             | (1360-1407)        | XLV                           |            |
| <b>Matthew of Colo</b>                  | (d. 1441)          | III                           |            |
| <b>Jan of Dąbrówka</b>                  | (ca. 1400-1472)    | IV*, XXIII*, XLI*,<br>LXXIII* |            |
| <b>Stanislaus of Skarbimiria</b>        | (ca. 1360-1431)    | LXVI, LXXVI*                  | yes        |
| <b>Paul of Zator</b>                    | (ca. 1395-1463)    | V, VI, L*                     | yes        |
| <b>Jan of Słupca</b>                    | (1408-1488)        | VII, XXXIV*, LXIX*            | yes        |
| <b>Grzegorz of Mysłowice</b>            | (d. after 1460)    | X, LIV, LV, LXVII             | yes        |
| <b>John-Jerome of Prague</b>            | (before 1370-1440) | IX                            | yes        |
| <b>Nicolaus of Kozłow</b>               | (ca. 1378-1443)    | VIII                          |            |
| <b>John Cantius</b>                     | (1390-1473)        | XXXV*, LVIII*                 |            |
| <b>Johannes Sculteti de Reichenbach</b> | (died 1433)        | XLVI                          |            |



## Appendix 4: Index of *Themata* of the Sermons on St. Stanislaus

Note:

The *Vulgata Clementina* (VC) was used as a reference.

The wording of the *thema* in the manuscript is in some cases not identical with the wording of the Bible, and sometimes the manuscript's reference to the biblical locus is erroneous. I indicate the differences where necessary – where the differences are bigger. Sometimes it is confusing and made the identification of the precise thematic verse difficult. Details in footnotes.

The numbers in the right column refer to the numbers of sermons in the *Register of Sermons*. I provide the number of copies of the sermon in brackets, if there is more than a unique copy.

### Genesis

Post mortem meam visitabit vos Deus [Gen 50, 23] LI

### Exodus

Fac tibi duos cherubin superductiles ex auro purissimo [Ex 37,7 or 25, 18]<sup>31</sup> XLI

Translatus est Israel de Egipto [Ex 12,51]<sup>32</sup> LXIX

### Numeri

Quecumque elegit Dominus, ille sanctus est [Num 16,7] LIX

### Psalmi

Scitote quoniam mirificavit Deus sanctum suum [Ps 4,4] LXII, LXIII

Posuisti Domine super caput eius coronam de lapide precioso [Ps 20,4] LII (2 copies)

Magna est gloria eius in salutari tuo [Ps 20,6] XLVII

Virgam virtutis tue [Ps 109,2] LXXIII

### Proverbia

Thesaurus desiderabilis in habitaculo iusti [Prov 21, 20] LXVIII

Iustus sicut leo [Prov 28,1]<sup>33</sup> XLV

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<sup>31</sup> Unclear identification of the thema. Two possibilities; VC: Ex 37,7: Duos eiam cherubim ex auro ductili, quos posuit ex utraque parte propiciatorii; Ex 25,18: Duos quoque cherubim aureos et productiles facies.

<sup>32</sup> VC: Et eadem die eduxit Dominus filios Israel de terra Egipti per turmas suas.

<sup>33</sup> VC: Fugit impius nemine persequente, iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit.

## Sapientia

Iustus quicumque morte[us] preoccupatus fuit in refrigerio erit XLIV  
[Sap 4,7]

## Ecclesiasticus (Eccli.)

Pro iusticia agonisare et pro anima tua et usque ad mortem certa LIV (2 copies)  
pro iusticia [Eccli 4, 33]

Beatus dives qui inventus sine macula. Stabilita sunt bona illius in XXVI  
Domino. [Eccli 31, 8. 11]<sup>34</sup>

Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis. [Eccl 45,30]<sup>35</sup> LXVI

Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est (“Gn 5” in two of the MSS.) XXXVI (4 copies),  
[Sir 44,16: Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso ut det XXXVII (2  
gentibus poenitentiam)]<sup>36</sup> copies), XXXVIII

Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo. [Eccli 44 in XXXIV  
MS.] [? – interpolation with Eccli 50,1 in a traditional lesson for  
Mass: Epistle of the Common of Bishop Confessors]<sup>37</sup>

Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo. [Eccli XXXV  
L.[50, 1.5.7.8-11]] [full biblical fragment as cited in the manuscript: *Ecce  
sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis. adeptus est gloriam in conversione  
gentis et quasi sol refulgens sic ille effulsit in templo. quasi sol [flos] rosarum  
in diebus vernis et quasi lilia que sunt in transitu aque et quasi thus redolens in  
diebus estatis quasi ignis effulgens et thus ardens in igne, quasi vas auri  
[solidum] ornatum omni lapide precioso, quasi oliva pululans(pullulans) et  
cypressus in altitudine[m] se extollens.*]

Quasi [Cum] stella matutina in medie nebule [Sir 50,6] [quasi LVIII (A-B)  
stella matutina in medio nebulae et quasi luna plena in diebus suis  
lucet, Eccl 53 in MS.]

## Isaia

Ecce intelletget servus meus et exaltabitur et elevabitur et sublimis XXIII  
erit valde (Isa 52[,13])

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<sup>34</sup> MS.: erroneously Eccli XIII.

<sup>35</sup> MS.: erroneously Eccli 45,40. VC: ideo statuit ad illum testamentum pacis principem sanctorum et gentis sue ut sit illi in sacerdocium sui dignitas in eternum.

<sup>36</sup> Although there are variations in the wording of the *thema* in the manuscripts of the sermons, I list them all under one (unified and universal) wording of the *thema*. The *thema* identified erroneously as “Gn 5” in the MSS: Sermon XXXVII in the MS. Biblioteka Kórnicka, I D 50, f. 186-187 and Sermon XXXVI in the MS. BJ 1609, f. 308v-311r. Only Gn 5,22 possibly, although distant: *Et ambulavit Henoch cum Deo*; or Gn 5,24: *Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit, quia tulit eum Deus*.

<sup>37</sup> An explanation of the interpolated biblical verse: a good discussion of the problem is found at the “Ritualist” blog from February 29, 2008 at the website <http://rubricsandritual.blogspot.com/2008/02/interpolations-in-traditional-catholic.html>, accessed on April 17, 2009.

**Daniel**

Innocentem et iustum non interfecias [Dan 13,53] [iudicans iudicia iniusta innocentes opprimens et dimittens noxios dicente Domino innocentem et iustum non interficies] [Dan 12 in MS.] XLIII

**Abacuc**

Super custodiam meam stabo et figam gradum meum super municionem et contemparor ut videam quid dicatur. [Abac 2 [, 1]] LXVII

**Iob**

Probavit me quasi aurum quod per ignem transit [Job 23,10] LV, LVI

**Mattheus**

Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum. [Mt 7,21] LX

Primum querite regnum Dei [Mt 6 [, 33]] LIII

Si quis vult venire post me [si quis vult post me venire abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me] [Mt 16,24] LXIV

**Lucas**

Propheta magnus surrexit in nobis [Lc 7,16] LVII

Dico vobis amicis meis: Ne terreamini ab his qui occidunt corpus et post hec non habent amplius quid facient [faciant]. [Lc 12,4] XXXI (A-B)

Capillus de capite vestro non perabit. [peribit?] [Lc 21 [, 18]] XXVIII

**Ioannes**

Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor dat animam suam... [Io. 10,11] V (5 copies), VI (4), VII (4), VIII (2 copies and a redaction B), IX (7+7 copies), X (2), XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX,<sup>38</sup>

Bonus pastor dat animam suam... [Io. 10,11]

Pericope XXI (A-B)<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> These two sermons had as their thema only the second part of the verse: Bonus pastor dat animam suam.

<sup>39</sup> Not a thema, but whole pericope about the Good Shepherd.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me mee.<br>[Io. 10, 14]  | XX  |
| Sine me nichil potestis facere [Io. 15 [,5]]   | LXV   |
| Loquitur [Io. 16, [18]] [VC: dicebant ergo, quid est hoc, quod<br>dicit modicum, nescimus, quid loquitur]  | XLVI  |
| <b>Ad Corinthiis II</b>  |   |
| Scientes quod sicut socii passionum estis, sic eritis et<br>consolacionum [2 Cor 1, 7]   | LXI   |
| <b>Ad Timotheum II</b>   |   |
| Nemo enim coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit [2 Tim 2,5]  | XLVIII  |
| Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consumavi, fidem servavi; ideo<br>reposita est michi corona iusticie [2 Tim 4,7] <sup>40</sup>  | XXVII   |
| <b>Ad Hebraeos</b>   |   |
| Considerate pontificem confessionis nostre [Heb 3,1-2]   | XXIX  |
| Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus [Heb 5, 1-5]   | L   |
| Assimilatus est filio Dei [Heb 7,3]  | XXV   |
| Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex [Heb 7,26]   | I (13+4 copies, redactions<br>B-E), II, III, IV |
| Testimonium habuit placuisse Deo [Heb 11,5] [Ante<br>translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse Deo [Heb<br>11,5]] [Enoch translatus est [Heb 11,5]] <sup>41</sup> | XXII, XXIII, XXIV                               |
| <b>Iacobi</b>  |   |
| Omne datum optimum [Jac 1,17]  | XLIX  |
| <b>Apocalypsis</b>   |   |
| Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi corona glorie [Ap<br>2,10] <sup>42</sup>   | XXXIX, XL (2 copies)                            |
| Data est michi corona [Ap 6,2] <sup>43</sup>   | XXX (3 copies)                                  |

<sup>40</sup> MS.: erroneously 2 Tim 4,8.

<sup>41</sup> The manuscripts give various wordings of the biblical verse as the thema. VC: Fide Henoch translatus est ne videret mortem, et non inveniebatur, quia transtulit illum Deus: ante translationem enim testimonium habuit placuisse Deo.

<sup>42</sup> VC: corona vite.

<sup>43</sup> MS.: erroneously Ap 2 – the thema could have been conflated with the previous one – Ap 2,10; Ap 6,2 – VC: et vidi et ecce equus albus et qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum et data est ei corona et exivit vincens ut vinceret.

Vincenti dabo manna absconditum et dabo calculum candidum LXXII (4 copies)  
[Apoc 2,17]

Vidi alterum angelum descendentem [Ap 10,1]<sup>44</sup> LXX, LXXI

**Non-biblical themata:**

Dies adest celebris ad lucem de tenebris consurge Polonia XXXII (4 copies)  
[Historia Rhythmica - Breviary Office Proper of St. Stanislaus,  
Vespers Antiphon 1]

Imitator redemptoris querens dragmam decimam more boni XLII  
mercatoris margaritam optimam Stanislaus vir amoris corpus  
penis dans tortoris lucrifacit animam. [Historia Rhythmica -  
Breviary Office Proper of St. Stanislaus, Vespers Antiphon 5]

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<sup>44</sup> VC: Et vidi alium angelum fortem descendentem de celo amictum nube, et iris in capite eius, et facies eius erat ut sol, et pedes eius tamquam columnae ignis.

## Appendix 5: Selected Sermons on St. Stanislaus

### Notes on transcriptions:

This is a selection of 14 sermon texts on St. Stanislaus (13 sermons on St. Stanislaus and a sermon on St. Adalbert with numerous references to Stanislaus), which represents a variety of types of extant manuscript sermons. While this does not aim to be a critical edition, but rather a transcription illustrating the texts presented in the dissertation, an objective for the future is an electronic edition of all the texts which I gathered. With the idea of electronic edition and searchability of the text corpus in mind, I tried to normalise and standardise the spelling, which had varied quite freely in medieval Latin. In case where the sermon was preserved in several manuscripts, from the collated manuscripts I only indicated the more substantially divergent readings, excluding orthographical differences and alternative word order, if these were insignificant.

I preferred the dictionary form of the words, and selected only one form where several variants were possible, in order to provide for searchability and also clarity. As to the orthography, I capitalised the first letter of proper names and the words *Deus*, and *Dominus* meaning the Lord, *Filius* and *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Apostolus* meaning St. Paul the Apostle. I use medieval convention “e” and neither ligatures nor two characters for “ae” and “oe.” I normalised the writing of the phonemes “u/v” according to their modern phonetic value. I normalise the variants of “ci/ti” to “ci”, as it appeared to be the dominant practice in the manuscripts. I preferred “i” to “y” and “j”, and “y” was normalized to “ii” where it stood for that. Other frequent standardised forms: *Iesus*, *Christus*, *martyr*.

These normalisations are not noted in the *apparatus*.

I have corrected the text when it is evidently incorrect and non-understandable.

For quotations, if the reading adopted in the text is different from the supposed *auctoritas*, I use “cf.” and if necessary (more distant), I quote the source in the *apparatus*. The biblical quotations according to the Vulgata Clementina, just as in the dissertation: <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net>. I used Douay-Rheims English translation of the Vulgate for translations. I have systematically provided references to the Bible, but not identified all other references and allusions to sources.

The same transcription rules are used throughout the dissertation, in the footnotes, and in the Register of Sermon Texts, where the citations are mine. In other cases I follow the orthography of the edited source.

**List of Sermons:**

Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca  
Sermon XI: Anonymous  
Sermon XII: Anonymous  
Sermon XVIII: Anonymous  
Sermon XXIV: Anonymous  
Sermon LXVI: Stanislaus of Skarbimiria  
Sermon LXIX: Jan of Słupca\*  
Sermon XXXIV: Jan of Słupca\*  
Sermon LXXI: Anonymous

*Sermons and Outlines from the Notebook of Jan of Dąbrówka*

Sermon IV: Jan of Dąbrówka\*  
Sermon XXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*  
Sermon on St. Adalbert with references to St Stanislaus  
Sermon XLI: Jan of Dąbrówka\*  
Sermon LXXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

## Sermon VII: Jan of Słupca

Manuscripts:

**A:** BJ 2364, f. 276-280

**B:** BJ 1415, f. 198v-201r

**C:** Cracow, Chapter Library MS. 157, f. 65r-67r

**D:** Cracow, PAU/PAN Library MS. 1709, f. 145r-151r<sup>45</sup>

### Sermo de sancto Stanislao<sup>46</sup>

[Thema] *Ego sum pastor bonus, pastor etc.*<sup>47</sup>

Hoc evangelium legitur de Iesu Christo Domino nostro, qui passus est, mortuus et a morte surrexit, ascendit ad celos et venturus est iudicare vivos et<sup>48</sup> mortuos in fine mundi; Ante cuius adventum cum plenitudo gentium<sup>49</sup> intraverit, reliquus Israel salvus erit, ut dicit Apostolus: *Et sic fiet unum ovile et unus pastor* [Io. 10,16].

Legitur etiam<sup>50</sup> in festis sanctorum pontificum, sacerdotum et martyrum, ad innuendum quod sacerdocium emanavit ex passione, morte et resurrectione ac accensus<sup>51</sup> Christi, ut cum Christo<sup>52</sup> et oves<sup>53</sup> colligerent, et dispersos in eius ovile<sup>54</sup> intrare compellerent. Iuxta illud: *Compellite intrare, ut impleatur domus<sup>55</sup> mea* [Lc 14,23].

In cuius evangelii **principio** Christus se nominat bonum pastorem, dicens: *Ego sum pastor bonus.*<sup>56</sup> Circa hoc evangelium dicam <1> **primo** de bonitate Dei, <2> **secundo** de bonitate Christi, prout est pastor, cuius bonitas hic ex tribus declaratur.

<2.i> **Primo** quia mortuus est pro ovibus suis,<sup>57</sup> et sic dedit se in precium.

<2.ii> **Secundo** quia posuit vitam suam<sup>58</sup> pro ovibus in sacramentum, et sic dedit se in cibum.

<2.iii> **Tercio** quia corpus suum mysticum, hoc est apostolos, martyres, et alios [f. 276v] exposuit in salutem omnium, et sic dedit se in generale magisterium.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>45</sup> I selected the copy in BJ 2364 as the base manuscript, as its text is of the highest quality, with fewer mistakes than the other copies. It is probably not the oldest copy, but perhaps a later, or a more “intelligent” one: its scribe perhaps corrected the mistakes and errors, which the scribes of the other, maybe earlier, copies repeated one after each other. In many cases, the mistakes and variants of the three remaining copies are related. The text of Słupca was probably copied in greater numbers, maybe in the university (or other?) environment, if not in a *pecia*-like system, then in a sort of organised way. Interestingly, the layout of the text (the beginnings of new pages, etc.) sometimes coincides among the copies. An interesting feature is also the way in which the copy in BJ 1415 was copied, when a fragment of the text (which the scribe probably did not manage to squeeze into the preconceived page) was written on a new page, but the rest of the page was empty (after a note: “Hic nullus est defectus”, cf. footnote 179 below), and the text continued (without any repetition or omission) on another page, however, leaving out a space corresponding exactly to the length of the fragment copied on the previous page. However, the left-out space stayed empty.

<sup>46</sup> *addidi ex B* ] C: De sancto Stanislao ] A: In die sancti Adalberti vel Stanislai

<sup>47</sup> *Ego sum pastor bonus.* Iohannis 10. B, C

<sup>48</sup> **D: f. 145v**

<sup>49</sup> ad *del.* A

<sup>50</sup> B: legitur autem hoc evangelium; C: hoc ewangelium

<sup>51</sup> ac accensus *addidi ex B* ] ac accensione C, D ] *om.* A

<sup>52</sup> Christo *om.* B

<sup>53</sup> oves *addidi ex C* ] ei B, D

<sup>54</sup> ovili B

<sup>55</sup> domus ] domus domus A

<sup>56</sup> Dicens ... bonus ] *om.* B, D

<sup>57</sup> suis *om.* C, D

<sup>58</sup> suam *om.* C



Unde de eo canimus:

*Se nascens<sup>60</sup> dedit socium, convescens<sup>61</sup> in edulium,  
se moriens in precium, se regnans<sup>62</sup> dat in premium.*

<1> Quantum ad **primum**.

Cum quodam tempore<sup>63</sup> adolescens quidam, ut habetur Mathei 19 [Mt 19,16] et Marci 10 [Mc 10,17-18],<sup>64</sup> interrogasset<sup>65</sup> Iesum dicens:<sup>66</sup> *Magister bone, quid faciendo vitam eternam possidebo?* Dixit ei Iesus: *Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus, nisi solus Deus*, intelligendum essentialiter. Et sic beatus Gregorius hoc verbum “Ego sum pastor bonus”, referens ad divinitatem Christi, dicit: *Ecce is qui non ex acciden/ti<sup>67</sup> dono,<sup>68</sup> sed essentialiter bonus est, dicit se<sup>69</sup> bonum pastorem*. Et Augustinus dicit: *Ideo nemo dicitur esse bonus, nisi solus Deus*, quia omnia<sup>70</sup> ad ipsum comparata, nec bona sunt, nec fuerunt.<sup>71</sup> Ipse enim seipso est bonus, non ex alicuius participacione, nec ex alicuius adhesione. Unde de eo in Psalmo [Ps 72,1] dicitur: *Quam bonus Israel Deus*. Vis ad hoc audire responsionem. Dicit tibi: *Ego Deus et non mutor.*<sup>72</sup> Est ergo Deus bonum eternum immutabile.<sup>73</sup> Dicit Augustinus: *Nullius<sup>74</sup> bonum querit ut augeatur, nullius malum timet ut minuatur.*<sup>75</sup> Bonum summum est Deus, quia nec habet defectum, nec profectum. Est autem Deus bonus<sup>76</sup> sibi, ex se bonus, nullo superaddito, quia bonus ab eterno, bonus extra omnem locum, quia ubilibet est plenitudo eius. Quantumcumque ergo aliquis est sanctus,<sup>77</sup> non est sic bonus sicut Dominus Deus noster. Ipse est bonum quod omnia appetunt. Ipse est desideratum.<sup>78</sup> Unde et mentes nostre non possunt esse in quiete, nisi ipso adepto. Unde ipse est bonum cum quo venit omne bonum, Sapiencie 8 [7,11]: *Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa, scilicet divina bonitate.*<sup>79</sup> Si enim convertis te ad eius potenciam: omnipotens est. Et quis resistet ei?<sup>80</sup> Si ad eius sapienciam:<sup>81</sup> omnisciens. Et quid est quod possit<sup>82</sup> latere eum?<sup>83</sup> Si ad eius bonitatem: ipsa est immensa.<sup>84</sup> Et quis est qui se abscondet<sup>85</sup> a calore eius?<sup>86</sup> Effundit<sup>87</sup> enim bonitatem suam super omnia opera sua. *Nam vidit<sup>88</sup> Deus cuncta que fecerat, et erant valde*

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<sup>59</sup> generale magisterium B, C, D ] generale magistrum A

<sup>60</sup> **C: f. 65v**

<sup>61</sup> quiescens C

<sup>62</sup> rogans C

<sup>63</sup> Quantum ... tempore ] Quantum quodam tempore C

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Lc 18,18-19; which is closest

<sup>65</sup> Quidam ... interrogasset ] quidam interrogasset C, D

<sup>66</sup> Adolescens dixit ad Iesum dicens: .. B

<sup>67</sup> B: column b

<sup>68</sup> dono ] *del. et corr.* bono D; **D: f. 146r**

<sup>69</sup> esse *add.* B

<sup>70</sup> omnia *om.* B

<sup>71</sup> fuerunt ] sunt mala B, C, D

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Mal 3,6: *Ego enim Dominus, et non mutor.*

<sup>73</sup> B, C: incommutabile; D: incommutabile bonum

<sup>74</sup> nullus B

<sup>75</sup> minatur B

<sup>76</sup> in se *add.* D

<sup>77</sup> non est sic sanctus *add.* B, C, D

<sup>78</sup> bonum *add.* B, C, D

<sup>79</sup> scilicet cum illa bonitate C

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Sap 11,22.

<sup>81</sup> scienciam C, D

<sup>82</sup> posset B, C

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Sap 1,8.

<sup>84</sup> Ipse est immensa bonitas. B, C, D

<sup>85</sup> abscondat C

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Ps 18,7.

<sup>87</sup> effudit B, C

<sup>88</sup> videt C

*bona* [Gn 1,31]. Ipse est fons delectacionis. Ipse pater misericordiarum,<sup>89</sup> et Deus tocius consolacionis. Quis enim emollit cor nostrum? Ipse. Quis dimittit offensam, dat gratiam, datam multiplicat, multiplicatam<sup>90</sup> conservat, dat supra<sup>91</sup> petitem, premiat supra<sup>92</sup> meritum? Totum ipse. Et quid habes, quod non accepisti? [1 Cor 4,7] [A: f. 277r, B: f. 199r]. Et quid dicam ulterius: Sine eo nihil est boni. Ipse est affluentia omnis boni.<sup>93</sup> Inspice in ea<sup>94</sup> que facit<sup>95</sup> et que post hoc facturus est, et cognosce,<sup>96</sup> quia immensa est bonitas eius.<sup>97</sup> Unde dicit Augustinus libro<sup>98</sup> Soliloquiorum, capitulo 21: *Ex his visibilibus invisibilia*<sup>99</sup> cognoscimus.

Si enim huic corpori ita magna<sup>100</sup> beneficia prestat, ab igne, ab aere, ab aqua, a terra, a mari, a luce, a tenebris, ab umbra, a rore, a pluvia, ab imbre, a volucris, a piscibus, ab arboribus, herbis, lapidibus, a creaturarum ministerio, nobis per tempora successive ministrancium;<sup>101</sup> quam magna sunt que preparavit diligentibus se?

Cum sunt magna et delectabilia que bonis pariter et malis tradidit, qualia sunt que solis bonis recondidit?

Si tam varia et innumera<sup>102</sup> sunt que tribuit amicis et inimicis; quam magna et delectabilia ac dulcia sunt que solis largiturus est amicis?

Si tanta solacia in hac die lacrimarum; quanta conferet<sup>103</sup> in die nupciarum?

Si tanta continet exilium; quanta continet patria, ubi eum videbimus *facie ad faciem* [1 Cor 13,1],<sup>104</sup> ubi *in lumine eius videbimus lumen* [Ps 35,10], ubi videntes gaudebimus, laudabimus,<sup>105</sup> et saciabimur ab ubertate domus eius?

Ex his possumus advertere,<sup>106</sup> quod Deus sicut est lumen sine tenebris, ita est<sup>107</sup> bonitas sine admixtione mali. Unde sicut malum non potest velle, sic nec<sup>108</sup> facere. Et ergo omnibus<sup>109</sup> modis homini se referre ad Deum est bonum.

Et ideo bonum est homini confidere in Domino et<sup>110</sup> credere, quia Deus veritas est.

Bonum est sperare in eo, quia omnipotens maiestas est.<sup>111</sup>

Bonum est ei adherere, scilicet amore et dilectione,<sup>112</sup> quia Deus caritas est, et qui manet in caritate, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo<sup>113</sup> [1 Io. 4,16].

Bonum est lex oris sui, quia iusticia est. Bonum est quod<sup>114</sup> humiliat<sup>115</sup> nos, quia hec virtus custodit alia. Et quodcumque creavit Deus cum homine et propter hominem est bonum, quia iustus est Dominus et rectum iudicium eius.

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<sup>89</sup> D: f. 146v

<sup>90</sup> multiplicatam C, D

<sup>91</sup> super B

<sup>92</sup> super B

<sup>93</sup> Ipse... boni. ] om. D

<sup>94</sup> ea correxi ex C; eo A, B

<sup>95</sup> fecit B, C, D

<sup>96</sup> B dupl.: et que post hoc facturus est et cognosce

<sup>97</sup> C: column b

<sup>98</sup> libro B

<sup>99</sup> versibus visibilia B

<sup>100</sup> ita magna ] B, C, D tanta

<sup>101</sup> ministrans D

<sup>102</sup> innumerabilia B, C, D

<sup>103</sup> conferat B, C, D

<sup>104</sup> B dupl. faciem facie ad faciem

<sup>105</sup> laudibus B, D; om. C

<sup>106</sup> inferre D

<sup>107</sup> D: f. 147r

<sup>108</sup> Ne B

<sup>109</sup> viabus add.interlin. D

<sup>110</sup> et om. A, C

<sup>111</sup> maiestas eius B, C

<sup>112</sup> delectacione B

<sup>113</sup> B: 199rb

<sup>114</sup> quia B, C, D

<2> **De bonitate Christi** pas[toris].<sup>116</sup>

Ab ipso autem Deo Christus secundum humanitatem accepit optima dona.

<2.1> Nam Christus dignior est angelis. Cui enim angelorum unquam dixit Deus Pater: *Filius meus es tu*.<sup>117</sup> Et ideo dicitur angelus magni consilii per Isaiam [Is 63,9 cf.]. Unde et si angelus creatus est in iusticia, Christus in maiori; quia [f. 277v] creatus est in gracia.<sup>118</sup> Ita quod in primo instanti sue creacionis meruit, quod angelus non potuit facere, ut<sup>119</sup> dicit beatus Thomas: *Et quid plus est, Christus creatus est beatus,*<sup>120</sup> *quod de angelo non potest dici*. Ita quod beatitudo Christo est quasi naturalis, angelus autem eam meruit, licet unico actu, ut dicunt sancti.<sup>121</sup> Unde licet, angeli sunt<sup>122</sup> amici nostre salutis, tamen nos salvare non potuerunt. Christus autem operatus est<sup>123</sup> salutem in medio terre. Unde sicut in Adam erat humana natura, ita quod eam suo peccato potuit inficere, iusticia Dei exigente, sic et<sup>124</sup> in Christo erat tota humana natura,<sup>125</sup> quod eam<sup>126</sup> potuit reficere sua iusticia et sanctitate; propter quod dicit Apostolus 1 Ad Corinthios 14/17? [1 Cor 15.22]:<sup>127</sup> *Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et*<sup>128</sup> *in Christo omnes*<sup>129</sup> *vivificabuntur*.

<2.2> Nec Christum equare prophetis oportet; aut ceteris hominibus,<sup>130</sup> quia ipse Dominus prophetarum. Maior enim hic est quam Ionas, maior quam Salomon, et quam Moises. Ex quo ergo Deus multa mira faciebat<sup>131</sup> prophetis, quia habitabat in eis per gratiam, quid putamus facturum erat per Christum, in quo habitavit non solum per unionem graciae,<sup>132</sup> sed etiam per unionem divinitatis in unitate<sup>133</sup> persone. Ceteris enim gracia datur ad mensuram, et ad datam additur,<sup>134</sup> in Christo autem habitavit plenitudo graciae. Quia autem Christus assumptus est in unitatem persone unigeniti,<sup>135</sup> hoc erat<sup>136</sup> plenitudinis graciae. Unde Iohannis primo [Io. 1,14]: *Vidimus gloriam*<sup>137</sup> *eius*<sup>138</sup> *quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gracia et veritate*. Et quia Christus exinde potestatem<sup>139</sup> accepit in celo et in terra,<sup>140</sup> Mathei ultimo,<sup>141</sup> ideo<sup>142</sup> dicitur mediator, quia fecit medium quo salvaremur.<sup>143</sup> Et dicitur reconciliator, quia sopivit<sup>144</sup> seu pacavit<sup>145</sup> inimicicias inter nos et Deum.

<sup>115</sup> humiliavit C, D

<sup>116</sup> in margine A

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Ps 2,7, Act 13,33, Hbr 1,5 and 5,5.

<sup>118</sup> quia in gracia C

<sup>119</sup> unde B

<sup>120</sup> Thomas ... beatus ] om. D [scribal error]

<sup>121</sup> licet ... sancti ] om. C

<sup>122</sup> sint D

<sup>123</sup> B: f. 199v, C: f. 66r; fecit D

<sup>124</sup> D: f. 147v

<sup>125</sup> sic add. B, C

<sup>126</sup> eum B, D

<sup>127</sup> Only dicit Apostolus B, C, D

<sup>128</sup> Sic et... B, C, D

<sup>129</sup> omnes om. B

<sup>130</sup> sanctis add. interlin. D

<sup>131</sup> in add. B, D; fecit in C

<sup>132</sup> habitabat ... graciae ] B, C, D: habitabat in eis per gratiam, sed in Christo non solum per gratiam

<sup>133</sup> unione C

<sup>134</sup> additam C

<sup>135</sup> unigenite B

<sup>136</sup> est C

<sup>137</sup> gloriam moriente... B

<sup>138</sup> eius om. B, C

<sup>139</sup> pietatem B

<sup>140</sup> B: 199v

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Mt 28,18: *Data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra*.

<sup>142</sup> ideo om. B, C, D

<sup>143</sup> quia me at quo salvaremur B

Dicitur salvator, quia liberavit<sup>146</sup> nos ab inimicis nostris, iuxta illud: Fecit *salutem ex inimicis nostris*, Luce 1 [,71].<sup>147</sup>

Dicitur redemptor, quia solvit debita nostra pro quibus tenebamur conclusi.

Dicitur lapis angularis, quia redemptos in se univit.

Dicitur caput et vitis, quia omnibus influit.

Dicitur via et ostium, quia per ipsum est introitus in regnum celorum.

Et hic de se dicit quod est pastor, non qualiscumque, sed bonus.

Ideo bonus, quia potestate, sapientia et bonitate plenus.

Bonus quia potuit,<sup>148</sup> bonus quia scivit, bonus quia voluit et fecit<sup>149</sup> redemptionem plebis sue, *non ex operibus iusticie*<sup>150</sup> *que fecimus nos* [Tit 3,5].

Eramus enim inimici et filii ire,<sup>151</sup> sed secundum suam misericordiam<sup>152</sup> salvos nos fecit.

Bonus ergo quia [f. 278r] non alio modo redemit, quamvis alio modo potuisset redemisse, sed sicut evangelium dicit: *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis*, id est vitam pro ovibus redimendis. Et qui incidit in mortem, et hoc pro aliis vivificandis, sicque sua morte alios vivificavit.

O, quam malus pastor fuit ille qui ad mala pascua suos<sup>153</sup> deduxit; quia ex ipso omnes venerunt in locum horroris et vaste<sup>154</sup> solitudinis,<sup>155</sup> ubi ignorantia, infirmitas,<sup>156</sup> concupiscencia, multiplex miseria et mors depascit.

Sed Christus dedit in mortem animam suam, et sua morte meam<sup>157</sup> abstulit. Sicut enim livore suo sanati sumus,<sup>158</sup> sic morte sua vivificati sumus.

O, quam ergo bonus pastor exinde<sup>159</sup> ad que pascua nos reduxit, et quid pabuli spiritualis est, quod ex sua passione et morte non haberes? Ibi enim lampas fracta est, et lumen refulsit. Ibi alabastrum concisum est, et odor diffusus est. Ibi cella vivaria aperta est, et profluxit diversitas potagiorum. Inspice eius passionem, invenies ibi opera pietatis,<sup>160</sup> reperies ibi misericordiam, mansuetudinem,<sup>161</sup> humilitatem, paupertatem, obedienciam, luctum, pacienciam, esuriam<sup>162</sup> et sitim.

Unde clamavit “Sicio.”

Estne ibi temperancia? Est,<sup>163</sup> quia cum accepisset acetum, noluit bibere.

Estne ibi fortitudo? Est, quia ibi abscondita est fortitudo eius.<sup>164</sup>

Estne ibi iusticia? Est.<sup>165</sup> Unde illud: *Nihil tibi et iusto illi*;<sup>166</sup> [Mt 27,19] dixit uxor Pilati. Et Pilatus clamavit [Lc 23,22]: *Ego nullam causam mortis invenio in eo*. Et centurio [Lc 23,47]: *Vere hic homo iustus erat*.

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<sup>144</sup> sapivit B, D

<sup>145</sup> seu pacavit *om.* B, C, D

<sup>146</sup> liberat B

<sup>147</sup> Luce *om.* B, C, D

<sup>148</sup> **D: f. 148r**

<sup>149</sup> et fecit *om.* C

<sup>150</sup> iusticie *addidi ex* B, C, D ] *om.* A

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Eph 2,3.

<sup>152</sup> naturam B

<sup>153</sup> suas C

<sup>154</sup> Quia ... vaste ] *om.* D [scribal error]

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Dt 32,10.

<sup>156</sup> **C: b**

<sup>157</sup> nostram B, D

<sup>158</sup> Cf. 1 Pt 2,24: *cuius livore sanati estis*.

<sup>159</sup> est ille C

<sup>160</sup> **B: b**

<sup>161</sup> mansuetudinum C

<sup>162</sup> esuriam B, C, D

<sup>163</sup> est *om.* B

<sup>164</sup> est ne ibi fortitudo eius. B

<sup>165</sup> est *om.* B

<sup>166</sup> B: *Nihil tibi et iusto* huic dixit; C: nihil tibi et iusto, hoc dixit

Estne ibi prudentia? Est.<sup>167</sup> Prudentissimus erat Christus in passione, quia nihil ad se admisit, de quo non fuisset testimonium<sup>168</sup> scripturarum. Unde non fregerunt eius<sup>169</sup> crura, quia de eo erat scriptum [Ex 12,46; Nm 9,12; cf. Io. 19,36]: *Os non comminuetis ex eo, sed apperuerunt latus eius, quia sic erat scriptum [Zach 12,10; Io. 19,36]: videbunt in quem transfixerunt.*

Estne<sup>170</sup> ibi magnanimitas? Est,<sup>171</sup> Christus enim magna fecit paciendo ut patet in miraculis.<sup>172</sup> Unde non solum est ibi liberalitas,<sup>173</sup> sed et magnificencia, quia magna dona distribuit,<sup>174</sup> quia sanguinem in precium et aquam in lavacrum. Ibi est veritas, ibi benignitas, ibi sanctitas, ibi omnis virtus.

Unde *Christus passus est pro nobis, relinquens exemplum* [1 Pt 2,21].

Exinde ergo beatus Stanislaus cepit<sup>175</sup> exemplum, ut dignaretur<sup>176</sup> [f. 278v] animam suam ponere pro ovibus suis, et pro grege suo mori.

Et in hoc specialiter bonitas Christi apparet, non solum ex hoc quod se bonum pastorem nominat, sed etiam ex hoc, quod loco suo<sup>177</sup> alios pastores constituit, quos etiam sibi subiecit, et eos suas oves nominavit. Dicit enim Augustinus: *Christus pastor et nos pastores et oves*, et sic oves cum pastoribus sub vero<sup>178</sup> pastore. Et sic constitutis, secundum Gregorium, ostendit formam cui imprimuntur<sup>179</sup>, dicens: *Bonus pastor animam suam*, id est omnem diligenciam, totum robur, immo et vitam, *dat*, id est exponit, *pro ovibus suis*, id est ad salutem ovium sibi<sup>180</sup> commissarum; Quod fecit beatus Stanislaus ut patet in eius legenda.

Sed advertendum quod Christus non<sup>181</sup> solum<sup>182</sup> est sacerdos et pontifex, sed etiam rex.

Regnum enim eius omnibus dominabitur,<sup>183</sup> immo: *regnabit in domo Iacob in eternum, et regni eius non erit finis* [Lc 1,32].

Et ideo non solum constituit sacerdotes et pontifices in pastores, sed etiam reges et duces et dominos, et patres familias etc.<sup>184</sup>

Unde sicut Christus dixit Petro [Io. 21,17]:<sup>185</sup> *Pasce oves meas*, sic Petrus habens plenitudinem potestatis dicit de regibus [1 Pt 2,18]: *Subditi*<sup>186</sup> *estote regi tamquam*<sup>187</sup> *precellenti, scilicet*<sup>188</sup> *in officio pascendi; sive ducibus ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum. Nam oves non solum indigent bonis pascuis, que sacerdotes debent procurare, sed etiam indigent securitate et repulsione luporum, que reges, duces et domini debent efficere. Officium enim pastoris secundum Augustinum*

<sup>167</sup> est om. B

<sup>168</sup> **D: f. 148v**

<sup>169</sup> sibi B, C, D

<sup>170</sup> estne *addidi ex* B, C, D ] est A

<sup>171</sup> est om. B

<sup>172</sup> ut patet in miraculis om. B, C, D

<sup>173</sup> libertas B, D

<sup>174</sup> quia... distribuit ] quia magna donat (!) distribuit B ] om. C

<sup>175</sup> cepit esse C

<sup>176</sup> dignaret B

<sup>177</sup> sui B, C, D

<sup>178</sup> uno C, D

<sup>179</sup> imprimere circa (?) B

<sup>180</sup> **C: f. 66v**

<sup>181</sup> **B: f. 200r**

<sup>182</sup> Solum ] non (dupl.) B

<sup>183</sup> datur C

<sup>184</sup> *addidi patresfamilias ex* B, C] om. A

<sup>185</sup> Dixit Petro ] dixit: Petre B

<sup>186</sup> subiecti B, C, D

<sup>187</sup> tanquam om. C

<sup>188</sup> **D: f. 149r**

in libro De salutaribus documentis: *Est leonem persequi, ursum interficere, ovem de faucibus lupi eripere, quod fecit Christus.*

Officium pastoris est pascere oves verbo vite, pane sapiencie, potu spiritualis intelligencie, exemplo bone operacionis, quod eciam fecit Christus.

Spirituales quidam aliquando hec faciunt, que Christus fecit. Sed audiamus quid dicat Augustinus ibidem: *Ecce, Domine, mundus in maligno positus est totus, qui te oderunt, levant<sup>189</sup> contra te caput, dilectores<sup>190</sup> mundi premunt oviculas, rapiunt per<sup>191</sup> diversa precipicia, contra eas insaniunt, et adversum te blasphemant et murmurant.* Non solum misericordiam tuam non<sup>192</sup> deprecantur, verum eciam iudicium tuum reprehenderunt.

Sed quis est qui se partem ponat pro Dei iniuriis, pro ovium suarum oppressionibus<sup>193</sup> et rapinis? Attendite, queso, [f. 279r] quod quilibet bonus pastor ita<sup>194</sup> secularis sicut spiritualis animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis. Et revera multi sunt qui vires suas exponunt pro ovibus pascendis.

Et si enim Christus suis ovibus corpus suum consecravit<sup>195</sup> et dedit in cibum; spiritualis pastor facit<sup>196</sup> similiter, immo ad hoc laborant, ut qui Christi sunt, hunc cibum digne suscipiant. Preparant enim eos iam predicacione, iam exhortacione,<sup>197</sup> iam in confessione, ostendendo cum quali timore, cum quali humilitate, cum quali devocione, cum quali dileccione<sup>198</sup> deberent illud suscipere. Et ostendentes qui sunt fructus huius cibi,<sup>199</sup> inducunt ad ipsius frequentacionem; immo respiciendo sacerdocium, omnia parata sunt, panis, vinum, tauri et volatilia occisa sunt, et vocant omnes. Sed vocati nolunt venire, quia non sunt digni.<sup>200</sup>

Sed quare se nolunt dignos facere?

Quia pastores seculares, qui non sine causa gladium portant, non puniunt malefactores, et sic dant et concedunt<sup>201</sup> licenciam peccandi, immo etsi sacerdotes vellent compellere ut intrarent ad convivium, non admittuntur.

Attendite<sup>202</sup> et videte, si ea que tempore sancti Stanislai currebant, iam non revertuntur.

Nonne nunc iusticia non opprimitur,<sup>203</sup> sicut tunc opprimebatur.

Nonne iura tori maritalis<sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup>violantur, Deus non timetur, homines non verentur, sanguis innocentum effunditur, censure ecclesiastice illibertantur.

Et quis se iam exponit pro talium resistencia?

Etsi aliqui se opponunt<sup>206</sup> verbis in consiliis,<sup>207</sup> clamant in ambonibus<sup>208</sup>, sed non proficiunt<sup>209</sup>.

Certe, si iam fierent miracula ut tempore sancti Stanislai, non curarentur, sicut nec tunc curabantur.

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<sup>189</sup> elevant C

<sup>190</sup> delectores B

<sup>191</sup> per *om.* B

<sup>192</sup> non *om.* B

<sup>193</sup> ! impressionibus B, D

<sup>194</sup> ita bene B, C, D

<sup>195</sup> **B: b**

<sup>196</sup> faciat B, C

<sup>197</sup> iam exemplo *add.* B

<sup>198</sup> cum quali delectacione *add.* D

<sup>199</sup> qui *add.* B, C; **C: b; D: f. 149v**

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Mt 22,4-8: *iterum misit alios servos dicens dicite invitatis ecce prandium meum paravi tauri mei et altilia occisa et omnia parata venite ad nuptias... non fuerunt digni...*

<sup>201</sup> et dant et dant et concedunt C *dupl.*

<sup>202</sup> Accedite C

<sup>203</sup> non *om.* C

<sup>204</sup> Iura tori maritalis ] iuratores maritales B

<sup>205</sup> non *add.* C

<sup>206</sup> Se opponunt ] resistunt B, C, D

<sup>207</sup> In consiliis *om.* B, C, D

<sup>208</sup> Certe *add.* C

Aliud ergo non<sup>210</sup> restat, nisi ut bonus pastor animam suam ponat pro ovibus suis. Pastor quidem tenetur hoc facere, si est verus<sup>211</sup> pastor, ita<sup>212</sup> secularis sicut spiritualis; sed non mercenarius. Et non mirum quod mercenarius<sup>213</sup> iam sic<sup>214</sup> facit, quia mercenarius est, et<sup>215</sup> ovibus presidet propter mercedem temporalem,<sup>216</sup> et non est pastor, id est non preest ovibus propter earum salutem. Non enim sunt eius oves proprie, quia<sup>217</sup> dominium<sup>218</sup> eis sibi usurpat, et non est vocatus a Deo in presidenciam tamquam Aaron. Non intravit per ostium, sed ascendit aliunde sicut fur et latro. Nec ad eum pertinet de ovibus,<sup>219</sup> sed de emolumentis. Unde videns<sup>220</sup> lupum venientem, id est tyrannum, id est sacerdotem scelerosum, id est hereticum perversum, [f. 279v] fugit,<sup>221</sup> id est se non opponit.

Et lupus, id est tyrannus, rapit non solum bona ovium sed et pastorum.<sup>222</sup> Et sacerdos scelerosus occidit vitam in animabus;<sup>223</sup> et hereticus dispergit unitatem ovium. Nec<sup>224</sup> quicquam<sup>225</sup> advertunt mercenarii, dummodo salva sunt illa que de ovibus querunt.<sup>226</sup>

Non sic Christus qui dicit de se: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. Et si vellent se excusare per ignoranciam, dicentes: “Et quis potest omnes noscere, quis potest bonos a malis discernere?”<sup>227</sup>, dicit Christus: *Cognosco oves<sup>228</sup> meas*, videlicet intus et foris.<sup>229</sup> Nam videt<sup>230</sup> et cogitationes et facta nostra, immo cognoscit et hedos et lupos.

Ad diligenciam enim pastoris pertinet utriusque hominum cognicio. Unde Proverbiorum 27 [,23]:<sup>231</sup> *Diligenter agnosce vultum pecoris<sup>232</sup> tui, tuosque greges numera.*<sup>233</sup> Sed unde venit, quod moderni pastores non habent talem cognicionem discretivam. Noscunt quidem, qui sunt boni et qui sunt mali,<sup>234</sup> quia Salvator dicit [Mt 7,16]: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*; sed malos ignorant, id est simulant se ignorare ad puniendum, quia eis sunt aliquando coniuncti, aut cognacione,<sup>235</sup> aut familiaritate, aut servitute.

Ideo dicunt: “Nescimus quod isti essent ita mali.”

Dicunt quidem generaliter: “Puniantur omnes scelerati,”<sup>236</sup> et committunt puniendos.

Sed quando eis dicitur: “Iste est repertus in tali crimine”, dicunt: “Frater noster est.”

“Iste est hereticus.” Dicunt: “Servitor noster est.”

“Iste est tyrannus.” Dicunt: “Homagialis noster est.”<sup>237</sup>

<sup>209</sup> Sed proficiunt ] sed non proficiunt B, C, D

<sup>210</sup> non om. B

<sup>211</sup> bonus C

<sup>212</sup> ita bene B, C, D

<sup>213</sup> non mercenarius C, D

<sup>214</sup> iam sic rep. A

<sup>215</sup> et ] id est B, C, D

<sup>216</sup> temporalem om. B

<sup>217</sup> qui D

<sup>218</sup> in add. B, C

<sup>219</sup> B: 200v

<sup>220</sup> D: f. 150r

<sup>221</sup> Reffugit D

<sup>222</sup> Pastorum ] pastoris B

<sup>223</sup> ovium add. B, C, D

<sup>224</sup> B: Nec || only a note: “Hic nullus est defectus”, the rest of the page is empty, then f. 201r, after a left-out space (corresponding to the previous fragment) the text continues without any mistake

<sup>225</sup> Quicquam ] quicquid B, C, D

<sup>226</sup> De ovibus querunt ] de quibus convenerunt B, C, D

<sup>227</sup> Quis ... discernere ] om. C

<sup>228</sup> C: 67r

<sup>229</sup> foras B

<sup>230</sup> vidit B

<sup>231</sup> Unde... 21 ] om. B, C, D

<sup>232</sup> Pecoris ] pectoris B, C ] peccatoris et add. interlin. **bydeaczek** D

<sup>233</sup> Vulg. Clem.: considera; B, C, D: ends with tui

<sup>234</sup> quidam sunt boni et mali. C

<sup>235</sup> cognicione B

<sup>236</sup> sceleratu B

Et sic non ignorant quod mali sunt, sed maliciam cognitam defendunt. Et sic non solum fugiunt<sup>238</sup> ut mercenarii, sed etiam, fovendo tales, oves lacerant et dispergunt ut lupi.<sup>239</sup>

Unde contingit, quod illi qui oves Christi sunt, non cognoscunt<sup>240</sup> eos esse pastores proprios,<sup>241</sup> ideo ab eis fugiunt, et in angulis se abscondunt.

Novit tamen Deus qui sunt eius. Unde dicit: *Cognosco oves meas*; non solum noticia visionis, iuxta quam *omnia nuda et aperta*<sup>242</sup> *sunt oculis eius*<sup>243</sup>, Ad Hebreos 4 [13], sed etiam noticia approbacionis. Et addit [Io. 10,14]: *Et cognoscunt me mee*, quia vere<sup>244</sup> fideles per gratitudinem recognoscunt beneficia Christi. Dicit etiam Christus [Io. 10,15]: *Sicut novit me Pater et ego agnosco*<sup>245</sup> *Patrem, et animam meam pono pro ovibus meis*. Ex hoc enim quod Deus Pater scivit Christum esse instrumentum divinitatis, et ex hoc quod Christus scivit voluntatem Patris sui et amorem ad homines, quia *sic dilexit mundum ut filium suum unigenitum daret* [Io. 3,16]. Ideo [f. 280r] animam suam dedit pro ovibus redimendis, quia factus est obediens<sup>246</sup> usque ad mortem crucis.<sup>247</sup>

Sic pastores sub Christo<sup>248</sup> ex eadem sciencia deberent non solum diligenciam facere, sed etiam ad mortis pericula se exponere pro hominum salute, immo et pro eorum dispersione ab unitate. Unde subditur [Io. 10,16] *Alias oves habeo*, id est alterius condicionis, *que non sunt ex hoc ovili*, id est non sunt in unitate fidei, sed dispersi sunt unusquisque post concupiscencias suas, et *illas oportet me adducere*.<sup>249</sup> Ad quod compellit sciencia divine voluntatis, sciencia preciositatis mortis Christi<sup>250</sup> et sciencia in hoc proprie utilitatis, quia qui *converterit peccatorem ab errore vie sue*, salvam faciet animam suam [cf. Jac 5,19]. Sequitur:<sup>251</sup> *Et vocem meam audient*.<sup>252</sup> Vox significat omne illud quod requiritur ad congregacionem dispersorum in fidei unitatem.<sup>253</sup> Nam audita diligencia veri pastoris, oves<sup>254</sup> de latibulis currunt et sic *fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*.

O, *quam bonum et iocundum*<sup>255</sup> *habitare fratres in unum* [Ps 132,1],<sup>256</sup> quia in tali unitate precipitur remissio peccatorum et acquiritur salus sempiterna.

Hanc diligenciam habebat sanctus Stanislaus<sup>257</sup> in pascendis ovibus sibi subiectis, ut animam suam pro eis ponere non formidavit sicut patet in eius legenda. Et tam de primo. Sequitur vita sancti Stanislai.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Iste est tyrannus ... omagialis noster est. ] B, D *om.*; Iste est hereticus ... omagialis noster est. ] C *om.*

<sup>238</sup> finiunt C

<sup>239</sup> Dispergunt ut lupi ] dispergant lupi B ] dispergunt lupi C, D

<sup>240</sup> Cognoscunt ] recognoscunt B, C, D

<sup>241</sup> **D: f. 150v**

<sup>242</sup> appertua B

<sup>243</sup> **B: b**

<sup>244</sup> veri B, C, D

<sup>245</sup> cognosco B

<sup>246</sup> patri *add.* B, C, D

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Phlp 2,8.

<sup>248</sup> Sub Christo ] subiecti Christo positi B, D ] sub Christo positi C

<sup>249</sup> **C: b**

<sup>250</sup> Christi *om.* B, C, D

<sup>251</sup> sequitur *om.* B, C

<sup>252</sup> audiant C, D

<sup>253</sup> unitate B, C

<sup>254</sup> oves *om.* B

<sup>255</sup> **D: f. 151r**

<sup>256</sup> Ps 132.1: *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum, habitare fratres in unum!*

<sup>257</sup> End of A: etc. ] the following text *addidi ex* B, C, D

<sup>258</sup> vita B ] legenda C, D



## Sermon XI: Anonymous

Manuscript:

**Kórník, Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN MS. 53, f. 122v-123v**

### **De sancto Stanislao**

[Thema] *Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis.* [Io. 10, 11]

Fratres dilecti, mater sancta Ecclesia duo festa hodie celebrat de sancto Stanislao annuatim: unum corpori suo sanctissimo et aliud anime gloriose, videlicet passionis et translacionis.

Nunc celebramus passionem, sed ante festum sancti Michaelis eius translacionem, [f. 123r], ideo hec scribit sanctus Iohannes cancellarius Iesu Christi ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et sancti Stanislai. Que verba predicta bene competunt sancto Stanislao episcopo, qui fuit pastor fidelis super gregem suum et *animam suam dedit pro ovibus suis*. [divisio thematis] Sed quia ad verum pastorem pertinent **tria**, videlicet **doctrina bona, exempla et sancta vita**.

**Doctrina**, quod erudiat suos subditos in sermone, in confessione, ut fugiant peccata et ament Deum, misericordiam ostendendo. Unde Ecclesiastici XVIIIo [13]: *Habeat misericordiam et doceat et erudiat* suos subditos in sermone, *quasi pastor gregem suum*.<sup>259</sup> Sapiens enim erudit plebem suam, stultus tacet, quod non docet. Sed quia sanctus Stanislaus pavit oves suas pane spirituali, videlicet sancta doctrina, predicando verbum Dei ad fidem rectam et ad bona opera et virtutes populum convertendo.

**Secundo** ad pastorem pertinet, quod sit audax ad resistendum contrariis, non timendo lupos, id est malos homines. Unde Proverbiorum [12,26]: *Qui negligit damnum propter amicum, iustus non est*.<sup>260</sup> Ideo sanctus Stanislaus, sciens iusticiam pro Ecclesia sua, audax fuit contra regem Boleslaum, qui fuit crudelis et tamquam tyrannus, quod ubicumque transiebat in terra, et stacionem secundum modum polonicum faciebat, annonas pauperum et omnia que habebant violenter auferebat, domos eorum destruebat et comburebat. Nobiles terre decollabat, et canes plus quam homines diligebat, catulos ad nutriendum dedit mulieribus, pueros eorum abiciendo. Et propter ista et alia multa mala facinora, beatus Stanislaus eum correxit,<sup>261</sup> ut ista postergaret, et non timuit tamquam verus pastor.

Noluit tacere sicut mercenarius. Mercenarius vero, cum videt ovem deviantem, non eam revocat.

Si infirmatur ovis eius, non eam medetur.

Si devoratur, non lacrimatur.

Et si subtrahitur, non eam querit.

Sed sanctus Stanislaus, cum vidit homines errantes, docuit eos ad rectam fidem.

Si infirma fuit ovis per peccata, medebatur eam per confessionem Et sic oves sibi subditas sepe sanat, quia fuerunt sibi obedientes<sup>262</sup> in omnibus. Unde ad Hebreos XIIo [17]: *Obedite prepositis vestris et subicite eis*, quia sunt *rationem reddituri pro animabus vestris*.<sup>263</sup>

Sed nunc oves, id est homines, deberent fieri obedientes suis plebanis confessoribus in omnibus factis que ad salutem et remedium animarum ipsorum essent proficuum, non contradicendo eis verbis, factis et loquelis. Sed, prohdolor, iam sunt homines ita dissoluti, **rospusczonii**, quod nec Deum, qui eos creavit, nec vicarios eius curant, sed multa mala iam emerguntur in mundo, quia cottidie noctu dieque faciunt contra precepta Dei.

<sup>259</sup> *Qui misericordiam habet, docet et erudit quasi pastor gregem suum.*

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Prov 12,26: *Qui negligit damnum propter amicum, iustus est.*

<sup>261</sup> tyrannus... correxit] Cf. Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 587, lin. 52-59.

<sup>262</sup> obedientes correxerunt ] odientes ms.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. *Obedite prepositis vestris, et subiacete eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri.*

Ecce enim, si eis iubetur mane surgere, ad matutinas ire, nolunt, sed dormire volunt usque ad missam magnam.

Si iubentur esse casti tempore debito [f. 123v], sicut in festivitibus et in locis sacris, videlicet in ieiunio et in adventu et in puerperio, sed ipsi peccatis suis malis consuetis et pessimis, que sunt contra Deum et contra naturam peccant et non currant. Magis volunt esse cesti quam casti.

Si iubentur ieiunare, volunt comedere.

Si iubentur orare, volunt blasphemare dicentes: “Et tu iustificaberis per tuum ieiunium vel oracionem tuam?”

Si iubentur silencium servare in ecclesiis et in aliis sacris locis, volunt ut oves garulisare erga suos plebanos.

Si iubentur Deum et sanctos invocare, potius volunt cantalinas cantare et verba turpia loqui.

Si iubentur ad ecclesiam ire, potius volunt ire ad tabernas.

Si iubentur celebrare, libencius volunt laborare.

Si iubentur ire ad sermonem, potius volunt ire ad choream et ad truffas

Si iubentur elemosinam dare, potius volunt deludere in thasseribus, in gulis, in crepulis, vel alio modo turpi consumere.

Si iubentur loca sanctorum visitare, potius volunt ad iovisandum<sup>264</sup> ire.

Si iubentur parentes et amicos honorare, volunt eos percuciendo et irascendo condemnare.

Si iubentur plebanis obedire, potius volunt in sua cecitate eos sevirare.

Et cum per hunc modum homines vivunt in hoc mundo ac si nunquam deberent mori, sed semper eternaliter vivere, et non eiciunt malum a se, sed in malo cottidie stant, ergo, dilectissimi, *expurgate*<sup>265</sup> *vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio* [1] Ad Corinthios V [7]. Quia scitis bene ex vobis, quod *servos malos et inutiles* non potestis servare in domibus vestris. Sic Deus non potest sustinere malos in hereditate sua, sed bonos.

Ideo sanctus Stanislaus volens hanc hereditatem acquirere, fuit fidelis servus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et hoc acquisivit per frequentes oraciones et maturas supplicaciones, et eciam per opera misericordie, que exercuit in pauperibus, quos sepe pavit pane, scilicet corporali. Et cum infirmi, vidue et peregrini transiebant ad domum ipsius tamquam ad domum propriam et omnes refecit, considerans illud dictum Isaie [58,7] dicentis: *Frange esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagos[que] induc in domum tuam, cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.* Hoc fecit sanctus Stanislaus, de quo legit, videlicet supra, eius legenda. Quere in primo sexterno.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>264</sup> iovisandum *correx* ] hovisandum *ms.*

<sup>265</sup> expurgate *correx* ] exurgate *ms.*

<sup>266</sup> No legend about St. Stanislaus in the volume.

## Sermon XII: Anonymous

Manuscript: **BJ 1626, f. 152v-153r**

### **Sermo de sancto Stanislao**

*Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis.* Iohannis X [Io. 10, 11].

Sancta mater Ecclesia duo festa celebrat annuatim in laudem et honorem beati Stanislai martyris et pontificis gloriosi, videlicet passionis tempore pascalis et translacionis sicut nunc sive hodie; cui verba proposita in themate recte conveniunt, videlicet: *Ego sum pastor bonus.* [divisio thematis] In quibus verbis **duo sunt notanda**:

<1> **Primo sanctitas** beati Stanislai ibi: *Ego sum pastor bonus.*

<2> **Secundo nota utilitas populi** ibi: *Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis.*

<1> Pastor enim erat beatus Stanislaus Cracoviensis ecclesie, et oves sibi traditas triplici pascebat cibo sive pane, videlicet **pane <1.1> corporali, <1.2> spirituali et <1.3> eternali.**

<1.1> **Primo** pavit oves seu subditos **pane corporali sive materiali**, pauperes, infirmos, viduas et defectuosos et alios sanus [!] sepius reficiendo. Scivit enim seu memorans [f. 153r] illud scriptum Isaie [58,7]: *Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam; cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.*

Et hoc fecit triplici de causa:

<1.1.1> **Primo**, ne similis esset in malicia illi diviti qui pauperis Lazari noluit misereri, de quo habetur Luce XVI [19]: *Homo quidem erat dives etc. Et erat quidem mendicus Lazarus nomine.*

<1.1.2> **Secunda** causa est, ne suam carnem, id est quemlibet pauperem, claudum, cecum, despiciere videretur. Unde cuilibet hominum precepit et hodie precipit dicens: *et carnem tuam ne despexeris.* Sed credo, quod multi inter nos sunt qui pauperes despiciunt et ab eis manus et domos suas claudunt. Talibus dicit Christus in die iudicii [Mt 25,40]: *Quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis* et presertim quia tales immisericordes sepelientur in inferno ad illo divite epulone de quo prius audivimus et de quo scribitur Luce XVI [22]: *Mortuus est dives et sepultus est in inferno.*

<1.1.3> **Tercia** causa est, ut pro temporali dono eternum reciperet<sup>267</sup> premium sive retributionem, id est regnum celorum. Unde Salomon [Prov. 19,17]: *Feneratur Domino qui pauperi tribuit necessitatem.*

<1.2> **Secundo** pascebat oves suas **pane spirituali**, id est sancta doctrina in predicacione ad fidem rectam per opera bona populum convertendo. Unde Dominus dicit [Mt 4, 4]: *Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei.*

<1.3> **Tercio** pavit **pane eternali**, id est corpore Christi, sanos et infirmos reficiendo, annuncians specialiter quod si eis sensus deficit, sola fides sufficit ad hoc venerabile sacramentum. Unde Augustinus: *Crede, et manducasti.*<sup>268</sup>

Et sic primo patet ipsius sanctitas.

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<sup>267</sup> Reciperet *correx*] recipet *ms.*

<sup>268</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Joannis evangelium tractatus* 25, cap. 12, PL 35, col. 1602.

<2> **Secundo** notatur populi Cracoviensi magna **utilitas**, pro quo populo a rege Boleslao est occisus sive interemptus, et Christi vir est effectus, et multa pro Christi nomine sustinuit opprobria et tormenta.

<2.1> Et primo pro **iusticia** quam sibi rex Boleslaus denegavit ab eo ut iustus Abel a Cain fratre est interemptus.

<2.2> Secundo occisus est **pro lege Dei** ut Machabeus ab imperatore.

<2.3> Tercio **pro salute populi** sicut Christus a Iudeis. [**b**]

<2.4> Quarto **pro fide christiana** sicut sanctus Laurentius et Vincencius.

<2.5> Quinto **pro Christo** ut innocentes ab Herode.

<2.6> Sexto **pro argumentacione peccatorum** ut sanctus Iohannes Baptista propter Herodiadem.

<2.7> Septimo **pro libertate ecclesie** ut Thomas episcopus Cantuariensis.

Sic et pro talibus iniuriis Deo per ipsum Boleslaum illatis passus est sanctus Stanislaus anno Domini LXXIX feria quinta post Dominicam ‘Misericordia Domini,’ octavo anno pontificatus sui.

Et vere Deus multis post mortem ipsius decoravit miraculis atque signis, ut qualescumque infirmi suum tangerent anulum vel sepulcrum cum fiducia, mox se liberatos ab omnibus infirmitatibus senserunt.

Decimo atque sue passionis anno corpus eius prout iusserat cum maxima reverencia est translatum. Cum vero rex Boleslaus talia miracula fieri audisset, et nimio terrore confusus seu percussus a regno suo in Ungariam recessit, demum in Affricam, ibique inaudito languore occupatus interiit et filius vero eius unicus veneno est interemptus, totaque domus Boleslai periit racione interempcionis iniuste beati Stanislai, prout melius patet in ipsius legenda, quam breviter dicam: Sanctus Stanislaus etc.

## Sermon XVIII: Anonymous

Manuscript: **Sankt Florian Stiftsbibliothek MS XI. 262, f. 245v-246r**

[Thema] *Bonus pastor animam suam* etc. [Io. 10, 11].

Beatus Stanislaus<sup>269</sup> in verbis istis commendatur a duobus:

<1> **primo** commendatur a vite merito sive dignitatis officio;

<2> **secundo ab amoris premio sive illustri martyrio** cum subditur: *animam suam ponit*. Unde ordo iste congruus est, quia homo primo debet mereri, postea remunerari. Unde filiis Zebedei hunc ordinem preposterantibus, dicitur [Mt 20,22 et Mc 10,38]: *nescitis quid petatis*. Volebant enim prius regnare quam mererentur, sed certe [2 Tim 2,5]: *nemo coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit*. Unde Apocalypsis *Vincenti dabo* [Ap 2,17 or 2,7] etc.

Dicit ergo *bonus pastor*.

<1> <sup>270</sup>Circa quod notandum, quod **vite meritum tria commendant** in beato Stanislao.

<1.1> **Primum est perfectio sanctitatis**, quam exhibuit in exemplis.

<1.2> **Secundum est amor iusticie sui veritatis**, quoniam tuitus est pro pupillis.

<1.3> **Tercium est odium iniquitatis**, quod detestatus est in perversis.

<1.1> **Primum, scilicet** perfectionem sanctitatis attestantur [b] in ipso facta miracula, que adhuc vivens fecit, quia mortuum ante multa tempora defunctum, ut testimonium redderet de bonis que tyrannus beato Stanislao iniquo iudicio usurpabat, suis meritis suscitavit. Unde de ipso potest dici illud Ecclesiastici [31,9]: *Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua*. Nec mirum, quia dicit Dominus in Iohannis [14, 12]: *qui credit in me, opera que* etc.<sup>271</sup>

<1.2> **Secundum**, scilicet amorem iusticie attestatur in ipso animi strenuitas, quia se duci opposuit crudelitatem ipsius arguendo, qui humanitatis oblitus, inhumanitatem sevebat, quia infantes ab uberibus matrum avellebat et catulos lactandos apponebat. Cui beatus Stanislaus ut verus pastor gregis sui se opposuit, ius nature et ordinem perutenti legerat illud Ecclesiastici [4,33]: *Pro iusticia agonizare* etc.

<1.3> **Tercium, scilicet** odium viciorum attestatur in eo prolata contra impium ducem excommunicacionis sententia, qui relicto thoro coniugali, *crimine pessimo* laborabat, de quo Ioseph *fratres suos accusavit*, ut dicitur Genesis.<sup>272</sup> Unde beatus Stanislaus tradidit eum sathane anathematis gladio feriendo. Dicit ergo *bonus pastor*.

<2> **Secundo commendatur beatus Stanislaus ab amoris premio sive illustri martyrio**, quia semper est *preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius* [Ps 115,6]. Notandum autem, quod eius mortem sive martyrium illustrent et reddunt preciosam ad minus quattuor, scilicet **causa, locus, tempus et de celo facta prodigia**.

<2.1> **Causa**, quia non pro commodo temporali neque pro lucro, sed pro iusticia, exemplo summi pastoris animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis [cf. Io. 10, 15]. Unde bene dicitur bonus pastor, non mercenarius, qui fugit lupo veniente [cf. Io. 10, 12-13].

<sup>269</sup> Stanizlaus *ms*.

<sup>270</sup> Nota *in margine*

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Io. 14,12: *qui credit in me, opera que ego facio, et ipse faciet, et maiora horum faciet: quia ego ad Patrem vado*.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. Gn 37,2: *accusavitque fratres suos apud patrem crimine pessimo*.

<2.2> **Locus passionis**, quia in ecclesia stans ad aram mortem sustinuit, exemplo Zacharie filii Barachie, qui occisus est inter templum etc.,<sup>273</sup> et satis digne; decuit enim ut in ovili pastor ovium pro ovibus moreretur.

<2.3> **Tempus** quo passus est, quia infra missarum sollempnia tempore sacrificii, quod offerebat pro populo, obtulit seipsum hostiam Deo vivam, iuxta consilium [f. 246r] Apostoli Ad Romanos [Rom 12,1], ubi dicit: *Obsecro vos per misericordiam Dei ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam vivam,*<sup>274</sup> *sanctam, Deo placentem.*

<2.4> Quarto reddunt eius mortem preciosam **de celo facta miracula**, quia dum corpus eius membratim divisum spargeretur, super quamlibet particulam radius lucis descendit singularis, et a quattuor plagis terre quattuor aquile venientes corpus eius custodiebant a bestiis, donec collatum insimul divino miraculo, ut prius est integratum sicque sepultum. Sic ergo mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum tam in vita quam in morte, et nunc beatificavit illum in gloria.

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<sup>273</sup> Cf. Mt 23,35: *ut veniat super vos omnis sanguis iustus, qui effusus est super terram, a sanguine Abel iusti ad sanguinem Zacharie, filii Barachie, quem occidistis inter templum et altare.*

<sup>274</sup> vivam ] VC: viventem

## Sermon XXIV: Anonymous

Manuscript: **Prague, Chapter Library F46, f. 80r**

### **Stanislai martyris.**

[Thema] *Testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* [Cf. Heb. 11,5].

VC: *Ante translacionem Enoch testimonium habuit placuisse*

Hec verba sunt apostoli ad commendacionem Enoch, et bene conveniunt beato Stanislao, cuius hodie festum colimus.

Nota quod beatus Stanislaus habuit VI testimonia sanctitatis eius.

<1> **Primum** testimonium habuit **a Deo**, et hoc **in duobus**.

<1.1> **Primo** in hoc cum esset episcopus Cracovie<sup>275</sup> et reprehenderet ducem Boleslaviensem de iniquitatibus suis. Quodam tempore dum missam celebraret in ecclesia sancti Michaelis in Cracovia<sup>276</sup> fecit eum trahi ab altari in ecclesia. Nuncii vero irruentes in eum et cadentes in terram non potuerunt ei nocere. Tunc ipse crudelis dux iniectis manibus in eum, extraxit eum de ecclesia, et amputato capite eius concidit in frusta. Et ecce Deus perhibens testimonium sanctitati eius, destinavit quattuor aquilas que custodirent corpus eius, quod fuit proiectum canibus et bestiis et permansit intactum. Ecce pulchrum testimonium.

<1.2> **Secundo** in hoc habuit testimonium a Deo, cum fidelibus<sup>277</sup> singule particule fuissent collecte et posite<sup>278</sup> ad caput eius, coadunatum est corpus sanctum sicut prius fuit, nec vulnera apparebant tincta sanguine.

<2> **Secundo** habuit testimonium **a celo**, et hoc **in duobus**.

<2.1> **Primo** in hoc cum corpus eius sanctum proiectum fuisset canibus et per frusta con|cisum [**b**], vero ubicumque iacebat aliqua particula corporis, lux celestis illuminabat. Ecce testimonium a celo.

<2.2> **Secundo** in hoc cum esset in sepulchro positum corpus eius sacrum per X annos, lux celestis a sepulchro non recessit. In hoc ergo quod lux celestis apparuit super beatum Stanislauum, testimonium perhibuit ei celum de celesti vita et lucida, quam duxit in hoc mundo.

<3> **Tercio** perhibuit sibi testimonium **terra** de sua sanctitate quia militem Petrum mortuum restituit vite, qui tribus annis iacuerat in terra, ad perhibendum testimonium de hereditate qua vendiderat beato Stanislao.

<4> **Quarto** perhibuit testimonium **ignis**. Quondam virum nomine Andream cum ignis in domo occupasset, ad invocacionem beati Stanislai omni lesione liberatus est.

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<sup>275</sup> Crachovie *ms.*

<sup>276</sup> Hrachovia *ms.*

<sup>277</sup> fidelibus *correx* ] fidelis *ms.*

<sup>278</sup> posite *correx* ] ponite *ms.*

## Sermon LXVI: Stanislaus of Skarbimiria

Manuscript: **BJ 190, f. 315r-317r**

### **De sancto Stanislao**

Thema: *Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis.* [Sir 45,30]

Vulgata Clementina: *ideo statuit ad illum testamentum pacis principem sanctorum et gentis sue ut sit illi in sacerdotium sui dignitas in eternum.*

[in the MS. erroneously as Eccl 45,40]

Gloriosus Deus et in sanctis suis mirabilis superiora, media et infima potenter creavit, sapienter disposuit, racionabiliter disposita gubernavit et gubernat ponens omnia in quodam pondere et mensura certis gradibus et certis habitudinibus, certis distanciis et convenienciis adinvicem, ut alterum ab altero, dum distat et convenit, quodammodo arguat divine maiestatis<sup>279</sup> magisterium, quodque homo, qui creaturarum est dignissima, in omnibus proficiat, per omnia dirigatur ac omnibus quasi sibi loquentibus ad requirendum testamentum Dei voluntatem suam et iustificaciones eius assurgat, si eum homo considerat. Non est res creata, que non distat ab altera; et convenit quodammodo cum ea angelus, namque cum homine convenit in rationali; convenit cum celo in esse creato, convenit homo cum brutis in senciendo, cum plantis in vegetando et conformiter in aliis creaturis suo modo discurrendo.

Distat autem angelus ab homine, ut ita dicam, per infinitam distanciam, quia nunquam homo mutatur naturaliter in speciem vel in naturam angelicam, licet meriti eiusdem esse possit. Distat lapis ab homine, quia ad perfeccionem ipsius nunquam perveniet, etiam sive infinitum in suis naturalibus intendatur. Et ecce conveniencia et distancia in rebus creatis apparet, ita quod [f. 315v] unum excedit alterum quandoque natura, quandoque virtute, quandoque fortitudine, quandoque operatione, quandoque potencia.

Hec autem quid arguunt, nisi quod ordo sit in rebus, ut superiora purgent, illuminent et perficiant media et infima;

ideo namque leges et testamenta promulgata sunt, ut vicia purgentur, ut ceci lumen recipiant et debiles in fide robur assumant.

Verum, quia homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis, inpinguatus, incrassatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum; nolens intelligere, ut bene ageret, mutavit superiora in infima, mutavit gloriam suam quam a Deo creatus accepit in similitudinem vituli comedentis fenum. Ipseque qui prelatus universis fuerat corporalibus conditis, inferior omnium est effectus.

Miserator et misericors Dominus, ut ipsum restitueret in integrum, *statuit ei testamentum* legis, ut legens et intelligens non abiret post deos alienos, non caderet a gradu suo nec ab ordine, sciretque quid acceptum esset coram Deo omni tempore.

Sed homo inutilis et pravus ab adolescentia in malum, etsi habuit testamentum legis, dum tamen sensit testamentum pacis, quia nondum pax venerat in terram hominibus bone voluntatis tamdiu pacem veram non potuit habere, donec veniret, qui mittendus [b] erat, expectacio et salus omnium, mediator Dei et hominum, Verbum Patris Christus Dominus, qui firmando testamentum legis, moriturus in cruce condidit testamentum pacis, quod ipsius testatoris obitu immobile perseverat. Et quia in testamento requiritur tabellio et testes VII secundum iura, salvator noster non solum testes VII, sed ita et universos testes adhibuit, quibus dixit: *Vos eritis mihi testes in Iudea sive Samaria et usque ad extremum terre* [Act 1, 8, cf.]. Sed quid reliquit amandus testator in testamento aut quem heredem instituit? Revera, non unum, sed omnes electos heredes instituens, iuxta illud Apostoli [Rom 8, 17] *Heredes Dei, coheredes autem Iesu Christi*, regnum celorum relinquit, divisit et de eodem disposuit, super quod dixit: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*

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<sup>279</sup> Maiestatis ] magestatis *ms.*



[Mt 5, 3]. Hinc etiam et Christus ait [Lc 22, 29-30]: *Ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus regnum, ut edatis et bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo* et concludens summam testamenti *accepit panem, benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: hoc est corpus. Similiter et calicem postquam cenavit, dicens hic calix meus novi testamenti.*<sup>280</sup>

Sed dicis: Ubi tabellio in hoc testamento? Nempe terne non unum. Ecce Mattheus et Iohannes, qui testamentum manu fideli scripserunt, quod factum et sapienter dispositum rationabiliter testatoris obitu est firmatum. Iam itaque non revocabitur, quia a firmo venit, firmiter edificatum est [f. 316r] et stabilitum et firmissime consummatum. Quare vetus testamentum legis cessavit? Quia scriptum est: *Novis supervenientibus vetera proicietis* [Lev. 26, 10]; et iterum: *Ecce nova facio omnia* [Ap 21, 5].

Unde et Dominus per prophetam<sup>281</sup> loquitur: *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo testamentum novum*<sup>282</sup> *super domum Israel et super domum Iuda, non solum testamentum, quod dedi patribus eorum, cum educerem eos de terra Egypti, sed dabo leges in mentes eorum* [Heb 8,8-10, cf.].

Sed nimirum, licet istud testamentum omnibus electis disposuit, principaliter tamen apostolis eorumque successoribus episcopis, dicente Psalmo [44, 17]: *pro patribus tuis nati*<sup>283</sup> *sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram, qui ordinaverunt tempora sua bona odore offerentes sacrificia in iusticia* [Mal 3, 3]. Et quia Deo fuit cura de omnibus, *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terra verba eorum* [Ps 18, 5; Rom 10, 18], exivit in omnem terram testamentum pacis, quod disposuit tempore<sup>284</sup> sceleratissimi Boleslai electo suo presuli et martyri sancto Stanislao. Sibi namque influxit secreta novi et veteris testamenti, ita ut *sugeret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo* [Dt 32, 13], sibi secreta testamenti aperuit et que archana erant ostendit, quoniam ipse velut scriba doctus in regno militantis ecclesie protulit de thesauro [b] testamenti nova et vetera,

ipse stabularius, qui ad curacionem vulnerati protulit duos denarios quos a Samaritano accepit, ipse liber scriptus intus et foris virtutibus, cuius operimentum est omnis lapis preciosus, in quo quidquid ad perfectionem episcopalem pertinet, est repertum. Ipse in testamento Dei meditabatur die ac nocte, et si vis scire, audi qualiter, ut patet, videantur opera sua bona et glorificaretur Pater celestis. Ecce namque Apostolus 1 ad Thimotheum IIIo [, 2-5, cf.] inquit: *oportet episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, unius uxoris virum sobrium et prudentem, pudicum, ornatum, hospitem, doctorem, non ut vinolentum, non percussorem, sed modestum, non litigiosum, non cupidum, sue domui bene prepositum*. Et eandem regulam tradit in epistula ad Thitum [1, 7-9, cf.], licet aliquiter variat aliqua, ubi ait: *oportet episcopum esse sine crimine dispensatorem, non superbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum, non percussorem, non turpis lucri cupidum, sed hospitem, benignum, sobrium, iustum, sanctum continentem, amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est*.

Quere, lege vitam istius sancti, attende signa, obstupesce prodigia, et videbis quod nedum in flore premissa puncta regule apostolice, sed et in maturitate reperies. Vide ingressum ad cathedram, cerne progressum in cathedra, contemplare egressum in agone.

Ipse namque attendens, quod prelacio non est instituta contra bonos sed ad coercendos [316v] malos; XXII di. “De Constantinopolitane”;<sup>285</sup> coercendo nequiciam Boleslai *certavit usque ad mortem* [Eccl 4,33, cf.], ut testamentum pacis sibi dispositum conservaret;

<sup>280</sup> Mt 26, 26-28; Lc 22, 19-20; 1 Cor 11, 23-25.

<sup>281</sup> per prophetam ] *correxi ex pro prophetam ms.*

<sup>282</sup> novum ] *correxi ex novo ms.*

<sup>283</sup> Nati ] *correxi ex natis ms.*

<sup>284</sup> post tempore] quod *exp*

<sup>285</sup> “De Constantinopolitana”: [Decreti pars prima] D. 22, c. 4: “De Constantinopolitana ecclesia quod dicunt, quis eam dubitet sedi apostolicae esse subiectam! Si tamen quid boni uel ipsa, uel altera ecclesia habet, ego et minores meos, quos ab illicitis prohibeo, in bono imitari paratus sum. Stultus est enim, qui in eo se primum existimat, ut bona, que uiderit, discere contempnat. Idem eidem: [epist. 64.] Nam quod primas Bizanzenus sedi se apostolicae dicit subici si qua culpa in episcopis inuenitur nescio quis ei subiectus non sit; cum uero culpa non exigit, omnes secundum rationem humilitatis equales sumus.”

scivit namque quod non in altitudine graduum, sed in amplitudine caritatis possidetur regnum Dei, De temporibus, et d aures<sup>286</sup> in fine XL di. “Non loca”,<sup>287</sup> scivit quod *vilissimus computandus est* qui est gradu alcior nisi sit sanctitate prestancior; I q. I “Villissimus”,<sup>288</sup>

scivit quod *vita pastoris debet esse exemplaris subditis*; II q. VII “Cum pastor[is]”,<sup>289</sup> In se ipso enim debet ostendere qualiter alios in domo Dei oporteat ambulare et integritas prelatorum est salus subditorum, quia ecclesiasticus ordo nutat si quid reperitur in corpore, quod non invenitur in capite, LXI di. “Miram[ur].”,<sup>290</sup> Et ideo hoc attendens iuxta sibi creditum officium fecit erga subditos sollicitam custodiam, VIII. q.1 “In scripturis”,<sup>291</sup>; infirmos roborando, *discordantes concordando*, XC di. c.1;<sup>292</sup> et XLV di. “Recedite”,<sup>293</sup>; fuit severus contumacibus, sed benignus penitentibus.

Requiritur nempe, quod episcopus in se sit bonus ut est visum, requiritur ut sit forma aliorum quia quod agitur a prelatis faciliter in exemplum trahitur subditis, nihil namque in hac vita laboriosius et apud Deum graciosius quam esse bonum prelatum et nihil esse miserabilius quam esse [b] malum, XL di. “Ante omnia”.<sup>294</sup>

Et nos igitur dilectissimi, cum habeamus pontificem, qui interpellat pro nobis, cum habeamus pastorem, qui *pro ovibus suis posuit animam suam* et pro grege suo mori dignatus est, cognoscamus, quia pastor noster est et patronus et sollicite intendamus, ut quemadmodum ipse secutus est universalem pastorem Iesum Christum non declinando nec ad dextram nec ad sinistram, ita nos recto tramite transire oportet.

Sed nimirum incessit pastor plenus virtutibus, qualiter ipsum sequetur ovis plena turpitudinibus, qualiter concordant sobrius pastor ovis ebria, castus presul ovis adultera, benignus pastor ovis litigiosa, liberalis pater porcus subditus. Pius episcopus, impius sacerdos, pater bonus, filius nequam, qualiter ascendet grex que vadit per invia, que querit latibula, quia debilis in fide, inutilis in spe, nulla in caritate, nempe non ascendet in montem sanctum Domini.

Ecce nempe fides huius sancti presulis mortuos suscitavit, ecce redactum in cineres ad vitam vocat - ecce latitudo fidei!

Videte igitur et probate, si estis solidi, si vos a vero error non retraxit in devium; si vanitas a spe non precipitavit in abyssum; si stultus amor a calore Dei non ammovit et ideo probate et videte, si estis digni tanto pastore et pastore,<sup>295</sup> si grati de miraculis; si grati de vita, si grati de triumpho [317r].

Videtis enim thesaurum preciosum super aurum et topasion, palpate membra Spiritus Sancti et organa! Influxit enim Deus multa prioribus temporibus, nempe influeret et nostris, si detestanda ingratitude non poneret obicem. Bene gracias Domino agentes de tanto patrono dicamus:

Domine Deus formator et redemptor Iesu Christe,

tu carne indutus multa fecisti prodigia, dedisti tamen sancto Stanislao, ut maius quodammodo faceret

tu quidem Lazarum quadriduanum, ipse quadriennium Petrum,

tu magnus in te, magnus in servo,

tu a mortuis integer surrexisti; tu corpus martyris cesum tyrannice integrasti;

tu passus multa, hic factus non modica;

tu omniquaque vulneratus, ipse membratim sectus;

tu custodiam corpori suo aquilarum deputasti, quoniam tamen tibi subtraxisti;

tu lanceas et claves, iste gladios et cultellos;

<sup>286</sup> Unclear: perhaps referring to the following citation: dicit Anastasius? Or de ordines?

<sup>287</sup> [Decreti pars prima] D. 40, c. 4: “Item Anastasio presbitero. Non loca uel ordines creatori nostro nos proximos faciunt, sed nos aut merita bona coniungunt, aut mala disiungunt.”

<sup>288</sup> Cf. [Decreti pars secunda] C. 1, q. 1, c. 45.

<sup>289</sup> [Decreti pars secunda] C. 2, q. 7, c. 58.

<sup>290</sup> [Decreti pars prima] D. 61, c. 5.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. [Decreti pars secunda] C. 8, q. 1, c. 18. („...de scripturis probabo...“)

<sup>292</sup> [Decreti pars prima] D. 90, c. 1.

<sup>293</sup> [Decreti pars prima] D. 45, c. 16.

<sup>294</sup> [Decreti pars prima] D. 40, c. 7.

<sup>295</sup> Sic. Possibly patrone instead of pastore?

tu verbera et vulnera, iste similiter, quamvis non ita late et tam dure.  
Et ecce iuxta tuam sententiam: *ubi tu es* [cf. Io. 12, 26], iam velut *fidelis servus et prudens* [Mt 24, 45] residet in patria. Ad quam.

## Sermon LXIX: Jan of Ślupca\*

Manuscript: **BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 148r-151r**

### **De translacione sancti Stanislai sermo**

[Thema] *Translatus est Israel de Egypto. Ex. XII [51].*

Vulgata Clementina (VC): *Ex 12,51 et in eadem die eduxit Dominus filios Israhel de terra Egypti per turmas suas.*

[H]odie Sancta Mater Ecclesia letatur de translacione sancti Stanislai, qui presertim ab incolis huius regni digne est glorificandus, pro quibus indubie est in conspectu Dei intercessor assiduus. Quis enim cogitare potest, quanto studio ad placandum altissimum intercedit pro populo, dum existens in terra pro salute subditorum non pensavit vitam propriam

Ideo namque translatus est de terris ad celos pontifex sanctus *ex hominibus assumptus, ut pro hominibus constituatur ad offerendum dona affectionum et sacrificia oracionum, pro peccatis populorum* [Heb 5,1, cf.].

Hortatur nos Ecclesia Polonos omnes:

*Celebret Polonia/ festiva solemnia/  
veneretur inclita/ passionis merita/  
sancti Stanislai/*

*Quem occidit impia/ Dei pro iusticia/  
manus Boleslai.*<sup>296</sup>

In cuius translacione **tria** notantur.

<1> **Primo**, quod sanctus Stanislaus translatus est a temporalitate ad eternitatem.

<2> **Secundo** ab umbra ad claritatem.

<3> **Tercio** a labore ad quietem.

<1> **Primum** notatur in hac dictione *translatus est*, preteriit namque temporalitas, et successit eternitas, transiit navigacio, venit portus. Quamdiu fuit in mundo quasi navigans, potuit dicere: *Transeunt omnia velut umbra, tamquam nuncius percurrentis, et tanquam navis pertransit fluctuantem aquam, cuius cum preterierit, non est vestigium invenire*, Sap V [, 9-10]. Nunc autem in portu eterne felicitatis manens, potest dicere cum Propheta: *Hec requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam* [Ps 131, 14]. Pro hac laboravi, sanguinem fudi, corpus discerpi dedi, animam emisi. Olim cum erat in mundo, dicebat *Quomodo cantabo canticum Domini in terra aliena?* [Ps 136, 4], ubi non restar, nisi sedendo super flumina babilonis flere, recordando Syon,<sup>297</sup> montem sanctum regni celorum. Iam autem ait [Ps 83, 5]: *Beati, qui habitant in domo [148v] tua, Domine, in secula seculorum laudabunt te*. Super quo dicit Augustinus: *Beati, quorum est hic negocium laudare Deum in secula seculorum. Non arant, non seminant, non molunt, non coquunt: hec enim sunt opera necessitatis, ibi necessitas non est. Non furantur, non predantur,*<sup>298</sup> *non adulterantur: hec enim sunt opera iniquitatis, ibi iniquitas non est. Non frangunt panem esurienti, non vestiunt nudum, non suscipiunt peregrinum, non visitant egrotum, non concordant litigiosum,*

<sup>296</sup> Hortatur ... Boleslai ] *in margine*. Rhymed breviary office *Dies adest celebris* composed by Vincent of Kielcza, Matins, First Responsory and First Verse.

<sup>297</sup> Cf. Ps 136, 1: *Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, cum recordaremur Sion.*

<sup>298</sup> Predantur ] *depredantur in original citation*

*non sepeliunt mortuum: opera enim ista sunt misericordie; ibi nulla est miseria, in qua fiat misericordia.*<sup>299</sup>

O, quot centenis annorum anima sancti Stanislai translata in celum manet in gloria, numquam aliquid indigencie sensit, numquam dolore vel merore tacta, vel aliqua displicencia commota. Habent enim sancti omne bonum, quia habent Deum, qui est *omnia in omnibus*, I Cor XV [, 28]. Nihil igitur eum potest turbare, cum habent summum bonum in eternum, ad quod translatus est de temporalitate. **Et hoc quantum ad primum.**

<2> **Dixi secundo**, quod beatus Stanislaus **translatus est ab umbra ad claritatem**, quod notatur in hoc, quod dicitur *Israel*, quod interpretatur videns Deum, non in umbra, sed in claritate, non in spe, sed in re, non per fidem, sed per essenciam, non in enigmatate, sed in splendore, non per speculum, sed per apertam cognitionem.

Videt clare et aperte divinam essenciam trium personarum, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, uno simplici intuitu, uno visionis actu. Nos autem, ut ait Apostolus I Cor XVIII [1 Cor 13, 12, cf.]: *Videmus nunc per speculum et in enigmatate, tunc autem videbimus facie ad faciem, nunc cognoscimus ex parte, tunc autem cognoscemus sicut et cogniti sumus.* [149r] O quando erit istud, tunc cum auferretur saccus mortalitatis, quando nudabitur anima velamine carnis, quando hiemis abibit, et veniet delectacio vernalis. Nunc enim sumus similes hiemalibus, pulchritudo nostra non apparet, sumus velut aridi, nihil delectabilis habentes. Urgemur tribulacionibus, frigoribus, ardoribus, miseriis; patimur ventos tentacionum, nives asperitatum, sumus filii Dei, sed per fidem, sumus in spe, sed nondum in re. Levamus oculos in celum, ubi est gloria eterna, magna distancia celi a terra; quomodo possumus videre sedentem ad dexteram patris. Cum autem ver veniret, et dies resolucionis illuxerit, tunc nostra viriditas, et nostrum gaudium apparebit. Est sententia beati Augustini super Psalmus LXXXIII: *Nondum, inquit, videmus patrem nostrum? quia nondum apparuit, quod erimus. Iam sumus, sed in spe, nam quid erimus nondum apparuit. Scimus autem, quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quia videbimus eum sicuti est.*<sup>300</sup>

Sanctus vero Stanislaus nunc clare videt eum in terra vivencium, in monte altissimo regni celorum, ubi requiescens in gaudio nos omnes adhortatur, ut ad eius societatem convenimur ascendere, **triplici hortamento:**

<2.1> **fide firma et clara**, <2.2> **spe recta et certa**, et <2.3> **caritate fervida. In qua enim fide, spe et caritate** ipse salvatus est, et nos salvi fieri speramus.

Ecclesia canit:

*Sparsos artus, iubar celi, prodit celui fideli,  
nec perit articulus.*

*Sacrum corpus integratur, dum pars parti federatur,  
videns stupet populus.*<sup>301</sup>

*Veri solis radius, medicus celestis,  
meritorum martyr, auctor est et testis,  
in splendore corporis, caritatem signans,  
quod integrum reddidit, amorem designans.*<sup>302</sup>

<sup>299</sup> Beati ... misericordia. ] Augustinus Hipponensis, "In Psalmum 148 Enarratio: Sermo ad plebem," cap. 8, v. 6, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 37, col. 1941.

<sup>300</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, "In Psalmum 84 Enarratio: Sermo ad plebem," cap. 9, v. 8, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 37, col. 1074. Cf. 1 Io 3,2.

<sup>301</sup> Ecclesia... populus. ] *in margine*. Sequence *Iesu Christe rex superne*, 7a-b, in *Cantica*, ed. Kowalewicz, no. 5, 17.

<sup>302</sup> Veri... designans. ] *in margine*. Breviary historia rhythmica *Dies adest celebris*, lauds antiphon no. 5; Dziwisz, *Kult liturgiczny*, 87-8; Schenk, *Kult*, 98.

<2.1> Vis scire, quam **firmam fidem** habuit sanctus Stanislaus? Vide, quod post minutam<sup>303</sup> sectionem corporis eius, partes segregate redierunt ad integritatem, quasi non fuissent partite. Per hoc designabatur quantum fidei catholice dilexerit unitatem et integritatem [149v] pater noster et patronus. Erubescant filii regni huius in fide debiles. Timeant seniores huius regni, qui multos contra fidem insolentes possent cohibere nec cohibent. Quanta nobis confusio, si fidem, quam sanctus Stanislaus tenuit, levipendemus. Dicit Augustinus in sermone de pluribus martyribus: *Decet ista solemnia martyrium celebrare, ut vestigia martyrum deberent imitari.*<sup>304</sup> Quid est quod in eius canonisatione visum est vexillum rubeum, habens nomen et imaginem sancti Stanislai impressam, nisi ut sicut in bello respicitur vexillum, ita omnes habeamus respectum ad fidem huius sancti, si volumus vincere. Luxerunt eciam in eius canonisatione lumina in media testudine.

<2.2> Vis scire, quam **rectam spem** habuit sanctus Stanislaus? Vide, quod principe seviente, persecucione fervente, tyrannide tumultuante, ipse a sacrificio non cessavit, imo ad disseccionem sacrificavit in altari. *Ad altare vir celestis/ cadit cesus a scelestis/ mille lacer frustulis.*<sup>305</sup>

<2.3> Hec spes non confundit, **caritatem** autem ostendit, quia animam suam ut bonus pastor posuit pro ovibus suis. Et *'translatus est Israhel'* quantum ad secundum.

<3> **Dixi tercio**, quod sanctus Stanislaus **translatus est a labore ad quietem**, laboravit hic, iam ibi requiescit. Hic flebat, iam ibi ridet, hic tristabatur, iam ibi letatur. Querit Propheta [Ps 33, 13]: *Quis est homo, qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos?* Potest ei congrue responderi: "beatus Stanislaus". Voluit vitam, et invenit eam, et haurit salutem a Domino. Dilexit dies videre bonos, et invenit, non in terra, sed in celo. Dicit Augustinus super Psalmum XXIII, scilicet "Benedicam": *Semper dies mali sunt in seculo, sed semper dies boni sunt in Deo.* Subdit ipse [150r]: *Dominus non habuit dies bonos in hoc seculo, contumelias, iniurias, crucem et tanta mala paciebatur. Non ergo Christianus murmuret. Videat cuius vestigia sequitur.*<sup>306</sup> Hec ille. Dicunt homines: *Quamdiu paciemur mala, quotidie peiora, apud parentes nostros fuerunt dies meliores.* O, si interrogares tuos parentes, similiter tibi de suis diebus murmurarent. Et post pauca subdit: *Non hic querat dies bonos, omnes hic laboraverunt. Legite Scripturas: ideo voluit Dominus, ut scriberentur, ut nos consolarentur. Temporibus Helie fuit fames; passi sunt eam patres nostri. Capita iumentorum mortuorum auro vendebantur, occidebant filios suos et comederunt eos: et due mulieres statuerunt inter se ut occiderent filios suos et manducarent; occidit una filium suum, et manducaverunt eum ambe.* Hec ille. Scivit hec sanctus Stanislaus, ideo dilexit videre dies bonos, quos ut obtineret, translatus est de terra ad celum, non propter se tantum, sed propter nos, ut in conspectu Altissimi pro nobis intercederet.

Ecclesia canit:

*De concive celum gaude,  
de patrono terra plaude,  
Stanislaus dignus laude,  
cum sanctis letatur, angelis equatur.*<sup>307</sup>

Unde potest ad nos dicere, quod dixerat Ioseph ad fratres suos: *Premisit me Deus, ut reservemini super terram, et escas ad vivendum habere possitis, non vestro consilio, sed Dei voluntate huc missus sum,* Gen XLV [, 7. 8].

<sup>303</sup> minutam *correxi* ] *minuatam ms.*

<sup>304</sup> Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, "Sermo 285: In Die natali martyrum Casti et Aemilii": "ita solemnia martyrum celebrare, ut vestigia martyrum sequendo delectet imitari."

<sup>305</sup> Ad altare... frustulis. ] *in margine.* Sequence *Jesu Christe rex superne*, stanza 6a, Kowalewicz, *Cantica*, no. 5, 17.

<sup>306</sup> Semper... ambe. ] Augustinus Hipponensis, "In Psalmum 33 Enarratio: Sermo 2," v. 13 and v. 14, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 36, col. 317, 318.

<sup>307</sup> Ecclesia .... equatur. ] *in margine.* Breviary office *Dies adest celebris*, Lauds Antiphon 2 [variant: stanislaus pari laude/ sanctorum letatur/ meritis equatur.]

Tot enim peccata precesserint, et iugiter emergunt in Polonia, quot nisi beatus Stanislaus intercederet, terra peccatores non sustineret.

Quantum autem valeat intercessio sanctorum, audiamus, quid dicit Ps. [105, 23]: *Dixit scilicet Deus, ut disperderet eos, si non Moises, electus eius, stetisset in confraccione in conspectu eius.* Ubi dicit Augustinus: *In confraccione, idest in plaga, qua [150v] erant ibi feriendi, si non stetisset, id est, si non obiecisset seipsum pro eis, dicens: Aut dimitte eis hanc noxam, aut si nos facis, dele me de libro tuo quem scripsisti.*<sup>308</sup> *Ubi demonstratum est, quantum intercessio sanctorum pro aliis valeat apud Deum. Securus enim Moises de iusticia Dei, qua eum delere non posset, impetravit misericordiam, ne nos, quos iuste possedit, deleat.*<sup>309</sup> Hec ille.

Quod fecit Moises Iudeis, hoc facit sanctus Stanislaus Polonis. Unde hodie Dominus omnibus Polonis dicit: *Ite ad servum meum Stanislaum, et offerte holocaustum pro vobis, faciem eius suscipiam, ut non imputetur vobis stulticia,* Iob ultimo [Job 42, 8]. Sed revera timeo, ne iste sanctus videns nostram ingratitude, et sui levipensionem, ab intercessione desistat. Aut si non desistat, formidandum est ne peccatis invalescentibus, et usque ad celum clamantibus, vox peccatorum prevaleat intercessioni.

Legitur namque, quod dum Saraceni Siciliam invaderent,<sup>310</sup> insulam ubi corpus beati Bartholomei fuerat sepultum vastaverunt, et eius ossa disperserunt. Illis recedentibus, apparuit apostolus cuidam monacho, dicens ei: ‘Surge, collige ossa mea, que dispersa sunt.’ Cui ille: ‘Qua ratione debeo ossa tua colligere, vel eis honorem impendere, cum nos deleri permiseris nec auxilium impenderis?’ Cui ille: ‘Per multum temporis meis meritis Dominus huic populo pepercit, sed eorum peccatis nimis invalescentibus, et usque ad celum clamantibus, iam eis non potui veniam obtinere.’

Quia igitur peccata iugiter crescunt, et reverencia huius sancti in cordibus hominum decrescit, pavendum ne peccata nostra ita provocent indignacionem [151r] Dei, quod nec intercessio locum habebit, delebitque nos de superficie terre, et faciet nos in opprobrium *et fabulam cunctis populis.* *Omnis qui transierit stupebit, et sibilabit, et dicet: Quare sic fecit Dominus huic terre? Respondebuntque: quia dereliquerunt Dominum Deum suum,* III Reg IX [, 7.8.9].

Quia ergo translatus est sanctus Stanislaus in celum, restat ut eius patrocinio gaudentes, vitam nostram reformemus in melius, ad obtinendum gratiam in presenti, et tandem gloriam in regno celorum. Ad quam nos, etc.

*Iesu Criste rex superne, Deo patre coeterne,  
tibi laus et gloria.*

*Cuius ope martyr clemens Stanislaus hostem premens  
triumphat victoria.*

Et infra:

*Poli civis fit Polonus, presul pius et patronus,  
imo pater patrie.*

*Quem precemur corde mundo, donec sumus in hoc mundo,  
ne mergamur in profundo, pro delicti macula.*

*Sed occultis emundati prima stola trabeati  
cum beatus iam beati vivamus per secula. Amen.*<sup>311</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Cf. Ex 32,31-32.

<sup>309</sup> Dixit... deleat ] Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, “In Psalmum 105 Enarratio,” cap. 21, v. 23, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 37, col. 1412.

<sup>310</sup> Legitur... obtinere ] Cf. Iacopo da Varazze, “De sancto Bartholomeo” in *Legenda aurea*, ed. G. Maggioni, vol.2, 835.

<sup>311</sup> Iesu.. Amen. ] *In margine. Jesu Criste rex superne*, Kowalewicz, *Cantica*, no. 5, 17 – stanza 1a-b; 9b, 10a, 10b.

## Sermon XXXIV: Jan of Štupca\*

Manuscript: **BJ Acc. 67/54, f. 151r-153v**

### **Alius sermo de eodem.**

[Thema] *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo*, Eccli XLIIIo. [,16] [interpolated with Eccli 50,1]

[Introductio] Dicit Fulgencius: *In verbis Domini tamquam ditissimis ferculis est copia celestium deliciarum, ut in eis abundet quod etiam parvulus sugat. Ibi enim invenitur ferculum ut lac, quo tenera fidelium nutriatur infanzia. Ibi et solidus invenitur cibus, quo robusta perfectorum iuventus sancte virtutis accipiat incrementa. Ibi invenitur, quod omni etati congruat. Ibi prorsus consulitur universis quos Dominus salvare dignatur. Ibi est quod omni professioni conveniat.*<sup>312</sup>

Huic est, quod fideles predicatorum qualitates audiencium verbum Dei sollicite pensantes, secundum statum et condicionem singulorum, alimenta vite et sancte predicacionis pabulum administrant. Quos beatus Gregorius instruit dicens:<sup>313</sup> *Non una eademque exhortacio cunctis congruit, quia nec cunctos par morum*<sup>314</sup> *qualitas astringit. Nam quedam aliis obsunt*<sup>315</sup>, *aliis prosunt, quia sunt plereque herbe, quarum alie nutriunt, alie occidunt, et medicamentum quod [f. 151v] uni morbum minuit, alii vires auget. Et panis qui vitam forcium roborat, parvulorum necat. Pro qualitate igitur auditorum formari debet sermo doctorum.*

Unde aliter loquimur peccatoribus, aliter perfeccionem attingentibus, quam diversitatem sacra scriptura copiose predicatoribus administrat.

Unde peccatoribus dicitur Thob XIII [, 8]: *Convertimini peccatores et facite iusticiam coram Deo.*

Penitentibus vero dicitur Isaie XLIII [, 25]: *Ego sum, qui deleo iniquitates tuas.*

Proficientibus vero dicitur illud Eccl. [, 9, 10] *Quodcumque potest manus tua instanter operare.*

Cuilibet eciam ostenditur iste sanctus utinam ad exemplum eius sanctitatis proficiant in vita sua.

Conantibus autem ad perfeccionem dicitur illud Luce VI [, 36, cf.]: *Estote perfecti sicut et*<sup>316</sup> *Pater vester celestis perfectus est.*<sup>317</sup>

Obmissis aliis, de proficientibus hic intenditur quibus sanctus iste sub magnitudine sua proponitur, ut discant sancti et magni fieri sicut ipse.

[Divisio thematis] In verbis igitur propositis **tria** intelliguntur:

<1> **Primo** enim magnus iste pontifex demonstratur, cum dicitur: *“Ecce sacerdos”*

<2> **Secundo** demonstratus commendatur, cum dicitur: *“sacerdos magnus”*

<3> **Tercio** commendatus probatur, cum subditur: *“qui in diebus suis placuit Deo.”*

Hec per ordinem proseguendo <1> sciendum, quod res demonstrabiles solent triplici de causa demonstrari, ut videlicet ex demonstratis rebus provocemur, provocati informemur, informati imitemur.

Ex hac triplici causa iste magnus sacerdos est nobis per hoc adverbium “ecce” demonstratus:

<1.1> **Primo**, ut cum ipse homo similis nobis passibilis, magnus factus fuerit, provocemur ad eius exemplum, ut et nos magni fieri studeamus. Tales iam provocati, illud Petri Act X [, 34]: *Non est acceptor personarum Deus*, sed in omni gente qui timet Deum et operatur [152r] iusticiam acceptus

<sup>312</sup> tamquam... conveniat. ] Cf. Fulgencius Ruspensis, “Sermo primus De dispensatoribus Domini,” in *Sermones*, PL 65, col. 721.

<sup>313</sup> Non una... doctorum. ] Cf. Gregorius I, *Regula pastoralis*, pars tertia, prologus, PL 77, col. 49.

<sup>314</sup> Par morum ] premiorum *ms.*

<sup>315</sup> Officunt *ed.*

<sup>316</sup> et *supra lineam (s.l.)*

<sup>317</sup> *Estote ergo misericordes sicut et Pater vester misericors est.* Cf. Mt 5, 48.



est illi. Nec enim amplius illi debuit quam nobis, nec minus nobis exhibet quam illi, si tamen fideles fuerimus inquirendo.

<1.2> **Secundo** nobis demonstratus commendatur, ut provocati per exemplum eius informemur, quibus exercitiis possemus magni fieri sicut ipse. Huic Exodi XXI [25, 40] dicitur: *Inspice et fac secundum exemplar, quod tibi monstratum est in monte.* Huic Gregorius: *Unicuique electo ad sumendam vivendi regulam patrum precedencium exempla monstrantur, ut ex illorum vita consideret, quid in actibus suis servet et moribus.*<sup>318</sup> Qui ergo preceptis non attendunt, saltem exemplis provocentur, ut nihil sibi difficile estiment, quod in aliis peragi vident.

<1.3> **Tercio** iste pontifex demonstratur nobis, ut provocati et informati, ipsum efficaciter imitemur, prout in tercio membro lucide patebit. **Et tantum de primo.**

<2> **De secundo** scilicet: “*Sacerdos magnus;*” in quo iste pontifex a magnitudine commendatur. Habuit autem triplicem magnitudinem, scilicet <2.1> vite sanctitatem, <2.2> intercessionis potestatem, et <2.3> miraculorum claritatem.

<2.1> De primo potest sumi illud Gen XXVI [26, 13]: *Ibat proficiens atque succrescens, donec vehementer magnus effectus est.*

<2.2> De secundo potest sumi illud IIIIti [2] Reg V [, 1]: *Erat vir magnus et potens apud Dominum suum et honoratus.*

<2.3> De tercio patet in legenda sua, quod usque ad hanc diem signis et virtutibus subvenit universis.

<3> **De tercio principali**, in quo eius magnitudo probatur in eo quod subiungitur “*qui in diebus suis placuit Deo*” etc.<sup>319</sup> In quibus verbis ponuntur tres particule, scilicet <3.1> Dei complacencia, <3.2> eius iusticia, et <3.3> reconciliacionis gracia; que quia in ipso confluxerunt, ideo ipsum magnum fecerunt.

Nunc ergo verba hec ad nostram edificacionem convertamus, differentes et docentes, [152v] quibus exercitiis et nos magni apud Deum fieri valeamus. Ad hoc enim iste gloriosus pontifex sub sua magnitudine nobis ponitur in exemplum, ut ex sua magnitudine commoniti discamus magni fieri apud Deum; peccatores enim commoventur, ut infernum fugiant; penitentes, ut ad regnum celorum perveniant; boni, ut in magnitudine proficiant.

Quod si decreverimus faciendum, **tres particulas predictas, scilicet complacenciam, iusticiam, et reconciliacionis gratiam assumamus**, incipientes a <3.1> **prima, scilicet complacencia**, et inquirentes sollicite, quibus Deo placere valeamus.

**Primo** igitur sciendum, quod pre ceteris tria placent Deo, que ex persona sua propria nobis proponit ita dicens, Eccii XXI [25, 1-2]: *In tribus beneplacitum est spiritui meo, que sunt probata coram Deo et hominibus*, scilicet <3.1.1> **concordia fratrum**, <3.1.2> **vir et mulier consencientes**, et <3.1.3> **amor proximorum**; que tria si vite nostre inseremus, Deo per omnia complacebimus.

<3.1.1> Sunt autem **fratres** omnes sensus et omnia corporis membra, pariter et affectiones, potencie et virtutes anime. Ex affinitate quam habent ad invicem ‘fratres’ iusto nomine appellantur, quos tunc ad concordiam reducimus, quando ex nostra diligencia et conatu omnes Deo concorditer obsequuntur, ita ut devocio dicat omnibus illud Iudicum XII [9, 48]:<sup>320</sup> *Quod me videtis facere, omnes facite*, quod cum factum fuerit, valde subito proficimus, sicut in adverso valde deficimus, cum dissensiones et scismata in nobis fuerunt, quia quantum in una parte proficimus, tantum in parte altera retardamur, sicut Eccii XXXIII [34, 29. 28] dicitur: *Unus orans et alius maledicens, cuius vocem exaudit Deus? Unus edificans et alius destruens, quid prodest nisi labor?* Et ideo Apostolus ait 1 Cor. primo [1, 10]: *Non sint in vobis scismata*, quia ut ait Gregorius: [153r] *Quid prodest, si contra hostium insidias, tota pene civitas custoditur caute, unum autem foramen apertum*

<sup>318</sup> Unicuique... et moribus. ] Cf. Gregorius I, *Moralia*, caput 11, PL 76, col. 463.

<sup>319</sup> etc. *s.l.*

<sup>320</sup> *Quod me videtis facere, cito facite.*

*relinquitur, per quod ab hostibus capiatur?*<sup>321</sup> Et subiungit idem: *Qui ergo Deo perfecte placere desiderat, nil sibi penitus de se relinquat, factus sibi totus tamquam vas perditum et sicut mortuus a corde.*

<3.1.2> **Secundum**, quod de nobis Deo pre ceteris placet, est **vir et mulier** bene invicem consencientes. Quid per virum nisi spiritus, per mulierem autem caro intelligitur, qui tunc bene consenciant, quando caro ancillatur et spiritus dominatur, quando caro rationi se subiicit et spiritus semper precipit, quia caro ad serviendum spiritui data est.

<3.1.3> **Tercium**, quod pre ceteris Deo placet, est **amor proximorum**. Ipse enim omnino statuit hominem sine crimine. Hic amor facit tria bona, sine quibus non est salus. Nam per amorem proximi malum declinatur, bonum operatur, sine eo, scilicet amore, nihil de nobis a Domino acceptatur et omne quod agimus cum dilectione proximi a Domino gratanter acceptatur. De primo dicit Apostolus [Rom 13, 10]: *Dilectio proximi malum non operatur*; de secundo idem [Rom 13, 10]: *Plenitudo legis est dilectio*; de tercio Cor. VIII [1 Cor 13, 1]: *Si linguis hominum loquar, et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut es sonans aut cimbalum tinniens* etc.

Qui ergo predicta tria Deo exhibuerit, per omnia placet Deo. Nullum enim bonum facere possumus, nisi prius boni fuerimus. Non enim Abel placuit Deo ex munere, sed munus ex Abel. Et sciendum, quod postquam ceperimus placere Deo, omnia que sunt in celo et in terra bona et mala promovent nos, ut amplius placeamus; hinc Prover. XVI [, 7]: *Cum placuerint Domino vie hominis, inimicos illius convertit ad pacem.*

<3.2> **Secundum** quod nos magnos efficit apud Deum est **iusticia**. Sicut enim iste confessor, ideo magnus predicatur, quia inventus [153v] est iustus sic et nos iusticia facit magnos. Hec autem iusticia, ut ait Augustinus, est virtus generalis complectens tocium anime rectitudinem, que duobus adimpletur modis, ut que prohibita sunt a Deo, non faciamus, et que precepta sunt, compleamus. Item bene describit eam sic: *Iusticia est virtus reddens unicuique quod suum est.*

<3.2.1> Reddamus ergo superiori scilicet Deo, quod suum est, scilicet reverenciam, ut in omni loco, omni tempore erubescamus facere mala, tanquam stemus in presencia sue maiestatis. Sic enim estimabant se facere prophete cum frequenter dicerent: *Vivit Dominus in cuius conspectu sto.*<sup>322</sup>

<3.2.2> Secundo reddamus proximo equalitatem, id est benivolenciam, ut semper sumus ei consilii et auxilii debitores.

<3.2.3> Inferiori, id est corpori, reddamus custodiam, ne malum faciat, et disciplinam, ut si faciat, diluat.

Facientes enim sic iusticiam a Domino sanctificantur, Math. V [, 6]: *Beati qui esuriunt et siciunt iusticiam*. Quodsi beati, utique sanctificati. Item regno Dei premiantur; Ps [14, 1.2] *Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?* Respondet: *Qui ingreditur sine macula et operatur iusticiam*. Et quia tanta bona Dominus contulit facientibus iusticiam, ideo consulitur nobis Eccli III [4, 33]: *Agonisare pro iusticia usque ad mortem.*

<3.3> **Tercium** quod nos magnos efficit est **reconciliacionis gracia**, et est quando aliquis anihilans singulare meritum, non solum suam salvat animam, sed eciam pro aliorum salute sollicitus est apud Deum, qui eciam hominum detrimenta luget tamquam sua et similiter gaudet de bonis tamquam suis. Ista est ergo reconciliacio nobilis, que ire Dei obviat, ut ait Gregorius, et intercessionibus suis prout Deum habet sibi adiutorem, alios ad eternam pacem perducit. Cuius nos participes facere dignetur Iesus Christus Dominus Deus noster per secula et in eternum benedictus. Amen.

<sup>321</sup> Quid prodest... capiatur. ] Cf. Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Ezechielem prophetam*, Liber 1, Homilia 7, PL 76, col. 843.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. 3 Rg 17,1: *Vivit Dominus Israel, in cuius conspectu sto...* Cf. 1 Rg 29,6; 4 Rg 3,14.

## Sermon LXXI: Anonymous

Manuscript: Uppsala, C 383, f. 126r-v

### **De sancto Stanislao.**

[Thema] *Vidi alterum angelum descendentem de celo amictum nube et auris in capite eius et facies eius erat sicut sol*, Apoc. [Ap 10,1].

Iohannes apostolus inter ceteras visiones quas sibi Deus dignatus est ostendere sive revelare, vidit angelum descendentem, de quo in verbis premissis dicit ‘*Vidi*’, inquit. Angelus ille designat beatum Stanislauum, de quo tria hic tanguntur:

<1> Primo tangit vite sanctitatem in hoc quia angelo eum comparat; ibi: *Vidi alterum angelum etc., amictum nube*, idest castitate et castis actibus.

<2> Secundo tangit eius premium, cum dicit: *Iris in capite eius*, idest corona.

<3> Tercio exprimit nostram utilitatem, et hoc ibi: *Facies eius sicut sol*.

<1> **Primo** igitur tangit **sanctitatem eius vite** cum angelo comparando, qui est mundissime nature, quia numquam peccavit nec peccare potest. Sic revera beatus Stanislaus dicitur angelus non natura, sed virtute, quia angelicam naturam mundicia castitatis fuit imitatus. Qui enim mundiciam servat, angelos imitatur et vitam angelicam ducit. Unde Ieronimus: *In carne vivere preter carnem non est terrena vita, sed celestis. In carne enim sibi eandem gloriam acquirere maioris est meriti, quam habere*; dum hoc optinere viribus nititur homo cum gracia, quod angelus habet ex natura. Unde legitur de eo, quod cum traditus esset studiis litterarum, cepit pueriles<sup>323</sup> ludos vitare, iuvenum lasciviam<sup>324</sup> fugere, studio intendere [b] et qualiter Deo magis placeret, toto cordis affectu anhelabat. Audiens igitur famam ipsius dominus Lampertus Cracoviensis episcopus eum accersivit et in sua ecclesia canonicum instituit. Qui mox inter suos concanonicos velut sidus celeste emicuit castitate moribus et exemplis omnimode sanctitatis ipsos illustrando, postmodum autem mortuo episcopo dicto in episcopum est electus.<sup>325</sup> Tunc de eo dici poterat verbum Apostoli dicentis [Heb 7,26]: *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex, sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, et excelsior celis factus*, quia tota conversatio sua totusque affectus suus in celis erat. Et quia vitam celestem duxit, celum eius sanctitati testimonium perhibuit. Legitur enim, quod cum impius rex divina ipsum celebrantem immitatim occidisset et particulas sacri corporis per campum spargi iussisset, celum super eum statim radios sui direxit et quamlibet particulam corporis illustravit. Quatuor enim aquile vise sunt a quatuor mundi partibus advolare que corpus eius circumvolantes custodiebant, ut a nulla bestia tangeretur, et iustum fuit ut quia corpus eius nullam peccati inmundiciam tetigerat, a nulla eciam bestia inmundum tangeretur. Quod videntes Christiani corpus eius colligentes in unum locum posuerunt, mane autem facto invenerunt corpus eius integrum in suo sanguine tinctum, nullam cicatricem habentem, quod accipientes cum reverencia ad ecclesiam sancti Michaelis de Rupella deportaverunt et in ingressu eiusdem basilice sepeliverunt, ubi per decennium lux a sepulcro eius numquam discessit, in quo testimonium puritatis et sanctitatis eius perhibuit.<sup>326</sup>

Et nota quod mundicia tria bona homini operatur:

<1.1> primo quod in anima hominis habitaculum Deo parat, anima enim munda et sancta est sedes Dei, Sap.: *Anima iusti sedes est sapientie*.

<sup>323</sup> pluries *ms.*

<sup>324</sup> lascivia *ms.*

<sup>325</sup> cum traditus ... electus ] Cf. *Vita minor*, 255-256; *Vita maior*, 368-369.

<sup>326</sup> Cf. *Vita minor*, 281-282; *Vita maior*, 388-389.

Item est templum Dei, unde Apostolus: *An nescitis quod templum Dei sitis et Spiritus Sanctus habitet in vobis? Vos, inquit, templum Dei et Spiritus Sanctus habitat in vobis.*<sup>327</sup>

Tercio est tabernaculum, unde Sap. [Prov 8,31]: *Delicie mee sunt esse cum filiis hominum.* Et Apoc. [21,3]: *Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis* etc.

<1.2> secundo ad regnum celorum introducit, unde Ps.: *Quis ascendit ad montem Domini aut quis stabit* Et respondit: *Innocens manibus* etc.<sup>328</sup> Si ergo desideras ad regnum introire, conserva mundiciam; *hec est enim voluntas Dei*, dicit Apostolus [1 Thes 4,3], *sanctificatio vestra*, id est mundicia vestra, *ut abstineatis*. Unde ipse Dominus dicit: *Estote sancti sicut et ego sanctus sum.*<sup>329</sup> Io.: *Omnis qui spem habet in illo, sanctificet seipsum, sicut et ipse sanctus sum* [sic].<sup>330</sup> Unde in Apoc. [21,27] dicitur de civitate illa celesti, quod *non intrabit quidquid coinquinatum*.

<1.3> Tercio homini manifestat Deum. Unde dicit Dominus in evangelio: *Beati mundi corde quoniam ipsi mundo corde quoniam Deum videbunt.*<sup>331</sup> In qua visione habebunt [f. 126v] infinitas leticias. Si ergo vis esse habitaculum Dei, si celeste regnum introire, si faciem Dei contemplari, conserva mundiciam sicut ille sanctus etc.

<2> **Secundo** tangit **istius sancti premium** cum dicit: *Et iris in capite eius*, id est corona. Ubi notare possumus, quod iris habet triplicem colorem, sive cerilleum, rubeum et celestem. Et iste triplex color designat triplicem coronam qua Deus ipsum coronavit, coronam enim debent habere virgines, predicatorum et martyrum. Quia ipse fuit virgo, predicator, et martyr, ideo hanc triplicem coronam pro mercede a Domino recepit. Ideo merito dicitur: *Et iris, id est corona, in capite eius*.

<3> **Tercio** notatus **nostra utilitas** cum dicitur: *et facies eius erat sicut sol*. Sol virtutem habet: <3.1> illuminat, <3.2> calefacit, et <3.3> vivificat.

Ista tria habuit noster sol beatus Stanislaus: <3.1> illuminavit verbo et exemplo, <3.2> calefacit vestiendo. Unde legitur de eo, quod per totum suum episcopatum omnes orphanos, pauperes et viduas in corde suo quasi in libro scriptos habebat, quibus necessaria singulis ministrabat; mensa etiam sua omnibus communis erat et maxime peregrinis et viris religiosis.<sup>332</sup>

<3.3> Item sol vivificat, quia nisi esset sol, ut dicit Philosophus, nullus vivere posset. In fine etiam mundi, quando sol a cursu suo cessabit, omnia morientur; unde etiam videmus, quod illa, que in hieme quasi mortua erant, adveniente estate, cum sol est in sua virtute, omnia reviviscunt et florere incipiunt. Sic noster sol beatus Stanislaus multos in anima et corpore vivificavit, infirmos sanando, mortuos suscitando, obsessos a demonio liberando. Et sicut sol est magne virtutis in miraculis faciendis, sic etiam beatus Stanislaus.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 6,19: *An nescitis quoniam membra vestra, templum sunt Spiritus Sancti, qui in vobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis vestri?*

<sup>328</sup> Cf. Ps 23,3-4: *Quis ascendet in montem Domini? aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius? Innocens manibus et mundo corde*

<sup>329</sup> Cf. Mt 5,48: *Estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester celestis perfectus est.*

<sup>330</sup> 1 Io. 3,3: *Et omnis qui habet hanc spem in eo, sanctificat se, sicut et ille sanctus est.*

<sup>331</sup> Cf. Mt 5,8.

<sup>332</sup> Cf. *Vita maior*, 372 (*Vita minor*, 258 – more distant).

## Sermons and Outlines from the Notebook of Jan of Dąbrówka

### Sermon IV: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 93v-94v**

[Thema] *Talis decebat ut esset pontifex, sanctus, innocens etc.* [Heb 7, 26]

Quinque bona ostendit Apostolus habuisse nostrum episcopum, contra quinque mala, que tunc erant in Cracovia, que utinam modo non essent:

<A> Erat enim tunc quasi excommunicata, id est multis peccatis involuta. Et ideo misit ei Dominus episcopum non ebriosum, non luxuriosum, sed sanctum et mundum; et ideo dicitur *sanctus*.

<B> Habundabat in ea luxuria et gula, et utinam non modo. Et ideo misit ei episcopum sobrium, castum; et ideo dicitur eum *immaculatus*.

<C> Erant in ea multi infideles et turpes peccatores cum brutis peccantes sicut rex, qui equam pro uxore habuit. Et ideo misit ei Deus episcopum fidelem et a talibus penitus semotum, quod patet, quia propter hoc est occisus; et ideo dicitur *segregatum a peccatoribus*.

<D> Item erant homines bestiales, indevoti et terrena tam diligentes. Ideo misit eis patrem devotum et tota mente et anima celestem, corpore erat in terra, sed mente in celo; et ideo *excelsior celo factus* in mente.

Felix Cracovia, que talem meruit habere patrem et felices in his ipsum imitantes.

Dicendum autem tria de beato Stanislao:

<1> primo ostenditur sua **dignitas**, quia '*pontifex*',

<2> Secundo sua **sanctitas**, quia episcopus peccator non est episcopus, dic.

<3> Tercio sua **felicitas**, quia in celis habet mansionem, '*excelsior*' inquit '*celis*'.<sup>333</sup>

<a> Et quia noster **episcopus** est, debemus ab eo benedictionem petere, quia hoc suum officium est, quod ipse libenter faciet. Legitur de ipso, quod in visione videbatur in quodam campo multos benedicere.<sup>334</sup>

<b> Item quia **sanctus** est, potest nos sua prece sanctos facere.

<c> Item quia noster **Polonus** est, et apud nos debemus eum diligere ex reverencia. Hoc est, quod dicit Sanctus Ambrosius:<sup>335</sup>

*Cuncti, inquit, martyres devotissime [f. 94r] colendi sunt, sed spiritualiter hii reverendi sunt a nobis quorum reliquias possidemus. Illi alii sancti nos oracionibus adiuvant, hii nobiscum moriantur et in corpore viventes nos custodiunt et de corpore egredientes excipiunt, hii iuvant ne peccemus, hii ne horror inferni invadit. Nam hoc, inquit, a maioribus provisum est, ut sanctorum ossibus nostra ossa sociemus. Unde cum illos tartharus metuit, nos pena non tangit et dum illos Christus illuminat, a nobis tenebre diffugiunt.*<sup>336</sup>

Item, quia in celis habitat, rogemus, ut nos cum eo simus.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584, lin. 5-8; and other variants of the division in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

<sup>334</sup> Cf. Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 584, lin. 11-21.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. Ambrosius/Augustinus/Rabanus Maurus? The text attributed by the preacher to St. Ambrose is edited under the name of Maximus Taurinensis, *Collectio sermonum antiqua*, CCCM, vol. 219a, Sermo 12, v. 26ff. The sermon model was elsewhere attributed to Augustine. Among others, it is also quoted by Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae de festis praecipuis*, Homilia 25 – "In natali sancti Albani martyris," PL 110, coll. 49-50.

<sup>336</sup> diffugiunt correxi ] diffigiunt ms.

Quod autem<sup>337</sup> fuerit sanctus, hic **probat ipse Deus, hic celum, hic terra, hic ignis, hic aqua, hic diversa infirmitas,**<sup>338</sup> quam ipse curavit, et omnia membra humana.

Sanctum enim ostendit **Deus** corpus eius sectum potenter reintegrando. Dignus enim fuit quod ille, qui divisum cor non habuit, quod nec corpus divisum haberet. *Multi sunt divisi corde*, Osee X [2]: *Divisum est cor* eius, et plures divise corpore, qui corpus multis meretricibus dividerunt.

Hoc probat **celum**, quod statim lucem sui corporis particulis irradientis destinavit et a tumba eius, ut dicitur, per X annos non recessit, innuens, quod filius erat lucis et non tenebrarum; et in hoc fuit similis Paulo, cuius caput semper radius illuminabat.

Hoc probat **aer**, qui statim aquilas in corporis sui defensionem misit et hoc ideo ut rex avium regi homini obsequium prestaret; et in hoc communicat cum sancto Vincencio, cuius corpus corvi defenderunt, et in sancto Floriano.

Hoc probat **aqua**, que puerum ad sui invocacionem non submersit, alium autem submersum suscitavit; et in hoc similis est sancto Andreo, qui XXX submersos suscitavit. Si ergo submersus es in aliquo peccato, roga.

Hoc probat **ignis**; exemplum de Andrea filio Sinilonis, quem cum<sup>339</sup> flamma in domo quadam omnino involvisset, ad invocacionem sancti Stanislai flamma se dividens viam fecit latam, ut exiret; et in hoc similis Agate, cuius velum ignem Ethneum<sup>340</sup> non permisit<sup>341</sup>. Si ergo urit te<sup>342</sup> ignis luxurie, roga.

Hoc probat **terra**, que mortuum ut testis fieret episcopi super villa ecclesie, vivum emisit.

Hoc probant **demonēs** quos vero et sui corporis presencia ab obsessis eiciebat. Vide mirabilia! Tota creatura servit sancto et defendit! Soli nos ipsum impugnamus contra certando et ecclesie sue iniuriam faciendo.

Item quod<sup>343</sup> fuerit sanctus, hoc probat **omnis infirmitas**, quam ipse curavit. Omnis autem infirmitas aut est capitis, aut membrorum aliorum. Dolorem capitis sanavit in muliere orante ad sepulcrum suum; quidam natus sine cute statim [f. 94v] cum sancto fuisset oblatus, pellem recuperavit. Dic exempla.

Et licet ita fuerit sanctus, infelix Boleslaus non timuit ipsius infulam calcare, et [ipsum] occidere, et canibus dare. Et propter hoc exilio damnatus perit et sui omnes fautores.

### Sermon XXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 94v**

#### **In translacione sancti Stanislai**<sup>344</sup>

[Thema] *Enoch translatus est etc.* Eccl. XI [Heb 11,5].<sup>345</sup>

Duplex festum tangitur hic, dic, scilicet Ascensionis et beati Stanislai.

<1> Circa primum sciendum, quod sicut Elias ascendit <1.1> patenter, <2> celeriter, <3> utiliter, sic etiam Christus.

<sup>337</sup> autem *correxi* ] aut *ms.*

<sup>338</sup> Cf. Peregrinus, *Sermones*, 588-591; other variants in Chapter 4 of the disseration.

<sup>339</sup> quem cum ] quem cum quem cum *ms.*

<sup>340</sup> Cf. Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica Slavorum*, MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum 14, liber 5, cap. 9, 180.

<sup>341</sup> permisit *correxi* ] premisit *ms.*

<sup>342</sup> urit te ] te urit te *ms.*

<sup>343</sup> quod *correxi* ] quid *ms.*

<sup>344</sup> Title perhaps added later, it must have been for the martyrdom feast originally.

<sup>345</sup> Eccl. erroneous

<1.1> Patenter, quia terra vidit, sicut patet de vestigiis in lapide, celum - de nube, apostoli – angelo,<sup>346</sup> etc.

<1.2> Celeriter, quia post XXX annos quando totum robur est in homine, vel post XL dies sicut XL horarum in sepulcro iacuit.

<1.4?> Connaturaliter, quia naturaliter est soli per eiusdem circulos redire, aque per eiusdem meatus redeunt in mare, homo qui de terra<sup>347</sup> est in terram redire. Sic Christus, qui de celo.

<1.3> Item utiliter, quia nobis locum parare, Spiritum Sanctum dare, pro nobis advocare.

<2> Circa secundum nota, quod per Eliam beatus Stanislaus, quia sicut Eli fuit servus fidelis, sic iste. Unde Hebre. [7,26]: *Talis decebat* etc. Contra a. b.c.; ubi nota, quod innocens, misericors, dic. Unde potuit dicere illud Io. [10,11]: *Ego sum pastor bonus* etc. [Io. 10,7 et 9], *ostium* [Io. 14,6], *via, vita* [cf. 10,7-11; 14,6].

Fuit etiam successor, quia sicut ille *non pertimuit principem*, Ecc. XL,<sup>348</sup> sic iste.

Mors sua<sup>349</sup> fuit signata per Senecherib, quem occiderunt filii; per Nabucho, cuius corpus mersum frustratim filius fecit dari XXX vulturibus, ut non resurgeret pater eius, nisi vultures redirent in unum; in *Scholastica historia*;<sup>350</sup> per Zachariam, qui est interfectus inter templum et altare,<sup>351</sup> unde solvitur modo proverbium illud clericorum, quod dicitur *filii occiderunt patrem in medio matris*.<sup>352</sup>

## Sermon on St. Adalbert with references to St Stanislaus

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 80v** [no title]

[Thema] *Vidi alterum angelum [fortem] descendentem de celo, amictum nube et iris in capite eius et facies eius sicut sol*, Apok. [10,1]

Vulgata Clementina: Et vidi alium angelum fortem descendentem de celo amictum nube, et iris in capite eius, et facies eius erat ut sol, et pedes eius tamquam colonne ignis.

In verbo isto ostenditur de sancto Adalberto<sup>353</sup>

<1> qualis sit genere,

<2> qualem domum habeat,

<3> qualem vestem,

<4> qualem coronam

<5> et qualem faciem.

<1> Si genus suum queris, scies, quod est nobilissimum, quia angelus. *Vidi*, inquit [**f. 81r**], *angelum*.

<2> Si vis scire domum in qua habitat, dicitur, quod valde gloriosa, quia celum; *descendentem*, inquit, *de celo*. Licet enim corpore habitaverit in terra, affectu tamen erat in celo.

<3> Vestem habuit de nube, *amictum*, inquit, nube, idest misericordia, quia sicut nubes nullam potest recipere impressionem nisi ignis etc. in sermone Stanislai.

<4> Item si vis scire suam dignitatem, dicitur, quod sit coronatus, unde *iris in capite eius*.

<sup>346</sup> angelo *addidi* ] an [sic!] *ms.*

<sup>347</sup> terra *correxi*] terre *ms.*

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Eccli 48,13: *Elias quidem in turbine tectus est, et in Eliseo completus est spiritus eius: in diebus suis non pertimuit principem.*

<sup>349</sup> *stricta del.*

<sup>350</sup> Cf. Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1453: “timensque ne resurgeret pater suus, qui de bestia redierat in hominem, divisit in trecentas partes, et dedit eas trecentis vulturibus. Et ait ad eum Joachim: ‘Non resurget pater tuus, nisi redeant vultures in unum.’”

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Mt 23,35: *ut veniat super vos omnis sanguis iustus, qui effusus est super terram, a sanguine Abel iusti ad sanguinem Zacharie, filii Barachie, quem occidistis inter templum et altare.*

<sup>352</sup> Cf. for example Balduinus Ninovens, MGH SS 25, 535, lin. 33.

<sup>353</sup> Adalberto ] Alberto *ms.* and like that throughout the sermon

<5> Item si vis scire, utrum pulcher fuerit, ostendit quia *facies eius sicut sol*.

Felix Adalbertus qui ita est nobilis, quia filius Dei, sicut angelus. Felix qui talem habet domum ita sanam etc. Felix beatus Adalbertus qui de homine factus est angelus. Sed ve peccatori qui fornicando et huiusmodi opera faciendo dyaboli factus est cum eo unus demon, sicut dicitur Ber[nardus].

Item nota, quod beatus Adalbertus<sup>354</sup> socius erat beati Stanislai vita et officio, quia uterque martyr et episcopus, et ideo dicitur alter angelus.

Primus angelus beatus Adalbertus, predicator, pater et apostolus Polonorum;  
alter beatus Stanislaus, primus martyr Cracovitarum.  
Primus habet sedem in Gnezne, quam fovet multis beneficiis.  
Secunda sedes est in Cracovia, cuius ipse extat honor et gloria.

Isti duo angeli Adalbertus et Stanislaus prefigurati sunt per illos duos angelos, qui alis suis velabant archam Dei, idest ecclesiam, quam isti duo velabant, ne pulvere peccatorum immunderetur et ne suis filiis Deus maxime irascatur immitendo famam etc.

Credisne, quod Polonia, in qua tot sunt calumnie, tot violencie, tot inique leges, tamdiu subsisteret ne eam isti sancti velarent protegendo suo suffragio?

Certe, si solus Moyses potuit Deum placare, ne populum iratus deleret, quanto magis isti duo patroni hoc efficiunt, ne delemur sive per Rutenos etc. Semper enim sicut pii patres non sunt obliti gentis sue kathedre, sue terre, sue et carnis. Sue, quia caro de carne nostra et Polonus de Polonia, et alter Bohemus de Bohemia.

Item, quia fortis fuit, sive Bohemos, sive Ungaros, sive Polonos ad viam Dei a simulacris reducendo, sive ipse beatus Stanislaus contra Boleslaum sceleratum, canes plus hominibus diligentem, dimicando?<sup>355</sup> Ideo dicitur angelus fortis. *Vidi, inquit, angelum fortem!* O, quam fortis, qui tanto tyranno usque ad mortem non cessit, sed de ipso viriliter triumphavit! Hic est alter Elias, qui in vita sua *non pertimuit principem*<sup>356</sup>; nec mirum, erat enim sicut ignis.<sup>357</sup> [f. 81v] Paucos modo habemus episcopos, dic.

Item, quia omnis fuit omnibus,<sup>358</sup> pater in misericordia, ideo dicitur *faciem habere solarem*. Sol communiter illuminat Iudeos, paganos, sicut et Christianos. Sic ipse omnes illuminavit radio verbi et calefecit pauperes subsidio temporali et spirituali. Et in hoc similis fuit Paulo, qui *omnia omnibus factus fuit, infirmis infirmus*,<sup>359</sup> dic.

Quod autem<sup>360</sup> fuerit iste sanctus sicut angelus, hoc probat Deus, hoc celum, hoc aqua etc.

Quere in sermone Sta[nislai] et potes de utroque adaptare et de Floriano, qui fuit angelus et fortis, quod patet, quia sponte se Christianum [esse] est confessus, ligato<sup>361</sup> lapide in flumen proiectus; unde et princeps militum fuit.

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<sup>354</sup> Sanctus Adalbertus ] s ad al ms.

<sup>355</sup> Dumicando ms.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Sir 48,13: *Elias quidem in turbine tectus est, et in Eliseo completus est spiritus eius: in diebus suis non pertimuit principem.*

<sup>357</sup> Cf. *et pedes eius tamquam columne ignis.*

<sup>358</sup> frater del. ms.

<sup>359</sup> 1 Cor 9, 22: *Factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrificerem. Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos.*

<sup>360</sup> autem ] aut ms.

<sup>361</sup> ligato correx] ] ligate ms.



## Sermon XLI: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 146r-146v**

### **Sancti Stanislai martyris**

[Thema] [*F*] *jac tibi duos cherubin superductiles ex auro purissimo* [Cf. Ex 37,7 or 25,18]

Duo cherubin sunt beatus Stanislaus et beatus Venceslaus. Expone prius quoniam sunt duo cherubin, quorum est illuminare, purgare et inflammare; et quomodo ex auro purissimo per innocenciam et quomodo ductiles per martyrium.

Hii figurati fuerunt per Abraham et Melchisedech sacerdotem qui obtulit panem et vinum. Sic beatus Venceslaus vincens hostes, scilicet mundum, carnem et voluntatem; beatus Stanislaus offerens panem et vinum in altari.

Item per Moyses et Aaron. Moyses dux ducens de Egypto populum, Aaron sacerdos legem exponens populo et docens. Sic isti: Venceslaus dux, Stanislaus sacerdos.

Item per David et Samuelem. David rex pugnat pro populo Dei, et Samuel prophetavit. Sic beatus Venceslaus pugnat pro Christo, et Stanislaus prophetavit.

Item per [146v] Simonem et Iudam.<sup>362</sup> Vide in le[ghenda].

Item per b[eatum] Ven[ceslaum?] et Val[erianum].

Item Iosue et Eleazarum.<sup>363</sup>

Appropria, ut vis.

## Sermon LXXIII: Jan of Dąbrówka\*

Manuscript: **BJ 1635, f. 146v** [no title]

[Thema] *Virgem virtutis tue etc.* [Virgam virtutis tue emittet Dominus ex Sion: dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum. Ps 109, 2]

Virga dicitur beatus Stanislaus propter rationes:

<1> Primo quantum ad electionem episcopalem, quia ut Aaron, dic.

<2> Secundo quantum ad miraculorum operationem.

<3> Tercio quantum ad clemencie comparacionem seu gracie restitutionem. Hester.

<1> Primo dico quantum ad electionem, quia sicut A[aron] mediante virga est electus, sic iste mediante virga, id est Dei filio, est electus. Ipse enim est virga vigilans.

<2> Secundo comparatur virge Moysi propter miraculorum operationem, quia sicut Moyses mediante virga fecit plura miracula in Egypto, sic noster Moyses, idest Christus, fecit multa miracula per virgam suam, scilicet beatum Stanislaum, et usque in presens facit.

<3> Tercio comparatur virge Assueri<sup>364</sup> propter gracie restauracionem, quia sicut virga eius fuit virga clemencie et pietatis omnibus osculantibus eam. Dic historiam de Hester, quomodo fuit prolapsa. Sic beatus Stanislaus est virga summe clemencie et pietatis, inclinatur per regem Assuerum, idest Christum, omnibus invocantibus eum in quacumque necessitate.<sup>365</sup> Dic miracula.

<sup>362</sup> Iudam *correxi* ] Iudem *ms.*

<sup>363</sup> Eleazarum *correxi* ] Leazarum *ms.*

<sup>364</sup> Asseri *ms.*

<sup>365</sup> neccesse *ms.*