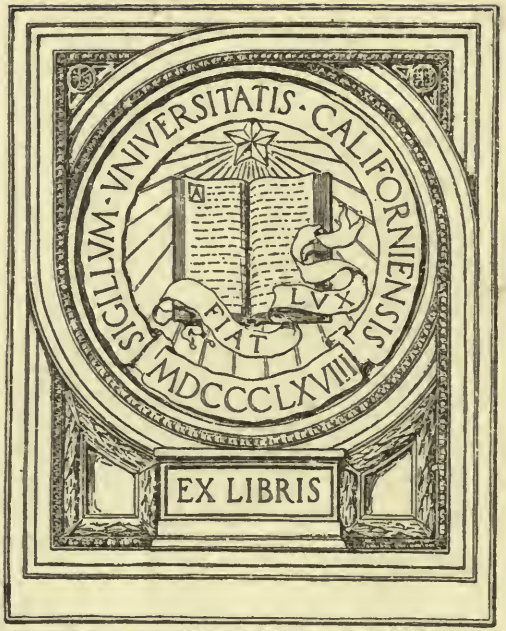
CRACOW
THE ROYAL CAPITAL OF ANCIENT POLAND

LEONARD LEPSZY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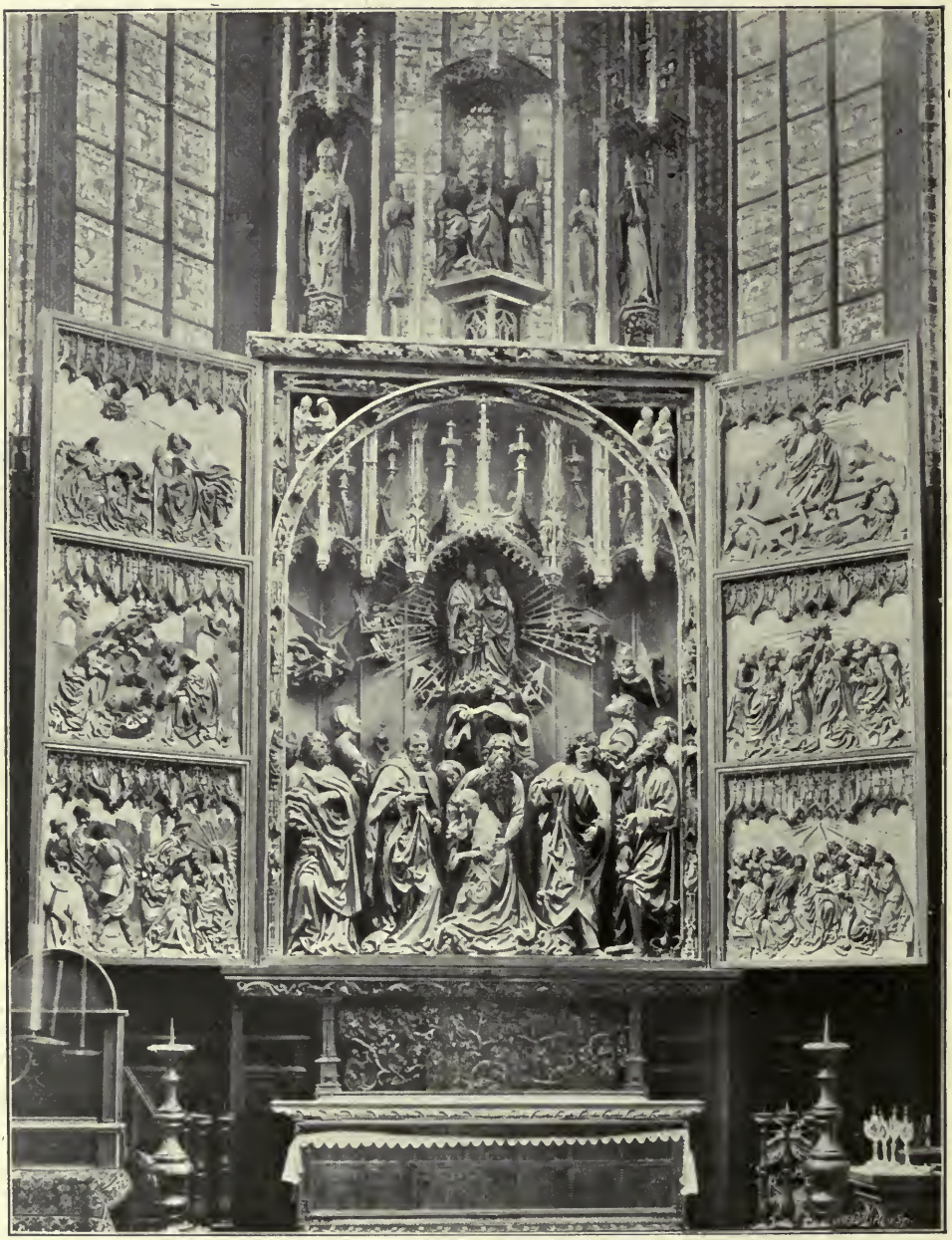

THE HIGH ALTAR IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

(*Vitus Stoss.*)

CRACOW

The Royal Capital of Ancient Poland : Its History and Antiquities

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WITH NINETY-NINE ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

CRACOW, the time-honoured residence of Poland's kings, is amply entitled, by its numerous monuments of ancient civilization and art, to take the rank among famous historical towns which it is the purpose of this work to establish for it in the opinion of the international public. The bulk of the book is based, and most of the illustrations are taken from a collective monograph on the town's glorious past, published in 1904, by the Cracow Society of Antiquaries (*Towarzystwo miłośników historyi i zabytków Krakowa*), a result of the co-operative labours of Prof. S. Krzyżanowski (on the general history of the town), Dr. S. Tomkowicz (on Cracow's intellectual life), Dr. A. Chmiel (on the municipal organization and the craft-guilds), Prof. F. Kopera and Prof. K. Górski (on architecture), Dr. J. Muczkowski (on sculpture), and L. Lepszy (on painting, applied art, and commerce).

For details of architectural history, the standard work of A. Essenwein has been consulted.

In order to make the book acceptable to the foreign reader the matter of the collective work first mentioned has been condensed into what claims to be, to some extent, an independent treatment of the subject.

L. L.

The present English translation was made from Mr. Lepszy's German work as published in the series *Berühmte Kunststätten*, Leipsic (E. A. Seemann), 1906, the translator himself being responsible for some explanatory additions which seemed necessary for the sake of the English reader—*e.g.*, the accounts of Matejko's historical pictures, and of Wyspianski's paintings and poetry—as well as for the description of such recent works of art as the Grunwald memorial (unveiled in 1910). The Cracow Society of Antiquaries are indebted to the Austrian Ministry of Public Works for the grant of a subsidy towards the publication of the book in its English form. The translator is under obligation to his friend, Mr. L. C. Wharton, B.A., of the British Museum, for a revision of his work.

R. D.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE ORIGINS OF CRACOW

THE ORIGINS OF CRACOW

CRACOW, the towering capital and coronation town of ancient Poland's kings, the royal burial-place of famous monarchs and renowned poets, is situated on the left bank of the Vistula river, which flows right across the territory of the sometime kingdom, to fall into the Baltic.

At present, Cracow is the centre of a grand-duchy of the same name within the province of Galicia, and is among the most notable cities of Austria.

The part which Cracow was to play in the history of Poland was

I. CENTRAL SQUARE.

not determined at once ; on the contrary, many stormy ages, with ever-changing events in political history and civilization, passed over its head.

In prehistoric times, the caves in a range of hills extending to the north of Cracow were the oldest dwellings for the men of the Jura limestone period. The country all round the present site of the town is traversed by charming glens, overshadowed with woods and enlivened by rippling rivulets : such are the Czerna Valley near Krzeszowice, the Pradnik Valley with its ruins of Ojców Castle and " Dog's Rock " (*Pieskowa Skala*), the Mników Valley extending to the south. Within the precincts of the town, several hills arise : the Castle Hill called Wawel, the Skalka, the Krzemionki, and St. Bronislawa's Hill, which gives a wide view

of the plains bordered by the distant chain of the Carpathian Mountains. The water has eaten deep caves into the solid rock of all those hills, and these numerous caves now are valued as the oldest repositories of remains of human civilization in the Stone Age. The interesting results of diggings for objects of this and later periods are to be found in the collections of the Cracow Academy of Sciences, the Archæological Cabinet, and the National Museum.

The first seat of Polish princes and the original centre of State organization was not Cracow, but Gniezno (now Gnesen in Prussian Poland); there, in the later province of Great Poland, on the banks of the Warta and the border of the picturesque lake of Goplo, we must look for the oldest documents of Poland's political existence. Soon, however, a cycle of very old legends centres in Cracow, surrounding its site with a web of poetical stories, and assigning an early date—within the pagan period—to the two extant monuments of this epoch, the grave-mounds or tumuli attributed to Krakus and Wanda. The struggle for independence is the leading feature of these popular legends; the story dealing with the mythical founder of the town tells us how the brave Krakus delivered the people from a haunting terror by killing a dragon that dwelt in a cave of Wawel Hill—still to be seen there—and exacted a tribute of human victims for its food.

Whether owing to the early reception of Christianity, which was introduced to these parts by the two apostles of the Slavonic nations, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, or merely to its own progress in civilization—at all events, we find this district on the banks of the Vistula rising into historical importance towards the end of the ninth century. At that time already it was chosen for the bishop's seat. About the middle of the tenth century we meet with the first historical records of a place called Krakw, described as a commercial town belonging to Bohemia, and distant a three-days' journey from Prague. After thirty years of subjection to Bohemia, this province of Little Poland again passes under the sovereignty of Great Poland. Boleslaus the Brave (*Chrobry*, 992-1025) won a victory, in 999, over the Bohemian troops and

drove their garrison from the town, in which, according to old tradition, St. Adalbert (called *Wojciech* in Polish), before he went to win the palm of martyrdom at the hands of the heathen Prussians, is said to have preached in the market-place (now Central Square), where a small church in Romanesque style, erected to his memory, is still standing. The news of the Saint's death produced a great impression over all Europe; the Emperor Otto III, who had been his personal friend, undertook, A.D. 1000, the famous pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb at Gniezno and visited the Polish monarch Boleslaus, on whose royal head he set, on that occasion, a golden crown, presenting him also the lance said to have been St. Maurice's and preserved to the present time in the treasury of the Cathedral—both as insignia of recognised royal power. It would appear that this warlike prince, Boleslaus Chrobry, the heroic founder of Poland's independence, fortified the river-castle on the Wawel. At this time also the archbishopric of Gniezno was founded, whose sphere included the diocese of Cracow. The Bishop of Cracow occupied the first rank, under the Metropolite of Gniezno, in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Poland. His residence was on the fortified Skalka (nowadays St. Michael's Church of the Pauline Fathers), where a deep pond at the foot of the rocky mound became the first natural baptismal font of Cracow; here the common people washed off their heathendom. The temporal monarchs resided on Wawel Hill, opposite this seat of the spiritual power.

In the early Middle Ages both Wawel and Skalka, with its church of St. Michael, were probably made water-fortresses. Skalka, much smaller than Wawel, was embraced fork-wise by the waters of the Vistula, and it was probably here that the first cathedral stood, with the bishop's residence, fortified by walls and ramparts. The old river-bed, separating the two castle-mounds, was filled up with earth in the nineteenth century, when it became the broad street now called after President Dietl. The Wawel Hill was on most sides surrounded by waters either stagnant or running. To the north-west, where nowadays we find the fine municipal garden plots and "Canons' Street" (*ulica Kanonicza*), nothing

was to be seen then but stretches of deep swamps and ponds. Access to the castle was possible only by one narrow path, now represented by Castle Street (*ulica Grodzka*), and defended, in the Romanesque period, by a stone belfry and wooden fortifications. The Dragon's Cave (*Smocza jama*) was probably, as in German castles, an integral part of the fortress.

During the wars with Conrad II and the domestic troubles, occasioned by a revival of paganism, under the government of Mieszko II (1025-1034), a son of Boleslaus, order and Christian institutions were maintained in Cracow alone. This fact, together with the fortified site of the castles, definitely gave to Cracow its importance for the whole empire. From this time forth the monarchs choose Cracow for their place of residence and promote its prosperity. The town gains in ascendency; it assumes, even at this time, the leading part, as an important centre of civilization, among the cities of the vast Polish Empire. Casimir I (1034-1058) was aided by the Emperor Henry III to win back his throne which had been shaken by a relapse of the people into paganism. Casimir found Poland devastated by the internal troubles under Mieszko II, and saw its waning importance in politics and for civilization; he therefore endeavoured to raise the general standard of culture by means of settling foreign monks all over the country, which procured him the surname of the Monk. On the Wawel, next to his royal residence, he settled a colony of Benedictines called from Liège. The abbot of this convent, Aaron by name, became at the same time Bishop of Cracow, and bore the title of archbishop. Hence the Benedictine Order spread its beneficial, civilizing influence over the whole country; wherever its monks came, they implanted the fear of God and the culture of the Occident. To this Order Boleslaus the Bold and Judith his wife had already ceded the royal possessions and castle of Tyniec, situated at about five miles' distance from Cracow: this became a large abbey, with one hundred villages under its administration. Even to-day the majestic ruins of the convent-buildings look proudly down, from a powerful rock, into the reflecting waters of the Vistula.

Boleslaus the Bold (1058-1079) has a particular preference for Cracow. After victorious campaigns in the neighbouring countries, which either served to acquire new tracts of land or to maintain the sovereignty of Poland over those conquered before, he always returns to his royal castle of Cracow. Against the Emperor Henry IV he assumes an attitude of provocation ; he allies himself to the insurgent princes of Saxony ; when the great historical contest between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor begins, he enters into close relations with the Pope, and during Henry's journey to Canossa he takes the royal crown.

Now there happens an episode unknown to Polish history before. For reasons not yet explained, a fateful feud kindles between the king and the bishop of Cracow, Stanislas—which ends, for the bishop, in a martyr's death, for the king, in the loss of his throne. The murdered prelate was canonized—like Thomas à Becket in England—the monarch's power, and with it Poland's political position and authority, sank far below what they had been. The dreadful catastrophe had happened in the centre of the oldest fortified settlement at Cracow, viz., on the Skalka, and the place became henceforth the aim of devout pilgrimages. The solemn celebration of the 8th of May as the day sacred to the Saint's memory developed into a Church festival of world-wide renown, attracting people from all countries and much frequented by traders.

The government of Ladislaus Hermann (1079–1102), successor to the deposed king, is of an entirely different stamp : its importance lies not in any political achievements—as for these it is rather a period of decline, of complete submission of Poland to the Imperial sovereignty, and degradation from its independent and consolidate position—but in the care Ladislaus Hermann bestowed on raising the general standard of culture. The wooden structures standing till then, this prince replaces by stone architecture, of which some monuments have survived till our times to bear express witness to his exertions for civilization. Through his two wives he entered into close connections with the Bohemian and Imperial court. His first wife, Judith,

daughter of King Vratislav II., in pursuance of a vow, presented to the cathedrals of Gniezno and Plock MSS. of the Gospels richly illuminated by the Benedictine Abbot Bozytech of Sazawa —one of which, the so-called *Codex aureus pultoviensis*, is now in the Museum of the Czartoryski family at Cracow. The second wife, whom he married in 1088, and who died after 1092 — also a Judith, daughter of Henry III — brought as a present another MS. of the Gospels, richly ornamented with miniatures, and containing on the dedication page pictures of the Emperor Henry IV, of the abbots and bishops of Regensburg, and below, three representations of St. Emmeram, for which reason it is usually called the *Emmeram Gospels.* It is probable that the Regensburg influence, through Judith and her Suabian chaplain Otto (afterwards Bishop of Bamberg), asserted itself also in the building of the new basilica in Romanesque style ; the more so as the architectural activity of the prelate just mentioned was further manifested in the building of Speyer Cathedral. The building of this Romanesque cathedral extends over a long period of time. Boleslaus III (1102–1138), under whose reign the church was consecrated (in 1110), added two towers to it in 1126. In its principal foundation, it was a basilica with one choir, three naves, and two apses. On the western side, as in St. Emmeram's church at Regensburg, there is a subterranean crypt. The church was dedicated, it seems, first to St. Salvator, then—in the thirteenth century—to St. Wenceslaus, which points to connections with Bohemia ; such, in fact, are manifest in the political events of Ladislaus Hermann's reign, Vratislav of Bohemia assuming the title of King of Poland. Of the upper part of the Romanesque church scanty fragments only have been preserved, viz., a cube-shaped capital, a piece of channelled stone, and the lower part of the southern tower ; but the crypt is preserved in its entirety. St. Leonard, to whom it was dedicated, was the Patron Saint of Liège, which is of importance as showing the probable connection of his cult in Poland with the Benedictine abbey mentioned above ; besides, he was also particularly worshipped

at Regensburg. The interior of the crypt (illustration 2) is partitioned by rows of columns into three naves of equal height and breadth, surmounted by a cross-vault divided by means of binding-arches into twelve compartments without ribs ; to the east, the crypt is bounded by a transverse partition, to the west, the whole of the three naves is rounded off by a semicircular apse common to all, but this has lost much of its original structure by the foundations of the Gothic columns in the upper church being

2. ROMANESQUE CRYPT, WITH TOMBS OF THE KINGS, WAWEL CATHEDRAL.

built into it in the fourteenth, and those of the choir in the eighteenth century. The monolithic shafts of the columns and their cube-shaped capitals are of simple construction, with the lower corners rounded off in the usual way ; the Attic bases in the apse show by their lower tori, adorned by four knobs corresponding to the corners of the plinth, that we are in the very golden age of Romanesque style. The pilasters have capitals with square billets. The most important relic of architectonic decoration to

be mentioned is a fragment of a door-lintel, built into the wall, with a basilisk sculptured upon it in bas-relief.

One and the same mason's guild at Cracow, superintended by the Benedictines and acting in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, seems to have completed all the other Romanesque buildings, which fell into line, along Castle Street, with the original settlers' dwellings, built of wood. During this period, there were built: the old parish church of St. Andrew's, the church of the Holy Trinity, probably in the first City Square, and St. John's Church; besides, the foundation was laid for St. Giles's Church, then probably of wood; it owed its origin to Ladislaus Hermann's first wife. By his second wife, who had been married before to King Solomon of Hungary, and there had become used to the worship of St. Andrew, the cult of this Saint seems to have been introduced into Poland. In walking down Grodzka ulica (Castle Street), we see from afar two slender towers pointing heavenward: they belong to St. Andrew's Church, built by the Benedictine monks of Sieciechów (illustration 3). It was a court church of three naves, forming part of the gateway buildings of the Castle, and containing a princely dwelling in its interior; one great loft above the low side-aisle served for the prince's retinue and could hold some 150 persons. This gallery divides the side-walls into two stories; it extends also along the third wall between the two towers, where a hall, lit by one window, was constructed; this was entered by a door from the northern tower. The middle aisle was covered with a flat wooden ceiling. Later restorations have completely changed the interior of the church, only the front and the towers preserve the old Romanesque forms. The front is quite plain, built of asnlars arranged in layers; it is only varied by some thin pilaster-strips and a semicircular bow-window. On this substructure are set the two octagonal towers; besides the staircase loopholes they have, in the upper story, a double window on each side, divided by a column with an impost jutting out on its top. The spires, of beautifully curved outlines, are of the seventeenth century. In 1320 the church

was ceded to the sisterhood of St. Clare; this was about the time when King Ladislaus Lokietek, by his additions to the Wawel buildings, opened the Gothic period in the architectural history of the castle. The solid structure and fortified situation

3. ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.

of St. Andrew's Church made it fit to serve as a fortress, defying the enemy and offering sure refuge in times of war. The Gothic parts of the building, which are likewise very interesting, belong to the fourteenth century.

Of the parish church in Romanesque style, given, in the thirteenth

century, to the Dominican Order, scarcely any traces remain worth recording—the crypt was only destroyed in recent times, the cellars and the walls of both refectory and dormitory are still Romanesque.

Beyond the original city walls, in the Central Square of to-day, just opposite Castle Street (*Grodzka ulica*), there was built, toward the close of the twelfth century, for the then suburb, on a plot of rising ground not discernible now, the little church of St. Adalbert (illustration 4). The walls, made of limestone and sandstone ashlars, have been whitewashed, so the bond of their masonry is only partly to be seen. The church was pierced by a bow-window on each side; to the south, it had a portal, of which the traces are yet visible on the wall. There is but one nave, with a cross-vault over the choir and a wooden ceiling over the body of the church. According to historical traditions, St. Adalbert preached here to the people of Cracow on his way to Prussia for a martyr's death; later on, St. Hyacinth (1223) and St. John Capistran (1453) are also reported to have preached in this church. In 1611 the building was renovated and thoroughly transformed by the Academician Valentine Fontana. Traces of originally Romanesque structure are also distinguishable in the churches of St. John, St. Florian, St. Nicholas, likewise in the convent church of the Premonstratensian nuns in Zwierzyniec (now an outlying suburb of Cracow), which has a Romanesque portal; but in all these the vestiges are so faint as hardly to deserve specifying.

An example of later Romanesque architecture, where use is made of brick besides ashlars, is extant in the convent church of the Cistercian monks, in the village of Mogila, east of Cracow. With these Cistercians, who came over to Poland from France in the twelfth century and built their abbeys in the course of the fourteenth, the use of the pointed arch makes its appearance in architecture, which marks the transition to Gothic style.

The bishops' residences and the Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys were, besides the princes' courts, the main channels through which the civilization of Western Europe spread in Poland.

The illuminated liturgical MSS. for the use of Polish churches were at first all imported from abroad, *e.g.* the eleventh century homilies now in the archives of the Cathedral. But very early —in all probability as soon as the eleventh century—the art of illuminating began to be practised in the convent cells of Poland by the foreign monks. And as the *codices* carried away from Polish collections, and now kept in the Public Library at St. Petersburg, clearly show, the work of this kind done in Poland

4. CLOISTERS OF DRAPERS' HALL AND CHURCH OF ST. ADALBERT.

followed the principles of the Rhenish school, but with some admixture of Eastern elements.

With the removal of the Ducal Court to Plock (now in Russian Poland) the city of Cracow temporarily loses some of its importance. Plock, the capital of Masovia, becomes, in the twelfth century, the centre of all Polish civilization and art. The episcopal see of Plock was then occupied by Alexander of Szrensko (1129–1156), a pupil of the Belgian Benedictines of Malonne, and

accordingly a great promoter of Western civilization. He built the Cathedral at Plock, and by his order the famous *Korsun* brass portal, which now adorns St. Sophia's church at Great Novgorod, was made. At the same time, there was living in the court of Plock, as the Duke's chaplain, one Leopard (ab. 1130), whom the medieval chroniclers call "sculptor and goldsmith." It is not impossible that he took part in the execution of the magnificent miniatures in a MS. of the Genesis now at St. Petersburg. This is a masterpiece of twelfth-century art; it exhibits in particular a highly developed sense for the formal beauties of the human body,—just what might be accounted for by a sculptor sharing in the work;—for models, it shows the influence of the Celto-Carolingian patterns. In connection with this it may be mentioned that one of the bishops of Plock, Werner, went in 1165 as ambassador to the court of Frederick Barbarossa.

In this period, most of the Cathedral and Convent Libraries were founded. The Cathedral Archives of Cracow, in spite of the many domestic wars of the time, even now preserve a considerable number of medieval MSS., part of them illuminated. A library of world-wide fame was the very copious one of the Benedictine monks at Tyniec; this, however, in later times, during the Swedish invasion, was plundered by the enemy, and what remained was destroyed by a fire at Lemberg, where it had been deposited. A magnificent missal from this collection, written in golden letters on purple ground, was sold at Cracow by one of the Swedish soldiers: it is now at Warsaw. It had been illuminated by a master of the Cologne school, and was most probably brought to Cracow by the Benedictine abbot Aaron, who, in 1046, had been consecrated Bishop of Cracow at Cologne. Another library of equal importance was that of the Cistercians in the village of Mogila, and that of the Dominican Convent at Cracow. The other convent libraries of Cracow mostly belong to a later period.

The foundation of libraries was not immediately followed by the rising of vernacular literature. Domestic feuds and the incessant

foreign wars impeded its growth; it was not till the thirteenth century that an important chronicle was written in Polish by the Cracow bishop Vincent Kadlubek, who ended his days as a Cistercian monk at Mogila (1223). He was followed by the Posen chroniclers Boguchwal and Baszko; a Polish Dominican living in Rome, Martinus Polonus, compiled a Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors. In Rome also there lived, about 1230, in the court of Pope Innocent V, an eminent Polish man of science, called Vitellio; his work *De Perspectiva* was based on observations made in Poland. A careful study of the Greek and Arabian authors led him toward formulating in a system the laws of optics, and by these fundamental principles he made an important contribution to the theory of perspective landscape painting, for which he opened entirely new horizons.

Besides the illuminated MSS., pictures began early to be imported both from East and West. The worship of the Virgin Mary having been awakened among the Polish people, the merchants brought Madonna pictures from abroad, richly decorated with gold and jewels; mosaics also were introduced: of these, a Byzantine one, of the twelfth century, showing a deeper sense of the beauties of colour, is preserved in St. Andrew's Church. Of the state of applied art in this Romanesque period, evidence is given by the coins and seals produced at Cracow, which are most vivid illustrations of our medieval civilization. The oldest inventories of the Cathedral Church, dated 1101 and 1110, bear witness to the use of numerous costly implements and liturgical apparel. Among the oldest of those still preserved in the Cathedral treasury is the mitre of St. Stanislas, made of white silk, in lozenge pattern and adorned by a cross made of two blue bars. The profusion of gold, jewels, and gems, with which it is beset besides, is contrary to tradition and points to a later date (thirteenth century). Oriental origin is probable for a silver reliquary of Saracen workmanship; it dates from the twelfth century and was probably presented to the Cathedral by Henry Duke of Sandomir, a son of Boleslaus III, who had taken part in a crusade. He brought to the treasury of Cracow Cathedral this

reliquary, filled with earth from the Holy Sepulchre; on its outward side the triumphs of the prince were represented in Oriental symbols by an Arabian sculptor. Of the same origin and date is another relic, preserved in the same treasury under the name of "St. Hedwig's chalice." The cup of it is made of dim greenish glass, and, on its outward circumference, shows, in broad polished outlines, the conventionalized image of a spread eagle between two lions rampant. The silver base is later work, of the fourteenth century; there are engraved on it the figures of St. Hedwig, John the Baptist, Samson rending the lion, the *sudarium* of St. Veronica, and the pelican ripping up its breast to feed its young. Tradition assigns this chalice to St. Hedwig (1243); most probably she got it as a present from a crusader returning from the Holy Land. The bindings of the Gospel MSS. tradition reports to have been adorned with precious bosses and buckles, and clothed with enamel, gems, and costly reliefs of ivory and silver;—even nowadays, such as are preserved, form the treasures of some collections outside Cracow. The coronation sword of Poland's kings, called *Szczerbiec*, a magnificent piece of German work of the early thirteenth century, is now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Of the altar ornaments of other churches in those times, Corpus Christi Church still possesses an enamelled altar cross of the thirteenth century. Besides the image of the crucified Saviour, there are enamelled on this cross figures of angels, the symbols of the Evangelists, and Adam: the master who did this work seems to have learned his art at Limoges.

Now let us abandon the history of art for a moment, to cast a glance on the political situation of Cracow. The warlike Boleslaus III (1102–1138) showed his energy by strengthening the position of Christianity, enlarging his territory, and re-establishing the authority of Poland as a political power. But the order of succession as settled by his will became fatal to the monarchy, which now was divided into several separate dukedoms. True, the Grand Duke of Cracow was to be supreme over the rest, and thus the town was appointed the capital of Poland, but soon it

happened that the Grand Duke Ladislaus failed in his struggles to assert this authority over the others; nor did his successors fare any better. A whole century passed in these continuous contests for primacy. Finally, the Piasts of Silesia established a predominance which was a serious danger for the national development of Poland. At Cracow we hear, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, of a municipal organisation under the guidance of the mayors. The existence of numerous churches and religious houses seems to show that the town had a large number of inhabitants. General culture is increasing: Polish students attend foreign universities, particularly that of Bologna; schools connected with monasteries and parishes are growing in number. But these germs of an independent civilization were soon to be destroyed. A terrible tempest of Mongolian invasion broke from the East; it swept like an avalanche over the country, changing it into a desert; Cracow, in that unfortunate year 1241, was turned into a heap of ruins; only the castle on the Wawel and the gateway buildings with the fortified church of St. Andrew remained intact. The bloody battle of Lignica (Liegnitz), where Henry the Pious, Duke of Silesia, was slain, marks the end of the Romanesque period.

5. THE OLDEST MUNICIPAL SEAL.

THE GOTHIC AGE

THE GOTHIC AGE

IN the vast plains of Little Poland, now laid waste by the first Mongolian invasion, the whole civilization of the country was annihilated, the soil left fallow, the cities burnt down and depopulated. The only means to raise the country economically was the introduction of foreign capital and foreign hands for work. German colonization, on a large scale, was begun; lords both temporal and spiritual vied with each other in founding German settlements. The consequence of this important fact was the substitution of money payments for the old system of bartering or exchange. Thus, the old Polish law, with services due to the landlord and tributes paid in natural products, became more and more oppressive, and among both landowners and peasants the tendency prevailed to establish farm rents instead. This dissolution of the old legal relations also led to a somewhat more independent political position of the people at large. Still greater freedom is henceforth enjoyed by the towns, in which tradesmen and artisans settle in large numbers.

By way of Breslau, the Magdeburg municipal law was introduced to Cracow. The second half of the thirteenth century became the era of privileges.

Boleslaus the Modest signed, together with his mother Grzymislawa and his wife Cunegund, the foundation charter of the city of Cracow, at the assembly of Kopernia, on the fifth of June, 1257. By virtue of this charter the burgesses Getko (*i.e.*, Gideon) Stilwojt, Jacob, sometime justice at Neisse (in Silesia), and Ditmar Wolk, founded a new settlement and were granted large benefits to that end, such as complete administrative autonomy in municipal matters, independent jurisdiction under Magdeburg law—with the provision that final appeals were to be made to Magdeburg itself—and the right of legislation; the sphere of action of the municipal administration being, of course, limited to the territory and the inhabitants of the town.

The charter of 1257 does not, in fact, determine the limits of the town, but from the oldest book of city records preserved,

which opens with the year 1301, we see that this new foundation, in its outline, was identical with the city proper of to-day as surrounded by the belt of municipal parks (called "Plantations") that have replaced the old walls of the fortress. The founders brought an experienced land surveyor along with them, and he marked out the symmetrical boundary lines of

6. THE TOWN HALL TOWER.

the enormous market-place and the traces of the streets which were to run into it. In doing so, no account was taken of the way leading past the old parish (now Dominicans') church, nor of that past St. John's and St. Mark's: only the prolongation of Castle Street (running into the lower castle buildings, with St. Andrew's Church) was considered. On the large new square—almost unequalled of its kind—a separate

site was marked out for the new church of our Lady, which was to become the parish church of the town.

To the freedom of the city everybody was admitted who could either produce his baptismal certificate (*litteræ genealogiæ*) or prove, by witnesses, his being of legitimate descent and Roman Catholic faith. The newly received citizen had to take an oath, which in later times he did by putting his fingers on the picture of the crucified Christ (illustration 7) in the Book of Privileges (*Codex picturatus* of B. Behem, early sixteenth century). Whoever migrated to another town was obliged to resign his freedom of Cracow. Being the residence of both king and bishop, Cracow also comprised within its walls the whole nobility that held Court and State offices; they mostly had their own domiciles in the city. Nobility and clergy were not subject to the municipal law, nor did they pay any town rates.

The murdered bishop Stanislas had been solemnly canonized four years before the grant of this foundation charter; the short reign of a Bohemian king (1300–1305) promoted the worship of St. Wenceslaus; accordingly, both these Saints became the Patrons of both Cathedral and City.

Prince Leszek the Black (1279–1288), who favoured the Germans, drew walls and trenches round the city and granted to its products an exemption from duty over the whole realm. Immediately after his death the citizens of Cracow are already playing an important part in politics, by helping to establish the Duke of Breslau, Henry IV, and to depose and expel Ladislaus Lokietek[1]), who, when the citizens treacherously opened their doors to the Silesian prince, took refuge in the Franciscan Convent and thence fled over the town wall. Henry, however, died soon (1290); after a short reign of the Duke of Great Poland, Przemyslaw II (who was crowned King of Poland by consent of Pope Bonifacius VIII, but murdered by the Brandenburgers in the very same year, 1296), and the five years' govern-

[1] Lokietek means "one ell high"—a nickname given to this prince on account of his small stature.

ment of the Bohemian King, Wenceslaus, the indefatigable pretender Ladislaus Lokietek, having gathered the chivalry of Little Poland round the national standard, succeeded in getting hold of the Polish territory. Still the burgesses of the cities,

7. TITLE-PAGE OF THE CODEX OF BALTHAZAR BEHEM.

being all Germans, were opposed to him, and towards the close of 1311 they even rose in a dangerous insurrection under the leadership of the mayor of Cracow, Albrecht, and called Bolko of Opole (Oppeln) to the throne. But this time the Silesian

gave way to victorious Ladislaus, and the insurrection was cruelly suppressed by the prince, whose anger had been roused by the constantly seditious attitude of Cracow's citizens: the mayor Albrecht fled to Prague, the other leaders of the revolt were executed, their goods confiscated, the mayor's mansion-house changed into a fortress, Latin appointed to be used instead of German in the drafting of municipal documents, and even the privileges granted to the city were somewhat curtailed. The king's favour turned to the town of Sandec (now Sacz in Galicia), which began to rival Cracow. High customs duties were imposed upon the capital, hitherto exempt. Lokietek's successor, King Casimir the Great, in order to keep the unruly metropolis permanently in obedience, turned his favour to the old settlements round the Skalka and granted a charter (dated February 27, 1335) to the town after him called *Casimiria* (now *Kazimierz*, the Ghetto of Cracow); he enlarged this town by incorporating in it the small communities of Stradom and Rybaki; in 1340, he made it a present of the village of Bawol, and built a canal which gave the place a fortified position, the new town being now completely encircled by deep watercourses (as Skalka, its original centre, partly was by a bend of the Vistula). Casimir created another rival to Cracow by favouring a settlement formed round the church of St. Florian, to which he granted autonomy and Magdeburg law in 1366. Originally called *Florencia*, after its patron, it assumed, later on, its present name of Kleparz.

In spite of the disadvantages thus imposed upon it, the welfare of the town was constantly growing. Since Ladislaus Lokietek, Cracow had been the royal residence; here Poland's kings were crowned, here the bones of all members of the royal family were buried in the crypt of the Cathedral, and the royal insignia preserved in the treasury. Round the court nobles, knights, and prelates naturally gathered; ambassadors of foreign powers, on coming to it, visited the town; grand festivities were solemnized, tournaments held, and splendid banquets given. The king's aversion to the town gradually

vanished, memories of old treason being lost in oblivion. A citizen of Cracow, Wirsing, even became the king's counsellor, and was appointed to an office hitherto reserved to knights—that of High Steward of Sandomiria; it was he who in 1364, when there was a great meeting of monarchs and princes at Cracow, occasioned by the wedding of the king's grand-daughter Elizabeth with the Emperor Charles IV, entertained all the monarchs then assembled with royal splendour at his own house and dismissed them with princely gifts. In 1352 the king borrowed from the rich aldermen of Cracow the sum of 60,000 *groschen*, Prague coinage; several years later, in 1358, a definite reconciliation between king and town took place. The king grants to the town the "great charter," conferring numerous benefits upon it, such as the revenue from the traders' and artisans' shops, from house rent, from the public scales, great and small, from the gold and silver smelting works; besides, the judiciary autonomy of the town was re-established, and all the suburbs, except Zwierzyniec, Czarna Wies, and Florencia, placed under the municipal jurisdiction. Staple-right was also granted to the town, even with the stipulation that the merchants of Sandec were not allowed to export their wares to Prussia by any other way than Cracow. In 1363 the town, in order to extend its territory, bought some of the royal possessions both within the city and without; in the same year it also gained the staple-right for wool.

Already in the Romanesque period Cracow had possessed some convent and parish schools. The Cathedral school, which was said to have existed on the Wawel ever since the reign of Boleslaus the Bold, served for the training of the clergy. Its teachers, called *scholastici* ("scholars"), were often promoted to the bishop's chair. Besides this, there were other schools: thus we know, *e.g.*, that in the eleventh century there was a school attached to St. Giles' Church, in the twelfth, one connected with St. Michael's, and at its close, one at St. Florian's. In the beginning of the thirteenth century Bishop Ivo Odrowaz founded a school at Trinity Church; this, when in 1220 the parsonage

was transferred to St. Mary's, also migrated there; till the sixteenth century it held the position of a secondary school. In the beginning of the fourteenth century this school even endeavoured to arrogate to itself the rights of a University: ordinances had to be issued against it, forbidding the seven Liberal Arts to be taught there, as this right was reserved to the Cathedral school. During the second half of the fourteenth century more and more schools were founded, which helped Cracow citizens to gain a higher education.

The year 1364, of the great Casimir's glorious reign the thirty-first, brought an event of the highest importance for civilization in town and country: the foundation of the first Polish University.

The University of Cracow is one of the oldest in Central Europe. The first German one was that of Prague, founded in 1348; this is succeeded by Cracow, and, in 1365, by Vienna. It was not granted, however, to the old king, to fit it out entirely. The erection of large University buildings in the town (now suburb) of Kazimierz was undertaken but never executed. The lectures on divinity and jurisprudence were given on the Wawel. For the philosophical faculty or "liberal arts"—a sort of connecting link between parish schools and universities—St. Mary's School in the smaller city square (the so-called *Vendeta* or "rag-fair") was appointed. After the death of the great king the University decayed, till in 1400 it was re-established by King Ladislaus Jagiello in pursuance of the will of his deceased wife, Hedwig.

On Casimir's death the son of his sister, King Lodowick of Hungary, succeeded to the throne of Poland (1370-1382). From the very first he extended great favour to the residential town, by opening all the commercial routes to it, and extending the privileges of staple-right. The reason for the king's thus soliciting the good-will of the citizens was that he wished to secure the throne of Poland for one of his daughters. When, at last, his younger daughter, Hedwig, had become Queen of Poland, this accession was followed by most important historical

events connected with her person. For a time it seemed that Archduke William of Austria, who was betrothed to the young Queen, would become master of the Castle of Cracow, but the bond of hearts was torn by the force of politics; for prospects were looming of gaining, by a marriage of the Queen, a new large province for the kingdom and for Christianity—viz., heathen Lithuania. And the Queen, who was the idol of her people, did sacrifice her heart to the good of her subjects and kingdom: on February 15, 1386, the Lithuanian Prince Jagiello was baptized in Cracow Cathedral, and three days later he was married to Hedwig and crowned. Wawel became the seat of the Jagellonian idea. The Queen, before her death, made provision for the growth of the work which her grand-uncle had begun, by bequeathing to the University all her jewels. Ladislaus Jagiello, in fulfilment of this, her last will, renovated and completed the University, which has ever since, for half a thousand years now, borne witness to Polish civilization and intellectual activity. The original organization of the University had been imitated from that of Paris; it was a common place of residence both for professors and pupils. In its new form as refounded by Ladislaus Jagiello, the University was modelled on the Italian ones. The professors, being mostly clergymen, lived in common, in semi-monastic seclusion; the students lived in town—only later, colleges were founded, called *bursæ*, where part of them were lodged. The staff of professors had their dwellings in a complex of houses bought for the purpose, in the Jewish quarter (now St. Ann Street). This, through rebuildings in the course of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was united into one admirable Gothic structure, of which we shall yet have to speak.

Since this, its re-establishment, the University, now called Jagellonian, played a leading part in the progress of civilization, controlling and protecting all the schools of the realm; its scientific importance was recognized all over Europe. At the Councils of Constance and of Basle in the fifteenth century, where ecclesiastical problems of the utmost importance were

decided on, it happened not unfrequently that the *Magistri* of Cracow spoke the word which turned the scale.

The opinion of the young Jagellonian school carried great authority with the powers of all Christendom in that period. The fame of some scholars spread far beyond the limit of their native country: Filelfo and Paul Vladimiri had taken a distinguished part in the Council of Constance; Jacobus a Paradiso, well known in Germany as a theologian, was one of the most ardent promoters of Church reorganization; Zaborowski and Elgot were famous decretists; so was Nicholas of Blonia, Sedziwoj Czechel (who was only active for a short time in the University), and later on, the excellent Latinist and theologian Gregorius of Sanok, a precursor of the classical Renascence. Some mention must also be made of the illustrious circle which gathered round that highly educated statesman and strenuous defender of the rights of the Church, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Cracow and cardinal; to this belonged, above all, the greatest historiographer of medieval Poland, John Dlugosz (1415-1480). Towards the end of the fifteenth century the University possessed a great theological authority in Johannes Sacranus, of Oswiecim, famous also for his knowledge of Cicero and for his oratorical powers; and a renowned scholar in history and medicine in Miechowita (d. 1523).

Naturalists, mathematicians, and astronomers of world-wide fame, such as Martin Król, Adalbert of Brudzewo, John of Glogów, attracted pupils from remote foreign countries. Another Cracow scholar, Martin Bylica, whose work was mostly done outside Poland, also exercised considerable influence on the progress of science. Finally, the Cracow school of naturalists produced the greatest astronomer of modern times, Nicholas Copernicus. Even till the late seventeenth century the University preserved its fame as a place where the mathematical sciences were particularly cultivated; in this period its fame was chiefly upheld by the astronomer and astrologer, Broscius.

Now let us return to the glorious reign of King Ladislaus Jagiello. The first political success achieved by the union of Poland with

Lithuania (confirmed by an act signed in 1401) was a great victory won by both these powers, in 1410, over the Teutonic Knights of the Cross. In the famous battle of Tannenberg (or, as the Poles call it, of Grunwald) the Knights were utterly defeated, their banners captured and brought to Wawel Cathedral, which they adorned as trophies ; the objects of art, that had been taken as spoils of war, were distributed among the treasuries of several churches.

The next sovereign of the Jagellonian line, Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary, who was slain in the battle of Varna against the Turks (1444), had no importance for the develop-

8. FIFTEENTH-CENTURY EMBROIDERY, GIFT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(*Czartoryski Museum.*)

ment of the town. But in the reign of his successor, Casimir IV, called *Jagiellonczyk* (the Jagellonian), 1447-1492, there are several important events to record. In 1454 the king married Elizabeth of Habsburg ; this lady, in whose education no less a man than Æneas Silvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) had a hand, was endowed with refined taste and culture, and showed it chiefly by promoting intimate relations between Cracow and Nuremberg, as well as other centres of German art ; this may be seen by her presents and bequests to churches (illustration 8).

In 1465 the first book was printed at Cracow by the German printer, Günther Zayner ; this was followed by the first Slavonic incunables (1491) from the Cracow press of Sweipolt Fiol, who

combined the printer's trade with the embroiderer's. The peace of Torun (Thorn), concluded in 1465, opened new routes to commerce.

In spite of the proverbial saying, *Civis Cracoviensis nobili par*, the social position of the citizens of Cracow in their relation to the nobility was considerably lowered in the fifteenth century. The patricians, of course, remained on good terms with both the king and the nobles, and defended the rights and privileges of the city, but they looked down contemptuously on the "populace," and did not care at all for its struggles to obtain a firm legal standing in society. This, together with an event now to be narrated—insignificant as it otherwise appears—drew down on the patricians themselves, and the whole city, a fatal defeat. Thus it happened: in 1461 a city armourer, Clement, was late in furnishing a polished suit of armour which had been ordered by the noble lord Andrew Tenczynski, and would not be satisfied with the payment offered to him. High words passed between them, and Tenczynski laid violent hands on Clement. The injured armourer complained to the city authorities, but these thought it most prudent to indefinitely delay the consideration of the grievance. On this, Clement appealed to the common people to right him, and succeeded in stirring them up to sedition. The mob stormed Tenczynski's house, followed the magnate, who had fled, to the vestry of the Franciscan Church, killed him there, and cast the mutilated body out into the street. At the diet of Korczyn, Tenczynski's family took their revenge on the city: in spite of Queen Elizabeth's personal intercession, six of the most distinguished citizens were beheaded. The aversion of the nobles to the foreign element was constantly growing, and exerting itself more and more effectively. For a long time there was to be no agreement between these two classes, but the national assimilation of the townspeople made rapid progress from this time. About the middle of the sixteenth century by far the greatest number of the town's inhabitants are entirely Polish.

THE MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

THE MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

THE medieval institutions of the city of Cracow are based on the provisions of the Magdeburg law. Their later shape, partly modelled on Lubeck, partly originating in mere adaptation to the local needs and circumstances, and the peculiarities of national character, was chiefly developed in the fourteenth century. Among other things, Cracow then lost the right of free choice of its aldermen: the king reserved it for himself, and about the middle of the fourteenth century the king transferred it to the waywode, or lieutenant-governor of Cracow, who was to appoint aldermen from among the assessors of the municipal jury. By this means, the political influence of Cracow's citizens was definitely checked, and this mode of election remained in practice till 1677, when the town got back its old electoral rights from King John Sobieski. The number of town councillors was not settled at first; it was not till the beginning of the fifteenth century that it came to be fixed at twenty-four, of whom eight formed the municipal board conducting the current affairs of the town. These were called "burgomasters," because each of them officiated for six—later on, only four—weeks as mayor of the town. The mayor was usually attended by liveried archers armed with swords. His insignia, the silver sceptre and the golden seal, date from the sixteenth century; they were the symbols of his power, and always used by him when personally assisting in the execution of legal enactments. The municipal elections were always kept with great solemnity and pomp. Sometimes even the king himself appeared in the council-hall; the waywode was always present *ex officio*, and was usually rewarded for this by a present of 25 marks in ready money; besides, guests were invited to take part in the solemn service at St. Mary's Church (festively decorated for that occasion), and in the banquet which took place, after the election, in the council-hall, adorned with garlands of flowers and scented with odorous herbs and incense. During this banquet music was played, the tables glittered with costly epergnes fetched for this occasion from the municipal treasury, and the company were entertained with choice dishes and wines.

The burgomaster presided at the sessions of the town council, and decided on many affairs ; the more important ones, however, being reserved for the whole council. To these sessions the councillors were either summoned by writ or by the sound of a bell. The tocsin and the red flag on the tower—from which watchmen were looking out for any danger menacing the town, or fire breaking out—were still in use, in cases of fire, till thirty years ago. The oldest book of town records, preserved to the present day, into which all events and affairs were entered indifferently in succession, opens at the year 1301. The town council used the great seal (cf. illustration 5) for particularly important documents, and a smaller one, with the image of St. Wenceslaus, the original patron of the town—whose place was taken in the fourteenth century by the martyr-bishop, St. Stanislas—for those of minor importance. The City Arms show three square towers built of ashlars, crowned by the standing figures of the two patron saints, the middle one surmounted by the escutcheon with the Polish Eagle ; on both sides of these towers there are escutcheons with the arms of the royal family, and below the middle tower, an open door with the usual hearse and a figure kneeling in it.

The mayor and the jurymen originally administered justice, later on this function partly passed to the town council. The jury decided on civil law-suits. In criminal cases involving a sentence of death, the proceedings were short. The witnesses heard, the criminal was delivered to the hangman and cast into the dark prison below the town hall. The executioner and his assistants now brought the accused to the torture-chamber called *Kabat*, where he was tormented in order to be moved to confession. Part of the municipal torture-engines is preserved even now in Matejko's house—41, St. Florian Street—to be seen daily ; magnificent beheading-swords of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are to be found in the collections of the National Museum. The torture was applied three times, and after this painful inquisition there followed the verdict ; upon this, the criminal—as the formulas of judgment testify—was still to be

tried by ordeal, and after this followed the execution, by hanging, or beheading, or breaking on the wheel, or burying alive (the spot being marked by a pole), or burning at the stake, &c. All such executions took place, in early times, in the Central Square, in front of the town hall (demolished in 1820). But at the close of the eighteenth century a gibbet was erected outside the town walls, where now Pedzichów Street runs, and from that time this was the place for executions. The condemned prisoner spent his last hours, before he was led there, either in the tower chapel of the town hall, or in what was called the "delinquents' chapel" (*captivorum*), now St. Anthony's, in St. Mary's Church. The Brotherhood of Our Lord's Passion—attached to the Franciscan Church—had the privilege of delivering a condemned person from death on Maundy-Thursday, which was done in a solemn procession.

For lesser transgressions, such punishments were appointed as mutilation of limbs, banishment from the town, whipping in public at the pillory, producing in a cage, dragging round the market-place, chaining to the wall of St. Mary's Church by the iron collar still to be seen there at the southern entrance: this last-named punishment was usually inflicted for offences against morality or against the ecclesiastical laws.

As late as 1794 the suburb of Kazimierz, which being then an independent town, had a municipal administration analogous to that of Cracow, took stock, among other things, of an execution cart with iron collars, three handcuffs of iron, two pairs of manacles for hands and feet, an "iron fiddle" (as it was called) for neck and hands, a whip of thongs, and a scourge. Before the town hall of Kazimierz (illustration 9) there stood a pillory, built of ashlars, with four chains for feet and neck.

The sentence of imprisonment for life, or, as the formula runs, for "a hundred years and a day," was but rarely pronounced, because even such small transgressions as stealing a suit of clothes, or the like, were punishable by death. For vagabonds, or such criminals as had never been convicted of crime before, or those who managed to obtain the intercession of high officials or

influential patricians, the sentence was expulsion, either in the form of temporary exile, say for "a year and a day," or total banishment for "a hundred years and a day."

To municipal justice, only citizens were subject, besides vagrants who had strayed into the town; but crimes done by noblemen, when the victim was a citizen, could be judged by the municipal court; the sentence in such cases, however, had no legal force till sanctioned by the Castle court. When this limitation was

9. OLD TOWN HALL, KAZIMIERZ.

not observed, the burgomaster and the aldermen who bore the fault, were to lose their heads for it.

The judicial district of Cracow, as said before, did not extend merely to the city, but also to some suburbs, which, however, preserved a sort of independence. The suburb of Stradom was not subjected to Kazimierz jurisdiction till 1419, and even then with some limitations which were not completely abolished till 1505. Other districts, like the suburb of Piasek, preserved part

of their independent judicial authority even after their incorporation in the town of Cracow.

The Supreme Court at Magdeburg was originally appointed as Court of Appeal; about the middle of the fourteenth century, Casimir the Great instituted a Supreme Court in the Castle of Cracow and ordained this to be appealed to in cases of controversy.

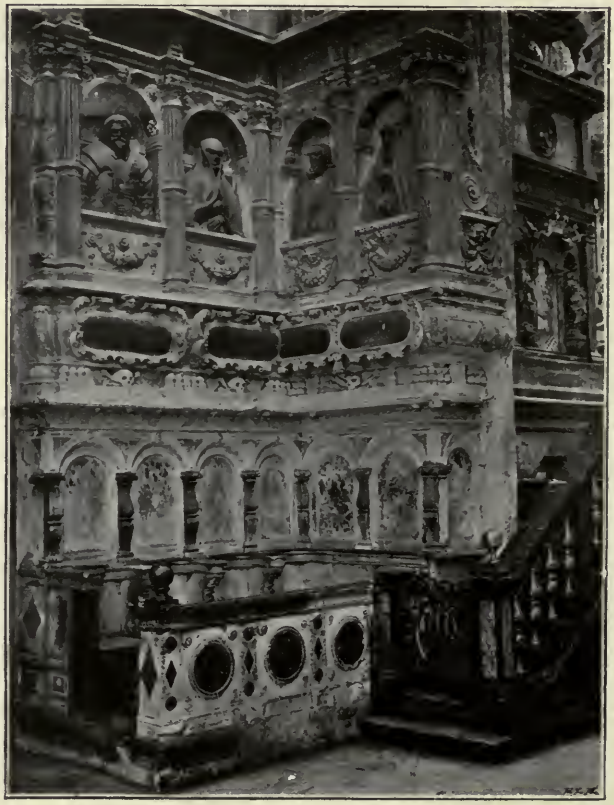
The last instance, however, for verdicts of the Superior Court as constituted by German law, was the Court of Commission for Little Poland, called the "Court of the Six Cities," which likewise resided in the Castle of Cracow. Whenever, then, anybody wished to make an appeal from a verdict of the Superior Court of German law, the king sent his affair to that Court, which consisted of twelve aldermen, two from each of the six towns of Cracow, Sandec, Kazimierz, Bochnia, Wieliczka, and Olkusz.

The Municipal Court judged on cases arising from money obligations, sureties, buying and selling of houses, guardianships; it also took into keeping citizens' moneys and wills; of the latter, those of persons of patrician descent were entered in the town records, whereas the testaments of other citizens were received into the books of the jury.

The Municipal Board watched over the interests of trade and commerce, and had the control of public morals. To its province also belonged: the city police, the economical enterprises of the community, and the financial administration. The houses, gardens, lands, fish-ponds, mills which were town property, also the brick-works at Zwierzyniec, the lime-kiln at Krzemionki, and the stone-quarry on Lasota Hill, were all tenanted by citizens, and the aldermen indemnified themselves, by the produce of these leaseholds, for the gratuitous exercise of their functions in council. This was the source of riches accumulated in the hands of such powerful patrician families as the Turzos, Morstins, Salomons, Schillings, later on the Cellaris, Montelupis, &c. Others, as the Wirsings—called *Wierzynek* in Polish—in the fourteenth and the Boners in the sixteenth century, take also a large part in the administration of the royal domains, and

thereby rise to wealth and power. The numerous magnificent sepulchral monuments of Cracow citizens (illustration 10) are lasting records of their importance for civilization, and their activity in promoting the development of art.

To every newly elected king, the Council did public homage in



10. TOMBSTONES OF THE MONTELUPI FAMILY, ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

the Central Square, and offered him a costly present; this solemn act was followed by wrestling-matches, masquerades, and games, by the side of the town hall; on this occasion also the king usually knighted some eminent burgess.

The position of the City delegates in the Diet of the nobility was precarious; they played the subordinate part of advisers or

suppliants, and mutely witnessed encroachments of the nobles upon the rights and privileges of the towns, which became particularly frequent after an Act passed by the Diet of 1420. Being deprived of all possibility of active interference on behalf of the towns' interests, their only means to obtain an alleviation of burdensome duties, or the suspension or at least moderation of some oppressive provision, were either direct petitions to the king, or personal intercession with the senators and knighthood, which had often to be accompanied by arguments in hard cash. In spite of all this, the Cracow people, as annals report, are always ready for sacrifices in case of need, they pay taxes and grant subsidies to king and state, defend the town from enemies and keep the fortress walls, at the expense of the corporations, ready for defence.

The common citizen was treated with supercilious contempt by the rich and imperious alderman or patrician. Accordingly, the Commons (*Communitas*) were in constant feud with the Council ; true, they send their forty representatives there (*quadraginta viri*), of whom twenty are elected from among the merchants, and twenty from the seniors of the guilds—and to these it belongs to guard the interests of the people, and to have a share in the Council's decisions on common matters ; but we find the Town Council continually trying to evade the obligation of submitting its accounts to the Commons, and debating municipal matters together with them. It was only for the election of two deputies to the Diet, and for resolutions on ordinances regarding taxation, that the *Communitas* was really called in and heard.

Casimir the Great had ordered that one half of the Council were to be taken from among the craftsmen ; but soon these new-elected members amalgamated with the patrician body. The common people, however, were not so easily deterred from pursuing their social aims ; they stood up unanimously for their right of sharing in the municipal administration. In 1410 the merchants of Cracow combine to form a separate group, and instantly take up, in union with the craftsmen, the contest against the Town Council. The conflict grows more and more acute in

the opening years of the sixteenth century, till it ends in a refusal of the town-rates. King Sigismund I, in 1521, settles all these differences by clearly circumscribing the power of the Town Council.

The municipal books of accounts were kept in the form of simple notes. To the constant sources of income belongs, among others, the "scot," which comprises a rate not only from house-rent and from lands, but also from trade profits and personal income, and the fees for the night-watch. The inventories taken of the town's possessions afford us glimpses of the municipal household. Thus we possess an account of the City property drawn up by the municipal notary Urban Pyrnus; according to this, it consists, beside the real estates mentioned above as being tenanted by citizens, of shops and stalls in the market-places, of the bathing-houses, the so-called "clanging-house" (*Garrulatorium*) with a market-hall in which there were merchants' booths; in the same building the town brewery was placed. In the town-hall cellar, called "The Schweidnitz Cellar," the famous Schweidnitz beer was retailed. Besides, the town levied a tax called "grist-money" on every barrel of beer or wine that was imported, as well as on all drinks produced in the town.

Outside the town walls large pastures (*Blonia*) extended, where the citizens' cattle grazed, tended by municipal herdsmen. Even now a part of this fine meadow is preserved, whence we enjoy a beautiful view of Cracow and the Kosciuszko Hill; another part is divided between a race-course and a park for children to practise gymnastic and athletic sports in, founded by the late Professor Dr. Henry Jordan.

The taxes levied upon the City by the king were also taken on lease by the municipality. Of the City's monopolies the public scales yielded ample profit; on these not only the wares that were bought, but also the transit goods passing through Cracow had to be weighed. Besides these scales, there stood, in the market-place, a building containing the gold and silver smelting-works, which were used not only for commercial purposes, but also to coin money for Cracow circulation, and to prepare the

materials for the highly developed goldsmiths' art to work upon. In later times the goldsmiths' craft had silver smelting-works of their own, administered by themselves.

The municipal cloth-cutting workshops, where the cloth was measured, and sorted, and marked according to its kind, occupied two buildings.

On all this duties were levied. Other less important sources of income were the bridge-moneys and customs duties, from which, however, the nobles, the clergy, and peasants coming to town to sell their dairy and farming produce, were exempt; the payments for grants of the freedom of the town, &c.

II. CONVENT OF THE NORBERTINE NUNS, AND KOSCIUSZKO MOUND.

The town, from the earliest times, was divided into four quarters, called Castle Quarter, the Potters' Quarter, the Butchers' Quarter, and *Slawkow*. The large Central Square formed two market-places, the poultry market and the coal market. The police control over building matters and provision against fire were entrusted to the "quartermasters" (heads of the districts). These, *e.g.*, together with the seniors of the corporations, estimated the value of houses, and drew up attestations on their being out of repair. The chief police magistrate—whose title was "warden of the town hall"—had to watch over public safety in the town, whose gates were closed every night. A position both dis-

tinguished and materially profitable was occupied by the town clerk (also called notary).

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the town got an aqueduct with a reservoir called *Rurmus*, which runs by the side of the present Reformates' Church. The conduit pipes were of wood, the administration was in the hands of a separate official called the "water-master," who had also to watch over the arrangements for cases of fire, which were very strictly regulated.

Almost to the close of the eighteenth century only the inhabitants themselves were obliged to give help in cases of fire, and to keep the fire-engines in repair. Especially the bathing-men, the brewers, and the water-carriers, being those who had most to do with water, were under the obligation to come first to the rescue. In every house tubs full of water, fire hooks for pulling down burning roofs, and other tools, were to be constantly kept in readiness. The "water-master" always took the command over the men who assisted in quenching a fire.

The streets, as early as the fourteenth century, had a stone pavement, which nowadays is hit upon in digging operations at something more than three yards below the present level of the street.

A short account having thus been given of the municipal institutions and administration, mention must now be made of the organization of the craft guilds. They had their origin in German law, and therefore assumed the character of the German guilds. The living contact with the German guilds, the constant immigration of young journeymen into Cracow, had the effect that down to the middle of the sixteenth century the majority of the guilds consisted for the most part of German elements. German was almost exclusively used as the official language of business transaction and correspondence, and all the usages observed by the German guilds are, with slight local modifications, to be found at Cracow.

Each craft guild had its own special ordinances and privileges; the ordinances were decreed by the guilds themselves, and sanctioned by the Town Council; the privileges were either conferred by the

Town Council or granted by the king. After the accession of a new sovereign, every craft guild was anxious to have its old privileges recognized, and, if possible, to obtain some new ones.

We get a full idea of Cracow workshops—and thus of all German workshops in the late Middle Ages—from a famous MS. in the Jagellonian University Library, called *Codex Picturatus*, and written by Balthazar Behem, notary of the town. He registered in it all the most important statutes of Cracow town, and an

12. A MERCHANT.

(*From the* Codex Picturatus *of B. Behem.*)

illuminator, by his order, adorned the book with highly interesting miniatures illustrating the Cracow craft guilds, partly by realistic pictures of the interior of workshops (illustration 12), partly by allegorical symbols.

To the Corporation also belonged the journeymen, who, in course of time, got an administration of their own. Every guild appears as an independent company of limited authority, originally responsible for all delinquencies committed by its members, and exercising judicial power within its sphere; it watched over the members' morals, their religion, and steadiness and fairness in the

exercise of their profession, and was the outward representative of their interests. Fellow-feeling, obedience, and scrupulous observance of all prescriptions and ordinances made the basis of the importance of these organizations. The guild looked after the welfare of the community, it exercised a severe control over the granting of licences, and on those who disobeyed it had power to impose fines or bodily punishments ; these were dealt out with a scourge of thongs. Refractory persons were taken to the town hall prison, and there judged by the City Court. For journeymen there was another punishment, called "driving," which consisted in the prohibition to receive them, issued not to Cracow masters merely, but also to those of other towns.

From the sixteenth century onward frequent differences arose between employers and journeymen about advance of wages, duration of the day's work, Monday rest ("Crispin's holiday"), and the like ; these causes of discontent often occasioned strikes, which were sometimes only settled by intercession of the municipal authorities.

The prices of manufactures were regulated by ordinances of the waywode and the town council (in the usual medieval way—best described in the first chapter of J. A. Froude's great work); thus *e.g.*, the saddler had the price of a Turkish or a plain Italian saddle which he made fixed beforehand; so had the tailor for a lady's satin robe *à l'Italienne*, or a brocade one with lacework trimmings and tight sleeves. This circumstance of course would have no favourable influence on the quality of what was produced for the appointed price.

The life of craft guilds, their organization and history, are illustrated by the beautiful requisites and insignia preserved in the National Museum, the Communal Archives, and the halls of the several guilds. Numerous books and documents throw much interesting light on their professional ability and productiveness. The guild's moneys and important documents were kept in a safe—called the guild's chest—usually under double lock. There also the old seals of the guild were preserved, which bore inscriptions in German, Latin, or Polish, and, in the middle,

the guild's arms, with the tools and insignia of the trade. Thus, the painters had for their arms, in imitation of those of Prague, three small escutcheons, white with black dots in a field gules, the crest a virgin kneeling, with waving hair and veil, the left hand leaning on the hip, the right one grasping a spear. The goldsmiths followed those of Breslau in having for arms an image of St. Eligius (the "St. Loy" of Chaucer's Prioress) in the act of manufacturing a chalice in embossed work. Each guild had its own patron : the painters St. Luke, the potters our first parents (because man was the first piece of potter's work, being made of earth); the joiners of course had St. Joseph; and the "gentle craft" of shoemakers SS. Crispin and Crispinian. With images of these saints they adorned their documents, their corporation insignia, and other implements. A sample of these is a magnificent glass bumper which belonged to the sword-cutlers' guild, dating from 1603, with the arms in beautiful enamel, and a representation of Christ's passion.

The seniors of the guilds, of whom one was chosen "Master of the Guild" every year, conducted all business affairs, administered the property of the guild, entered in its books the names of newly received apprentices—none but Catholics of legitimate descent being admitted—and of the journeymen when they got the freedom, on which solemn occasion the new freeman usually presented to the corporation either a votive tablet with the image of its Patron, or a large piece of coin. The journeymen, when freed, usually went on their travels, wandering on foot through foreign towns, especially in Germany, where they improved their professional knowledge. At the meeting-houses of the guilds, social entertainments took place from time to time, in which both masters and journeymen joined. On such occasions, the pewter vessels and plate of the guild were used, of which the town archives still preserve a considerable store. Invitations for these solemn banquets were sent round by a messenger bearing the badge of the guild; some are still extant: the goldsmiths' badge, being a large ring of bronze and silver, is particularly remarkable for the beauty of its execution; it is

adorned with an image of St. Eligius in relief. In the councils as well as at all other meetings of the craft guilds, their religious character was manifested, which may be a proof of their descent from the pious brotherhoods. Every guild possessed, in one of the numerous churches, a chapel or at least an altar of its own, maintained and adorned at the guild's expense. Control was exercised over the members' regular attendance at divine service, and neglect of this duty was severely punished. At religious processions, like that on Corpus Christi Day, all craft guilds displayed extraordinary splendour ; the members appeared corporately, in holiday clothes, and armed. The seniors, with badges and maces, marched ahead, followed by the brethren of the guild, in closed ranks, with ensigns spread and swords drawn. This custom of taking part in the Corpus Christi procession is observed by some of the guilds down to the present day ; the butchers lay special stress even now on maintaining the old tradition. After every procession, or other solemnity, an entertainment was given to the members at the expense of the guild. There was a great parade of the craft guilds on the occasion of the coronation of a king, or a marriage in the royal family, or the triumphant entry of some victorious general. The guilds, marching in arms, gave quite the appearance of a well-equipped body of troops ready for fight—thus reminding the spectators of the important part they had played in the past in defending the city from enemies. For in those times they were the proper defenders of the town walls, providing the bastions with ammunition and implements of war ; they all belonged to the rifle company and practised shooting at the municipal range. The fortified walls of the town had gates, which are mentioned by name in the very oldest book of records : St. Florian's Gate, the Slawkow Gate, St. Stephen's, the Shoemakers', the Vistula, and St. Nicholas', or the Butchers' Gate ; at a later time, we also hear of New Gate and Castle Gate. Between the gates and beside them the wall was surmounted by bastions built of brick and provided with loopholes ; there were forty-six such towers, of different shapes, some of them very artistic in execution. They

communicated with each other by an internal wall. Besides these, there were deep trenches running round the town, parallel with the external wall. The earth cast up from these was either strengthened by brickwork to make a regular dam, or merely shaped into a rampart. In the years 1809-1820 the fortress walls were pulled down, except the chief part to the north side, which is still standing (illustration 14). The town of Kazimierz was not only independent of Cracow as a city, but also as a

13. VIEW FROM THE MUNICIPAL GARDENS.

fortress, being surrounded by a wall of its own, with gates and towers. Of these fortifications, however, hardly any relics worth mentioning have been preserved—whereas of those of Cracow we still possess considerable remains, being, in fact, the most interesting part of the whole, viz., the barbican to the north of St. Florian's Gate (illustration 16), this gate itself, and the towers of the Lace-makers, the Joiners, and the Carpenters, with their connecting wall (illustrations 14, 15). All these probably date from

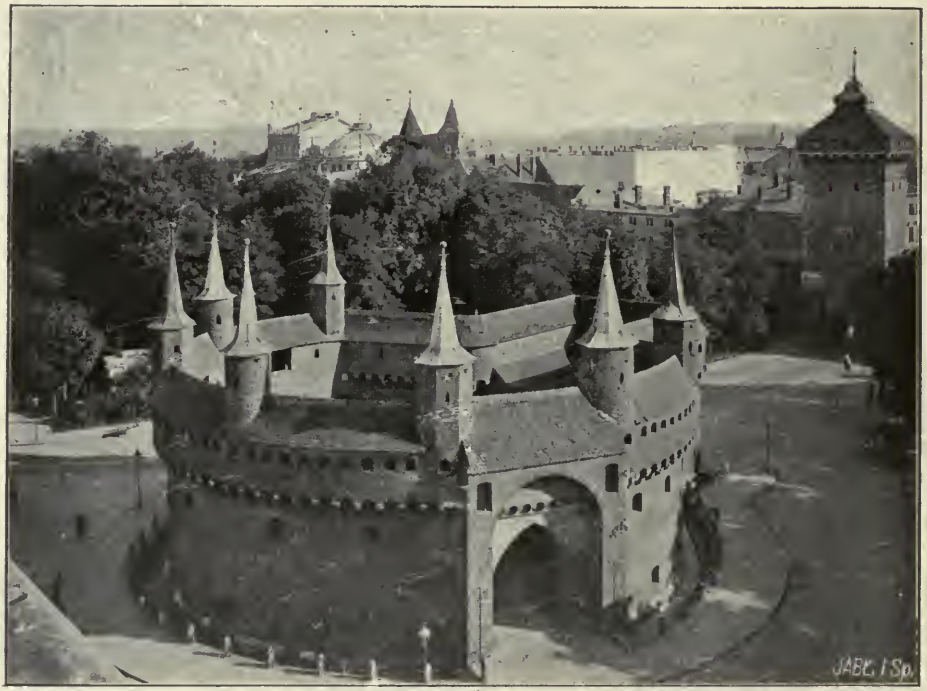
the fifteenth century; thus we know that the barbican was only erected in 1498, King Albert (of the Jagellons) contributing the sum of 100 marks towards the building of it. This barbican, a very fine building, usually called *Rondel* ("the round bastion") by the people, is one of the very few monuments that are preserved of medieval fortress architecture—like that of Carcassonne in France. It is a round outwork enclosing in its

14. THE JOINERS' TOWER, OLD CITY WALL.

powerful walls a large court, and formerly communicating with St. Florian's Gate by means of a covered gangway. In this sort of building, whose name seems to point to Arabic origin, we see one of the oldest means of systematic defence against fire-arms (illustration 16). In its outline it is an arch, with two slanting walls adjoining on the side of the town. The loopholes in the middle, on the ground-floor, were designed for cannon. Round the upper story there is a gangway running, widened by a row of

15. ST. FLORIAN'S GATE.

consoles ; this was occupied by riflemen and other defenders practised in arms. Channels (called "moucharabies") between the consoles made it possible to pour down boiling pitch or water, or to throw stones on the enemy when they approached too near. Seven small turrets, surmounting the gangway, served as sentry-boxes. Access to the barbican was defended by a portcullis and a



16. BARBICAN OUTSIDE ST. FLORIAN'S GATE.
(Remains of fifteenth-century fortifications.)

drawbridge. The barbican, according to the notions of the time, was a very solid piece of fortification, which could also be used as a fortress by itself.

St. Florian's Gate (illustration 15) is a square structure fitted into the wall ; above the pointed arch of the gateway there is a protruding upper story, with pitch-holes between consoles. The roofing, and the Polish eagle on the front wall, are modern. Two

projections in the sides of the tower remain as traces of the gangway that connected it with the barbican.

Of the towers, the first one, at the outlet of Hospital Street to the east, is perhaps the richest and most graceful. It belonged to the lace-makers' guild. It is a semicircular structure on a four-square basis of quarry-stones; the surface is ornamented with glazed bricks, stone fragments, and indented friezes; there are several moucharabies. The wall adjoining this bastion had few loopholes and a narrow, covered gangway with some few fissures; access to this gangway was gained by a door from the tower. The wall on the other side of St. Florian's Gate, towards the Joiners' Gate, was built on a different system, having an open gangway on the inside with numerous loopholes and pinnacles, which were all walled up in later times.

The leisure hours of the citizens were not all given to military exercise; they also indulged in various games. Christmas, Shrove-tide, and Easter pageants are mentioned in the records of the guilds. But few of these have been preserved down to our times, and most of them are known by name only. The so-called "horse of Zwierzyniec" is a merry pageant, performed on the octave of Corpus Christi Day by the guild of the raftsmen: a man in the quaint disguise of a Tartar, carrying a wooden figure of a horse in trappings tied to his waist, and thus clumsily imitating a horseman, stalks about among the crowd, dealing out blows more jocular than painful with a mace ending in a cloth knob. This may be a fragmentary remnant of the popular religious drama of the Middle Ages; others interpret it as commemorating the Mongolian invasion of 1241.

The source of Cracow's prosperous development in the Middle Ages was its transit-trade. By its geographical position, the town became a crossing-point of commercial routes to all parts of the world. Checked as its progress was by the legislature of the country, it could not quite rise to the position of a world emporium; still, it attained high importance, and was able, for a long time, to occupy a leading place in Polish commerce. From the south, the commercial road from Hungary led across the

Carpathians and through Sandec directly to Cracow; heavy-freighted wagons rolled upon it from Kassa (Kaschau) and all the wine-growing and mining districts of Northern Hungary, carrying copper, iron, oil, wax, and furs—and went back to Hungary again, laden with cloth of Flanders, Cracow, and Silesia, and salt of Wieliczka. From Cracow both Polish and foreign merchants started with wares Hungarian, Polish, and Oriental, on the most important route to Torun (now Thorn in Prussia), and continued their voyage on the Vistula to Gdansk (Danzig).

Sometimes they shipped their merchandise as far as the renowned town of Bruges, where the Hansa facilitated all transactions; not seldom they went even farther, viz., to the coasts of England. From the ports of Flanders they brought the famous cloths, also fish, wine, southern fruits, and works of art; no wonder, then, that some of the bronze plates, illuminated MSS., pictures, and products of applied art in Poland, turn out to be of Flemish origin. As early as during the reign of Casimir the Great, the merchants of Cracow had entered into close contact with the German Hansa, and at Lubeck they took part in its councils.

Another route leading from Cracow to the North connected Cracow with Great Poland, and, in its continuation by way of Stettin (Szczecin in Polish), with Flanders. To the east, the commercial routes from Cracow ran to the cities of Red Russia, reaching the colonies on the Black Sea, even to Kaffa, where the Genoese and Venetian vessels disembarked their cargo; from these, Cracow merchants chiefly took silks and spices. The expeditions to these far-off eastern ports were dangerous undertakings—although freedom of trade was guaranteed by privileges obtained from the Ruthenian princes—and they required brave and experienced men, able to face any danger. The armed caravans, generally combined into what was called a trading company, moved, in a long row of heavy wagons, through immeasurable steppes and wild forests in constant readiness for a fight, under the guidance of the most experienced member of the troop. Thus Nicholas Morstin, a Cracow merchant who led a caravan in 1386, had some hard fighting in Roumania (then called Wallachia),

in order to save his cargo, and he lost all his goods by a sudden assault of the Lemberg Armenians.

From Cracow there was also a road leading to the capital of Silesia, which was Cracow's constant rival for commercial superiority. Owing to this contest, the use of the Breslau route was not without danger. In 1344, Bolko, Duke of Opole (Oppeln in Prussian Silesia), took by surprise some Cracow merchants on their journey to Breslau for St. John's fair, and plundered all their goods to the value of about 200,000 ducats. The Breslau road led further to Prague, where Cracow merchants were allowed to trade by a privilege granted by Charles IV in 1378. These commercial relations with Bohemia had a direct influence on the Cracow mint : in imitation of the Prague model, the *groschen* became the monetary unit.

In 1306, Cracow was granted exclusive and unlimited staple-right for all transit goods : this of course placed the Cracow merchant in the important position of mediator, and considerably increased his significance. It was the rich merchants who made up the patrician class, and it was at their instance that Casimir the Great permitted the Cracow citizen to buy lands like a nobleman. These merchants also did banking business, and lent money to monarchs, even to the Emperor Charles IV himself. Later on, even the great families of nobility took part in commercial transactions : thus, *e.g.*, the merchants of Nuremberg, in 1457, concluded a treaty with Gregory of Branice, Andrew of Tenczyn, John of Melsztyn, and John of Tarnów, by which they undertook to furnish 6,000 marks' worth of cloth and 2,000 marks' worth of damasks and silks. Through the mediation of Cracow merchants also the oak and yew of the forests of Little Poland (fit for the building of ships and the making of bows), the lead and salt of the neighbouring mines, and the produce of the country in linen, wax, and leather, got into the export trade. In 1410 the merchants formed a company, the more effectively to defend their rights. A danger that menaced them was the Prussian merchant, supported as he was by the iron hand of the Black-Cross Knights of the Teutonic Order. Owing to these, the early fifteenth century became a

time of disturbance unfavourable to trade. The peace of Torun in 1466 ends the most glorious period of Cracow commerce. The leading part in Poland's commerce was now taken by the Prussian towns, Danzig above all.

The victorious progress of the Ottoman power, manifested in the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, cuts off all connection with the East. There is a revival of the Cracow market in the fifteenth century, as it enters into new commercial relations with the Franconian merchants, those of Nuremberg taking the part of mediators between the East and the West.

The discovery of America in 1492 brings about a thorough revolution in the world's commerce; colonial produce enters on the market, and the modern development of prices sets in. Polish commercial policy did not prove sagacious enough to meet these new conditions, and thus led to the decline of commerce and of the general prosperity of the towns.

17. HEAD OF CHRIST, KEYSTONE OF A WINDOW ARCH IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

GOTHIC STYLE
IN CRACOW ART

GOTHIC STYLE IN CRACOW ART

AFTER the destruction of Cracow in the thirteenth century both princes and subjects had set themselves to work in order to rebuild the old metropolis. We have already spoken of the new foundation, and of the plans for the enormous market-place and the new streets. The architectural activity of the Gothic period coincides with an epoch of material progress. Two Orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, were particularly busy in satisfying the religious needs of the population by active church-building. The Franciscans seem to have been the first who introduced the Gothic movement into Polish art. Boleslaus the Modest called this brotherhood from Prague to Cracow, and installed them in two brick buildings, a church—originally devoted to the Holy Trinity—and a convent. Of the original structure of this church as erected in the years 1237-1269, there is nothing preserved but the cross-shaped ground plan and the gable of the northern transept, distinguishable by its round-arched moulding. The space below this gable is now taken up by a bow window with a pointed arch and modern tracery. The choir, with a plain octagonal chevet, was lengthened and otherwise transformed in the fifteenth century; in 1580 it was burnt down and, on rebuilding, provided with a new vault, which, however, immediately under the curvatures of its arches, still shows the old tracery of the blind double windows of the early Gothic period. The three round mullions, crowned with bell-shaped capitals, form, above, two arcades with pointed arches and trefoil tracery; over these there runs a cinquefoil ornament consisting of semicircles, and above this the empty spaces within the pointed arches of the bow windows are filled up by trefoil ornaments of a similar kind. The cloisters date in part from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and still bear some traces of the original polychrome paint.

A thorough extension, however, of Gothic art over Poland did not begin till the fourteenth century; the first impulse for this movement probably came from the Royal Court on the Wawel: in the reign of King Ladislaus Lokietek the cathedral church

was built as a basilica with three naves and a transept (illustrations 18 and 19). Of the original Romanesque structure only

18. WAWEL CATHEDRAL (NORTH SIDE).

those parts were preserved that have already been described in the first chapter, all the rest gave way to the new style. In considering the ground plan of this Gothic building, we find

in it a certain resemblance to the dome of the sister-city of Breslau, which may be explained by the fact that Bishop Nanker, after having laid the foundation for the new cathedral building became, in a few years (1326), Bishop of Breslau, and continued the building of the cathedral which had been begun there.

19. WAWEL CATHEDRAL (SOUTH SIDE).

The chevet of the choir is rectangular, as in the Dominicans' church; it has a low-roofed ambulatory round it, which is a continuation of the side-aisles. In 1712 this was rebuilt and made higher. Along the sides there is a long row of chapels symmetrically arranged. The building of the choir lasted from 1322 to 1346. The great work was begun by Bishop Nanker, who

built the chapel of St. Margaret. Its keystones illustrate the sculpture of the period.

The largest of the chapels, being at the same time the most beautiful and interesting one, is St. Mary's, also called the Royal Chapel, on a square ground plan, and crowned with a fine rib vault. The outline of the choir is a rectangle, composed of four smaller ones which correspond to the four compartments of the vault. Ten windows light the interior of the choir. By the heightening of the ambulatory walls in the eighteenth century the choir itself was darkened. Below the windows are the archways which formerly served both for communication between the choir and the ambulatory, and for the admission of light into the latter.

The cathedral was at first dedicated to St. Salvator, later to St. Wenceslaus. This is also illustrated by the keystones of the vaulting, which give historical evidence of the tendencies of worship : they show relief images of St. Wenceslaus, St. Stanislas, and St. Margaret. The choir is built of mixed material, partly brick, partly sandstone ashlars. The middle aisle, of later date, but said to have been ready before 1349, is constructed, on its inside, of limestone and freestone ashlars. The brickwork of the choir is set in " Polish " fashion, that is to say, with constant alternation of black borders and red stretchers. Both the middle aisle and the side aisles were included in the plan of the Romanesque basilica ; some obliquity of the middle aisle's axis was occasioned by the fact that the architect—whose name is unknown—could not precisely determine the fundamental direction, because the old church and fortress buildings were still standing. To the side aisles are aggregated the fine chapels which were also distributed somewhat irregularly, in place of different parts of the Romanesque church ; thus the southern tower (visible in illustration 19) was re-fashioned, and the ground floor of it was transformed into a chapel which was dedicated first to St. Stephen, then to St. John of Kenty. The clock tower on the north side is older than the dome itself, although its outward side, especially

the upper part and the roofing, is baroque in style. The basis, with its beautiful stone wainscotting, protrudes into the northern side aisle ; here also a chapel was established. This tower, and the one called after King Sigismund, on the same side, originally belonged to the fortifications, and the wall that connects them has preserved this character to the present day.

At the western entrance of the cathedral, which is gained only by passing through a portal in a baroque wall and between two protruding Gothic chapels we find, on both sides of the baroque door, remains of Gothic sculpture, viz., images of St. Michael and St. Margaret, which are reliefs from the original portal ; above the door we see the old cornice, and, on its stone escutcheon, the *Poray* arms of Bodzanta, who was bishop of Cracow at that time. On the western front gable-end, covered with stone slabs, there is a graceful rose-window, dodecagon in outline, with tracery of a design unusual in the North. Besides, we find on this front wall, above the rose-window, a Polish eagle carved in stone, and above this, standing on a corbel, a figure of St. Stanislas, flanked by two double-windows, with acute angles for arches ; above the statue there is yet a little rhombic window. The ironwork on the entrance door is of the time of Casimir the Great and shows his initial, a crowned K.

The northern and the southern gable-end of the transept were characterized by great simplicity. They only show blank window-frames with little lancet-windows within them. The system of vaulting, and of the pillars which support it, is extremely original ; it originated in the building of Wawel Cathedral and thence spread over the whole of Poland. In order to increase the carrying-power of the many-jointed pillars, and at the same time to avoid the flying-buttresses which did not stand the raw air of the country very well, a protruding abutment was joined on to the back of each pillar ; in other words, the buttresses serving to counteract the lateral thrust of the vaulting, and generally placed on the outside of Gothic buildings, were here put into the church itself ; they rise up

to the roof. The next consequence of this arrangement was a changed form of the pillar with its buttress, both growing broader towards the axe of the church, in order not to obstruct the side-aisles. The Gothic pillars of the dome rest on square plinths with chamfered edges ; the bases are jointed ; in the middle aisle we find them below the floor, which has been raised. The pillars have no capitals ; they are set round with vaulting-shafts, to which a piriform profile is given by added pillars on the front side. The arches of the rib vaulting are equilateral, which is also a common characteristic of the Cracow development of Gothic style. The middle aisle gains much beauty from the niches which interrupt the lines of the vaulting-shafts ; they are surmounted by gracefully carved canopies, and contain wooden statues of the Fathers of the Church, of which three are from the workshop of the famous Vitus Stoss, of Nuremberg.

The vaulting is, in most parts, a cross-vault with ribs ; above the high altar, however, we find a network vaulting in the form of a half-star—as in St. Mary's Chapel—produced by two arcades in the eastern wall of the choir.

One of the chief characteristics of the dome is the variety of decorative architectonic forms employed in the walls of the upper story, in spite of their small height as compared with buildings in the West of Europe ; this proves the high artistic sense of the builder. There was no room here for a complete triforium ; the architect had to replace it by something else, and did so by creating a combination of window and triforium : in the upper part of the middle window-like niche he made a window, which he divided by mullions into three parts, and adorned with tracery. The lower part of the niche remained intact, was walled up, the mullions made to join into pointed arches at the top, and a parapet placed above them as a bar between the niche and the window. The old stained glazing was destroyed in the early nineteenth century.

No report has been preserved either of the architect or of the masonic lodge that acted in the building of the cathedral ;

but when we consider that architectural activity had been displayed for several decades before in connection with the convents of the Cistercians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and others, we cannot but admit that native hands, as well as foreign ones, were employed in the work : thus, *e.g.*, the ground-plan of the choir, with its garland of chapels, reminds us of French models ; in the measures, we find the Paris foot besides the Brunswick and the Hanover one ; in the masonry and the structure of the pillars we find proofs of local workmanship.

The cathedral served as coronation church : the coronation of a Polish king is illustrated by a miniature (illustration 20) of the middle of the sixteenth century. A special feature of the act was the solemn penitential procession to the neighbouring Skalka where St. Stanislas had been murdered by a Polish king.

In the lower church we find, besides the Romanesque crypt already described (illustration 2), the tomb where most of Poland's kings, from Ladislaus Lokietek down, lie buried. Their monuments, which will be dealt with in the description of sculpture, stand in the church itself. From the reign of Casimir the Great it had become customary for each king residing at Cracow to add a chapel of his own to the cathedral.

Of particular interest are the additions, likewise in Gothic style, that were made in the fifteenth century.

Thus there is the treasury building, close to the vestry ; it was founded by the Cardinal and Secretary of State Zbigniew Oleśnicki, and abounds in precious objects of art. Originally in two stories, it was changed into a hall with a stone wainscoting, by Bishop Rzeszowski in the years 1471 to 1482. To the left of the entrance-door of the cathedral, there is the chapel of the Holy Trinity, built by Queen Sophia in 1431–1433, and containing also her tomb. On the outside this is cased with ashlars and lined with trellis tracery ; the interior has been frequently renovated, and adorned by later monuments. The Holy Cross Chapel, opposite this to the right, was built by King Casimir of the Jagellons and his wife, Elizabeth of Austria, in the years 1461-1471. The exterior of this chapel is also covered with

hewn ashlars and trellis tracery; the interior has, for the most part, preserved its original aspect: a beautiful star-shaped cross-vaulting with keystones bearing the royal arms; the walls covered with paintings in Byzantine style, done by Ruthenian artists. In the northern side-aisle we notice, on entering, the lower part of the clock-tower, lined with tracery, which looks as if it had been built into the church. This forms the body of a chapel founded by Zbigniew Oleśnicki, but finished and fitted up only by Queen Elizabeth in 1502.

Want of space forbids us to dwell further on the Gothic architecture of the Wawel; we will therefore conclude by some general remarks on the row of chapels which surround the cathedral. Those round the choir were included in the original plan; although the dates of their actual erection are later, yet they were all organically fitted into the structure of the cathedral. Those on both sides of the body of the church, on the contrary, are only partly in systematic connection with the whole; part of them may be looked upon as originating in the unavoidable incorporation of remains of the older Romanesque building into the new Gothic structure.

Up to the fifteenth century the architectural development of the church ran on uniform lines, but from this time changes set in which disturb the original harmony. Thus, the western front as a whole was spoiled by the addition of the two side-chapels just described. Of course, these innovations were not without good consequences either; they introduced a picturesque element by this extraordinary mixture that arose from the juxtaposition of so many precious monuments of art of all periods and styles, which make up a perfect museum of ancient Polish civilization—a museum mystically sanctified by the glamour of religious associations.

It seems appropriate here to take a cursory survey of this round of chapels, and to characterize each of them by some chronological data. Turning from the chief portal to the right, we come to the following chapels in succession :—

I. The Holy Cross Chapel, built (as said before) in the years

1461-1471, containing the marble tomb of Casimir Jagello (1492), a masterpiece of Vitus Stoss, altars with side wings in the manner of later Cracow Gothic art, and polychrome paintings in Byzantine style.

20. THE CORONATION OF A POLISH KING.
(From the Pontifical of Bishop Erasmus Ciolek.)

II. The corner chapel of Our Lady and the Three Magi. This was erected as early as 1381 by Bishop Zawisza, but in 1575 it was rebuilt in Renascence style, and adorned with a statue by the

Polish architect and sculptor John Michalowicz, of Urzedow ; finally, in the years 1832-40 it was modernized again by Pietro Nobile, at the suggestion and expense of Count Potocki, and decorated with works of Thorwaldsen, of the bronze sculptor John Danninger of Vienna, and of the Italian painter Guercino da Cento.

Adjoining to this, there is

III. The *Capella doctorum*, founded by the Szafraniec family about 1420.

IV. Next to this there stood, in the Middle Ages, the Chapel of the Psalterists, or of St. Paul, lodged in the lower part of the tower. This was changed by King John Casimir, in 1663-1667, probably on plans drawn up by the Court architect, John Baptist Gislenus, into the Royal Chapel of the Vasa dynasty, in baroque style, with black marble wainscotings.

V. The chapel next following is a perfect gem of Renascence style : the Sigismund Chapel, built in the years 1519-1530, in place of one originally erected by Casimir the Great in 1340. To this, we shall return in speaking of the modern period.

VI. Our Lady's Chapel of the Penitentiaries, founded by Bishop Bodzanta in 1351, rebuilt in 1522 by Bishop Konarski, whose fine tomb is placed here, and renovated again in 1752.

VII. The Chapel of St. John Baptist, re-erected by the Treasurer Andrew Koscielecki (d. 1515) on the site of an old fourteenth-century structure, pulled down at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This was renovated by Bishop Zadzik (d. 1642).

VIII. Corpus Christi, or St. Andrew's Chapel, with the oldest Renascence statue, being that of King John Albert (d. 1501) ; founded, in 1501, by the Queen-Dowager Elizabeth of Austria.

IX. The Chapel of the Holy Innocents, founded in 1344 by Bishop John Grot. This was twice transformed : once in 1522, and for the second time under Bishop Andrew Zaluski (d. 1758), into a rococo building.

X. The Chapel of St. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury, also dedicated to the Three Magi ; dating from 1391, but completely rebuilt in 1530, in elegant Renascence style, by the Italian archi-

tect Bartholomew Berecci, at the order of the famous Bishop Peter Tomicki, who also put up a splendid mausoleum for himself there.

XI. Next follows old St. Mary's Chapel (also called the Sacristans', the Ciborium, or the Báthory Chapel); it was built in 1331. In the sixteenth century Queen Anne adorned it with a sepulchral monument to her husband Stephen Báthory (who, from a duke of Transsylvania, had become one of Poland's greatest kings, and died in 1586), a work of Santi Gucci, with marble stalls in Renascence style; a new decoration of black marble was added by Canon Adalbert Serebrzyski at the end of the seventeenth century.

XII. St. Catherine's (also called the Gamrat or Grochowski's) Chapel. In this a monument to Bishop Gamrat was erected, in 1545, at the expense of Queen Bona Sforza, by the sculptor Gian Maria Padovano. This chapel was later renovated by Canon George Grochowski (d. 1659), and in our own times, by the late bishop, Cardinal Puzyna.

XIII. Of the chapels to the north side, the oldest one is the present "vicars' vestry," adjoining the treasury, already mentioned; it was built of ashlars, in Gothic style, by Bishop Nanker in 1320, and dedicated to St. Margaret. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it was renovated, but the vaulting retained its original forms.

XIV. Next to this there is the Chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian, or of the Zebrzydowski family. Founded as early as 1335, this was rebuilt, from the funds left by Bishop Andrew Zebrzydowski (d. 1560), as a sepulchral chapel, with monuments of himself and his family.

XV. The Chapel of St. Laurence was erected by Archdeacon Jaroslaw Bogoria Skotnicki in 1339, and thoroughly renovated by the scholar Stanislas Skarszewski (d. 1625).

XVI. Then follows the Chapel of SS. Matthew and Mathias, with the funeral monuments of the Lipski family. It was founded by Bishop Bodzanta, then rebuilt after the death of Bishop John Andrew Lipski, who had bequeathed a fund towards the erection

of new chapels ; and then transformed once more, and richly decorated, by Cardinal John Lipski (d. 1746).

XVII. The Chapel of St. Mary in the Snow, or the Maciejowskis' Chapel, founded by Bishop Florian Mokrski (1367, d. 1380), was changed into a sepulchral chapel, by the Italian master, Gian Maria Padovano, at the order of Bishop Samuel Maciejowski (d. 1550), whose monument it contains.

XVIII. In the lower part of the clock-tower a chapel was built in the fifteenth century, at the order of Cardinal Zbigniew

21. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF KING LADISLAUS LOKIETEK, IN THE CATHEDRAL.

Oleśnicki, and called after his name. Now it is also called the Chapel of the Czartoryski family.

XIX. The last of these side-chapels to the west is that of the Holy Trinity, or Queen Sophia's Chapel, so called because erected by the pious consort of King Ladislaus Jagello, in the years 1431-1433. The interior of the chapel, originally built in Gothic style, underwent several changes in course of time ; thus it was modernized first by Bishop Tylicki, who was buried here in 1616, and once more, most thoroughly, by the Italian architect Lanzi,

at the order of Mrs. Wąsowicz, in 1830. In 1898 it was restored to something like its original shape.

XX. Having now finished the round of the chapels, we must still

22. ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

add a few words concerning an altar under a ciborium, in the very middle of the church's crossing: this is the chapel of St. Stanislas. Its history is intimately connected with the building of the cathedral. The bones of the Saint were taken, in 1089, from

the Skalka to the Wawel, and interred near the southern portal of the cathedral. When Stanislas was canonized in 1254, they were transferred to their present place. The different periods were reflected in the forms that the tomb of the Saint took in turn, till finally Bishop Martin Szyszkowski, in the years 1626-1629, raised the present fine memorial, at an expense of 150,000 Polish florins (illustration 61).

A contrast to the cathedral is formed by the city church of St. Mary, founded in 1226 by Bishop Ivo Odrowaz (illustration 22). In the cathedral supreme splendour and magnificence manifest the greatness and power of Poland's monarchs and its lords spiritual and temporal; in the market-place the citizens of Cracow, at the time of the town's highest development, in the fourteenth century, erected in place of an old wooden church the present magnificent building, with three naves and an oblong choir 91 feet in height. The work was done under the supervision of Nicholas Wirsing (d. 1360), treasurer to King Casimir the Great. The interior of the building—which has a triangular chevet—is extraordinarily beautiful and noble in its slim proportions, simple forms, and manifold decorative ornamentation (illustration 23). The exterior is varied by projecting buttresses, which have a very rich crown, viz., a panelling with blank tracery on three sides; on the front side the shaft wears a detached roof, surmounted by a fine pinnacle.

The walls of the choir are bordered above by a solid cornice with beautiful consoles cut in stone. Above this cornice there was formerly a gallery with pointed arches, and this was originally the upper termination of the walls. The slender threefold windows, which begin low down and reach high up, are terminated above by tracery and keystones with plastic ornaments. In 1384 the choir was entirely completed. The coloured glazing of the windows in the apse is for the most part of fourteenth and fifteenth century date. The original vaulting broke down for unknown reasons, and a new star-shaped one with four bays was made in 1442, by Master Czipser, a mason of Kazimierz. On the north wall of the interior part of the choir there was a beautiful

23. INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

arrangement of clustered vaulting shafts, and below the windows the triforium with tracery.

A chancel-arch led from the body of the church to the choir, which was narrowed in at the limiting line by two projecting pillars; thereby the arch, high as it is, is made to appear more lofty still.

The body of the church consists of four bays, which are separated from the side aisles by three pillars on each side. The outline of the pillars is the same as in the dome, a four-edged accretion being attached to the back of each pillar, and terminating above in a broad band which runs along the arch of the arcade. It is only near the turning point of the pillar arch that a richer ornamentation begins, which intersects the flat spaces of the pillars. The arrangement of the windows is the same as in the dome, only they have no niches here.

The vaultings, being cross-rib vaults, built by Master Werner, of Prague, in 1395, extend both over the nave and the side aisles. The garland of chapels, founded in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by rich patrician families such as the Salomons, the Turzos, the Szembeks, the Pernus, the Fogelweders, and in later times the Lesniowolskis, Boners, and others, have for the most part complicated network and stelliform vaultings, and the windows are decorated partly with tracery of late Gothic style, partly with vertical mullions.

The west front of the church would have looked very bare and monotonous indeed if it had not received additional and peculiar grace from the beautiful arrangement of the towers on both sides of the porch. Both towers, built of brick, are of square shape, and divided by cornices into stories, in which there are twofold windows with stone tracery. Only the northern tower, called St. Mary's, was entirely finished ; it terminates in a slender octagon, surmounted by a lofty, fantastic spire, which, though somewhat resembling that of the Teyn Church at Prague, yet seems of independent and original construction (illustration 24). Eight graceful turrets surround the pyramidal spire in the middle, which wears a golden crown of the year 1666, dedicated to the

Holy Virgin. This charming roof arrangement undeniably owes its origin both to the fortress architecture of the Middle Ages, and to the native wooden architecture. The man who planned the construction that produces such a picturesque and fascinating impression, must have been an artist of extraordinary talent. The "Tower of the Silver Chimes," on the Wawel, served for model; the date of the erection is probably 1478—just the time when Vitus Stoss was here at work on the high altar; this would seem to make it probable that he had himself a part in the plan for St. Mary's tower.

24. SPIRE OF ST. MARY'S.

The tower clock, with its twelve figures, has long disappeared; but there is the medieval custom preserved that the warder of the tower, after the completion of each hour, sounds on a trumpet a certain traditional air, called *Heynal* by the people.

Popular tradition has attached a legendary story to the building of the two towers of St. Mary's. According to this the two builders were brothers, and one of them, seeing that the other's tower was going to grow higher than his own, killed him with a knife, which is hanging to the present day at the eastern door of Drapers' Hall (*Sukiennice*). This is said to account for the one tower having remained unfinished.

To the church and its chapels thus erected, some later buildings are attached, such as, *e.g.*, the vestry built in 1399.

Within this church monuments have been put up by citizens, which bear perpetual testimony to their exertions on behalf of art and civilization.

Bishop Ivo Odrowaz, who had consecrated St. Mary's Church, entered, during his stay at Rome, into close connections with St. Dominic, the founder of the well-known preaching order. To him accordingly he confided his two nephews, Hyacinth and Czeslaw, and these two, having assumed the habit of the new brotherhood, returned to Cracow in 1220 as the first Dominicans who entered the town. A few years later, in 1226, the old church of the Holy Trinity, sometime parish church to the city, was put at their disposal, and not long after that the Order began to build a convent house of its own and a large Gothic church, the largest next to St. Mary's, instead of the old parish one. In the years 1286-1289 the choir, with a rectangular chevet, was built. Its beautiful arcade frieze, with pointed arches, bears witness to the original height of the choir. Down to the fifteenth century it was covered by a ceiling, but then the walls were heightened and overarched by a network vault, the ribs of which were supported by shafts. The body of the church—which was burnt down completely in 1850—was erected in 1321. The outline shows an oblong chancel, terminating at a right angle, and three naves. Both parts have pillars constructed on the Cracow principle, as described before. Of five chapels, three are to the north side, then follows the ascent to St. Hyacinth's Chapel and the cloister, with its remains of Romanesque style already mentioned, with a broad-arched cross vault, and with numerous monuments constituting a perfect *Campo Santo* of Cracow's citizens; this is surrounded by the convent buildings proper. In the convent house, besides a large refectory, there is an interesting hall with three octagonal pillars which support the cross vault, and other architectural relics.

Judging from the outward appearance of the walls, the church must originally have been lower. The two stair-like gables at

the end of the saddle roof, which are characteristic of Cracow Gothic art, have preserved the original arrangement of triangular flat spaces and stone ornaments.

After the great fire of 1850 the church was but poorly restored. To a brother of the Order, who had no taste for art, it is indebted for such architectural additions as the new porch, which quite overshadows the magnificent fourteenth-century portal, or the modern high altar.

25. OUTER GATE OF ST. CATHERINE'S CHURCH.

Besides the metropolis of Cracow, the rival town of Kazimierz, now a suburb, also developed Gothic architecture. Casimir the Great, after founding it, had called from Prague a colony of monks of the great mendicant Order of St. Augustine. The foundation stone of their church was laid in 1342, but it was not till 1378 that the choir was completed, the church consecrated and dedicated to St. Catherine. The body and the splendid porch are of fifteenth century origin (illustration 25).

The ground-plan of this remarkable church consists of an oblong choir of one nave with a pentagonal chevet, and of a body of three aisles. The pillars are of the same outline as those in the cathedral and in St. Mary's, and, just as in these, richer ornamentation only begins about the turning-point of the arcade arches. The original vault broke down during an earthquake in 1443, and the new star-shaped one was put in its stead by the master-mason, Hanus, in 1505. This bears some resemblance to that of St. Mary's; so does the general aspect of the tall and slender architectural forms in the interior of this church. The cross-vault of the middle aisle is of wood.

The outward view of the church is pleasing, chiefly owing to the simple outlines of the choir. The buttresses, with stone pinnacles, project very far, and thus give some breadth to the building in spite of the general slenderness of its forms. The builder of the church—whose name is unknown—has left his monogram on an escutcheon above the entrance door. A noteworthy feature is formed by numerous portrait heads both within the church—on the consoles of the vault ribs—and without.

To the fourteenth century also belong: the vestry; a chapel formerly dedicated to St. Thomas, with a vault resting on one pillar, the keystone bearing the inscription *KA-ZY-MIR* (which probably refers to the royal founder); the cloister, of the year 1363, with wall paintings partly preserved to the present day: they range in date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, and show scenes from the lives of St. Thomas, St. Austin, and other saints whom the Augustine Order has produced.

The side-aisle, on the southern side (visible from the street) shows a somewhat different architecture; the wall is not of brick, as the rest, but of ashlars, with carved buttress work and ornamented window-frames. This part, as well as the added porch, which is characterized by an ogee arch, crockets, pinnacles, and blank wall niches with tracery, both belong to a later period. The stone wainscotings, in their exuberance of forms, show some resemblance to the chapels of the cathedral, which were built about the same time.

A particular feature of fifteenth century Cracow Gothic art is exhibited by the portals, the profiles of their soffits breaking off at right angles above.

26. CORPUS CHRISTI CHURCH.

On the model of Cracow, Kazimierz also had its central market-place, and by its side a parish church, founded in 1347 : the choir, however, was not built till 1385-1389, and the body of the church even later. Master Peter of Kazimierz and the two Czipsers,

father and son, are said to have been the builders of it. Bishop Peter Wysz gave the church, when it was ready, to the Canons Regular of St. Austin (illustration 26). Some parts of the building, as the western gable-end and the tower, are fifteenth and sixteenth century work. The church, both in plan and detail, as well as in dimensions, shows close imitation of St. Catherine's, which we have just described ; the system of construction is also the same. The choir, with an octagonal chevet and eight oblong bays, has very narrow windows, partly walled up, with stained glasses ; the panes, added later, are a complete failure with regard to harmony of form and colours. The body of the church consists of three naves ; on its western side, it has a stair-like gable-end, the most perfect sample of the peculiar Cracow system of gable structure, common both in churches and private buildings. Its vertical lines are broken by stone ornaments—figures and coats-of-arms. The Polish eagles among the latter are surmounted by cardinals' hats, which point to Cardinal Frederick (d. 1503), a son of king Casimir Jagello. A medieval tower, rebuilt in 1556, was crowned in 1635 by a baroque spire, which is also of a character peculiar to Cracow. Adjoining the north side of the church there is a vestry, built in the Gothic period, and a two-storied oratory of later date. A medieval gangway leads over from the upper story of the oratory to the convent buildings.

The convent house, rebuilt in the seventeenth century, and provided with galleries in Renascence style, served as headquarters for the Swedish king, Charles Gustavus, when besieging Cracow in 1655.

In the interior of the church the baroque style is predominant; the gigantic high altar, in baroque style, the canopied seat for the Prior, and the double-rowed stalls produce a grand impression. At the entrance door there was hanging in former times—as in St. Mary's Church at Cracow—an iron collar for public sinners; here also was placed the prison for ecclesiastical transgressors, and a Calvary, where probably the medieval mysteries were produced.

In the above account of the Gothic churches the features they have in common have already been dwelt upon ; a few general remarks only need, therefore, be added here. The bays of the vaultings are peculiarly broad, the proportion of the breadth of the compartment to the width of the middle aisle being 2 : 3, nay even 3 : 4, in some cases. The considerable height of the interior gives to the whole a tall and imposing aspect. As for the pillars, it is in the Cathedral only that they are richly carved : everywhere else they are quite plain, and it is only above the arcades that a richer moulding begins. As regards the outward side, the brick buttresses, projecting very far, ter-

27. CALVARY, AT THE ENTRANCE OF ST. BARBARA'S CHURCH.

minate either in tabernacle-like structures of stone (with which, however, they are not organically connected) or in mere bevel weatherings. Flying-buttresses do not appear. All these characteristics combine to give to the Cracow School of Gothic Art in its first period a certain originality, something of a local colouring.

Besides the great churches, numerous smaller chapels were built at Cracow at this time. Just behind the choir of St. Mary's Church the building of St. Barbara's was begun in 1394. A legend, known in other cities also, tells us how the masons occupied in the larger building employed their leisure hours in gratuitously erecting, in the then churchyard round St. Mary's,

this church of St. Barbara. It was originally one of two naves of equal height ; but both the interior and the exterior of the church have been thoroughly modernized ; only the west front with its steep gable-end has remained unchanged. Here we see a charming porch in late Gothic style, squeezed in between two buttresses (illustration 27), with a little mortuary chapel, vaulted, and showing already sculptured consoles and key-stones. The refinement of the ornamental forms, particularly the fantastic profusion of foliage, and the sculpture, cannot be otherwise accounted for than by the influence of Vitus Stoss's master-hand.

In the sixteenth century St. Barbara's Church, at the intercession of King Sigismund I, was given up to the Germans of Cracow, the German sermons having disappeared from St. Mary's Church in 1537, owing to the preponderance of the Polish element.

A group by itself is formed by the Gothic hall churches. In 1257 Boleslaus the Modest had called the Order of the Cæsarites from Prague to Cracow, and given them a basilica of three naves, dedicated to St. Mark, to which a choir was adjoined. About 1500 this was changed into a picturesque Gothic hall with a low tower.

Among the most noteworthy medieval churches of Cracow is the small, one-aisled church of the Holy Cross, built in the sixteenth century in the latest forms of Gothic style ; it is to be considered as a hospital church, having formerly been in connection with the Hospital of the Holy Ghost. It consists of a chancel with a rectangular chevet, and a square nave, in the middle of which there stands a slender round pillar ; from this the ribs of the star-shaped vault issue palm-like, which produces a highly artistic effect (illustration 28). At the west front there is a tower and two chapels of later date, which by their forms still recall the medieval ones. Both choir and nave still retain the old wall paintings. Besides the pictures, the church contains some interesting objects of applied art, such as the brass font of 1420, and the stalls.

At the foot of Castle Hill there rises the small church of St. Giles (already mentioned), with an interesting series of pictures dating from the end of the fifteenth century, and stalls of noble Renascence forms. The church was founded as early as the eleventh century, but it was completed, in brick, only in the fifteenth century.

28. INTERIOR OF HOLY CROSS CHURCH.

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE only began in the fourteenth century. The enormous architectural activity of Casimir the Great, as attested by history, proves true the saying of posterity, that he had found a Poland built of wood, and left behind one of brick. Cracow architecture was regulated by a statute for masons, issued in 1367. Although none of the medieval buildings has preserved its original form, yet those that remain show many

traces of medieval structure and give us an idea of what profane architecture was like.

The royal castle on the Wawel had been an essentially wooden building till then ; the fortifications consisted, in the thirteenth century, of low walls and towers which had been heightened and strengthened after the capture of the town by Bishop Tobias of Prague, general of the forces of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia. Ladislaus Lokietek then began to build a Gothic palace, which was continued by Casimir the Great, and completed by Ladislaus Jagello.

The oldest parts of the Castle are the following : the north-east corner called "Hen-foot" (*Kurza stopa*), the western and northern parts of the wall (which underwent some change at the time of the Renascence), particularly those on the ground floor, and the *Lubranka* tower. In the lower parts Gothic style generally prevails ; here, *e.g.*, we find, to the north side, an old square refectory of Ladislaus Lokietek, with an hexagonal pillar in the middle, on which the cross-vault rests ; the room is lighted by two narrow windows with stone frames. On the east side of the aforesaid corner there is a royal bedroom, where Casimir the Great is reported to have died, then apartments that belonged to Queen Hedwig and her husband Ladislaus Jagello ; both their arms are engraved on the keystones of the vaults. The decorations of these rooms have of course disappeared long ago. Only the outward wainscoting with trellis tracery of 1461, and the "Hen-foot" Tower with the arms of Ladislaus Jagello, are preserved in their Gothic form.

In its present shape the Castle is a Renascence building ; accordingly its further development will be dealt with in the chapter on the Modern Period. The fortress buildings on Castle Hill form an independent, solid, isolated whole, a stronghold, part of which is visible to the present day. In 1399 Ladislaus Jagello had the whole of the Wawel girt with entirely new fortifications.

In order to consider what else there is of profane Gothic architecture, let us first turn to the market place. According to a

decree of the senate in 1817 the old land-mark of civic liberty, the Town Hall, was pulled down in 1820; only the old tower, though mutilated, still stands there, proudly uplifting its spire (illustration 6). About the year 1383 a brick Town Hall had been built instead of the old wooden one. Of the magnificent Aldermen's Room in the old building, only a Renascence door remains, which has been transferred to the University Library. The tower is a structure of ashlars, preserved, up to the gallery, in its original state, with only the tracery of the windows wanting. Its decorative part was formed by oriels demolished, however, at an early period; at the four corners of the tower there stood statues on large consoles.

In the interior there is, down to the present day, a square room with a cross-vault, on the east side an old window of a pleasant shape frequently to be met with at Cracow (*e.g.*, in the Castle, in Canons' Street, &c.), strongly bevelled in the upper part. The doorway, which is still preserved, shows in the interlacings of the jambs, the Eagle of Poland and the Town Arms of Cracow on escutcheons placed in the corners. The door itself, studded with iron, is made in a fashion peculiar to Cracow. The topmost part of the tower, and its spire, were only erected in the years 1683-1686, after a great fire, on the plans of the royal architect, Peter Beber. Its style shows the influence of the Flemish Renascence, which was transplanted to Poland and Cracow by way of Danzig. In 1783, the seventeenth century spire was somewhat deformed.

At the very refoundation of the town in 1257 the necessity had become apparent of building wooden shop-stalls, and, in the middle of the market-place, a large hall, originally likewise of wood. This has in course of time been changed to the present large bazaar or market-hall, known by the name of "Drapers' Hall" (*Sukiennice*). The original building, occupying the very centre of the square, consisted, in fact, of four rows of booths severed by a narrow gangway, now replaced by the hall. In the second half of the fourteenth century the middle space was

covered by a timber roof, and at the same time the present building, with its large market hall, about 132 yards in length and 14 in breadth, was erected by the city architect, Master Martin Lindintolde (1391-1395). Of the Gothic middle building, with pointed arches at the narrow ends and a steep-gabled roof, and of the booths built round it in several rows, not much has remained; the only medieval features of the present building are the buttresses, and the ground-plan as a whole; the ancient shop-stalls, owing to the raising of the level of the ground, make the cellars of to-day.

29. DRAPERS' HALL.

After a great fire in 1555, Drapers' Hall was changed into a Renascence building by the Italian architect, already mentioned, Gian Maria Padovano, together with one Master Pancras. The hall was covered by a barrel vault, and thus deprived of light; but this loss was counterbalanced by the splendid addition of the new upper hall, to which broad stairways led up at the gable-end sides, close to the turreted annexes. The rich architectural ornamentation of the outward side produces a charming effect by the picturesque outline of the attic rising above the cornice, and moulded into niches and pilasters, with stone mascarones

and vases. The building having got into disrepair, it was restored in the years 1876-1879 by the architect Thomas Prylinski ; he pulled down the annexes, which were not in style, added the characteristic archways leading along on both sides, and thus gave a harmonious and uniform character to the whole building. The crystal vaults of these archways rest on granite pillars, with capitals designed in part by the most famous of modern Polish painters, John Matejko.

Of medieval palaces and private houses, only scanty remains have been preserved. They consist in the vaulted halls and corridors on the ground-floors of some of the houses in Central Square. The finest hall among them is that in the old Mint and Provost's

30. KEYSTONES OF THE GOTHIC HALL IN THE OLD MINT.

House (now No. 17, Central Square), built about 1340-1356 : here the profuse arrangement of ribs on the vault, with beautifully carved keystones (illustration 30)—one of which shows the builder's mark—bear eloquent witness both to the good taste and the fondness for architecture of Cracow's citizens at that period.

More numerous are door-frames terminating either in pointed arches or straight horizontal lintels. Above some doors, there are reliefs which give the house its name ; *e.g.*, the house called "The Lizards" (No. 8, Central Square) shows, in a *cavetto*, the inlaid figures of two animals biting each other ; they are, however more like greyhounds than lizards.

A glamour of poetry surrounds the magnificent building of the Jagellonian Library (illustration 31), the cradle of the famous University. The complex of houses standing here was bought partly by King Ladislaus Jagello for the University when he refounded it in 1400, partly by the University itself at a later time. The houses were rebuilt in 1468, and totally burnt down in 1492. This was the opportunity for the Jagellonian Prince-Cardinal Frederick to combine all University buildings into one. In 1497 the monumental structure was finished; in its main outlines, it has preserved its original shape to the present day. In the first half of the nineteenth century the building was restored, and received some modern additions, which, however, do not spoil the harmony of impression and are, besides, easy to distinguish. The medieval character is discernible at first sight by the oriel and the gables, which resemble those of the Dominican Church. Round a square arcade court, the most precious relic of medieval secular architecture, there runs, on the first floor, an open corridor with a modern balustrade, furnishing the communication between the different rooms. Below this corridor there is a beautiful cloister, with a cell-like vault and fine round pillars partly adorned with oblique channelling. The staircase, at the restoration, was transferred to the inside of the building, but the staircase leading up from the first floor to the second is still preserved. Among the architectural forms, which are full of picturesque variety, the balcony on the north-eastern corner of the building deserves special mention; it forms a perfect treasury of Gothic forms of the late Middle Ages. The most remarkable feature is the masonry, which, at the restoration, was transferred to this place by degrees from other buildings that were pulled down. The frames of doors and windows, partly plain and simple, partly adorned with tail-pieces, twisted pinnacles, knotty branches, show plenty of motives characteristic of late Gothic art. The *Porta aurea*, with ogee arches and twisted branches with leaves and crockets, leads into the so-called *Obiedzinski* Hall (1517). Its high walls are decorated with old stone coats-of-arms and tablets which were brought over here from the ancient students' rooms.

Further within, there are lecture-rooms, now rebuilt and adapted to library uses, a large *Aula* for solemn meetings, the *Stuba communis* with the oriel where the elections of the Rector used to

31. COURTYARD OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDING.

take place, and common meals were taken—corresponding, in fact, to the hall of an English college. On the ground floor, to the left of the entrance-door, there are the rooms once occupied by St. John of Kenty, who was Professor of Divinity in the

University; to the right, the chapel where he performed his devotions.

Finally, the old synagogue of Kazimierz town (now suburb) deserves special mention; it is of medieval origin. Its interior has the shape of an oblong hall with six cross vaults, resting on two tall round pillars. Within each of the arches formed by the wall-ribs there is a high-placed window with a round arch; these admit the light. The whole place, with its iron *Al-Memar* in the middle, has an air of grave solemnity. The vaulting, and the fantastically shaped outward ornaments of tin, probably date from the restoration in 1570; for in this year, the Cracow architect, Matteo Gucci, made a new vault to the synagogue.

It is not only in the domain of architecture, but in that of plastic art as well, that fifteenth-century Cracow exhibits a picture of stirring life. The building of the churches above enumerated and described is intimately connected with the development of sculpture; their decorative parts required the skilled hands of stone-cutters and sculptors. These came from afar, together with the masonic lodge: they are the masters who created the figures and other heraldic and ornamental forms of medieval decoration on portals, capitals, consoles, and keystones. Their favourite line was the curve of the letter S. The mawkish faces of their statues are generally devoid of vivid expression, nor would the drapery allow the beauty of bodily forms to express itself. To this group belong the keystones of the Cathedral—representing in the naïve medieval manner the fight of St. Michael and St. Margaret with the dragon, or the Patron Saints. Other specimens of this series of Cracow sculptures are the beautiful keystones of the ground-floor room at the old Mint in the City Square (illustration 30), dating from the middle of the fourteenth century. They show seven coats-of-arms of the principalities of Poland; among these, the arms of the Dobrzyn country with the expressive head of King Casimir the Great, that of his wife Adelaide of Hesse, and other figures of men as well as of beasts and imaginary symbolical creatures. These works of plastic art

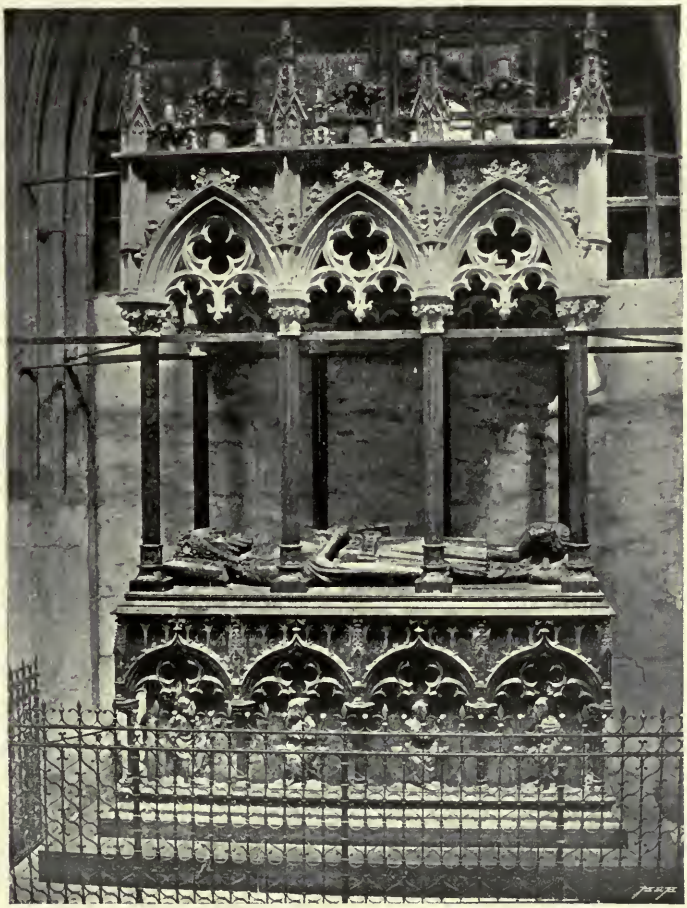
are distinguished by subtle intuition of nature and eloquent expression of character; both they and those in the windows of St. Mary's Church prove an intimate knowledge of medieval symbolism on the artist's part, and his close contact with Western art. In the apse of the church just mentioned, we see on the top of the windows such plastic scenes as the head of Christ surrounded by angels, the Holy Mother with the Child, the victory of the Church over the synagogue and heathendom, St. Christopher, Hell, then a scene from the story of Phyllis fettering Aristotle. All these works exhibit much resemblance to the sculptures of Prague in the reign of Charles IV, when a dominating position in Prague art was taken by the second architect of St. Vitus's Cathedral, Peter Parler, who created the famous plastic portraits adorning the *triforia*. His brother—or perhaps nephew—Henry Parler, we meet at Cracow in 1392; in 1394 considerable sums were paid to him by the town for stone-cutter's work in St. Mary's Church, and it has been supposed that this refers to the sculptures described above, and that they are his work. To the same cycle belongs the portal of the Dominican Church with its sculptured ornaments, of which the forms are partly plants and animals, partly human figures. Of carvings in this period, the *hermae* of St. Stanislas and St. Ursula, of 1382-1384, must be mentioned: they formerly belonged to All Saints' Church, but now they stand in the archeological cabinet of the University, Other pieces of carved work are the crucifix of Queen Hedwig in the left-hand aisle of the Cathedral, and the Madonna of Kruzlowa, now in the National Museum; also the interesting little figures of the Virgin and St. Joseph at the cradle of Our Lord in St. Andrew's Church. They are a gift of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, sister of King Casimir the Great and wife to Robert, King of Hungary. They are probably the earliest fourteenth-century cradle figures known in Europe. The statue of Our Lady from St. Nicholas's Church at Cracow, now in the National Museum, must also be mentioned here. Although dating from the first years of the fifteenth century, it possesses many of the characteristics detailed above. In all these sculptures we notice a lack of anatomical knowledge,

and the artistic ambitions of the carver are limited to beauty of drapery and grace of movement. To Ladislaus Lokietek,[1] who died in 1333, his son Casimir the Great erected, in the northern side-aisle of the Cathedral, a monument of sandstone (illustra-

32. A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MADONNA.
(National Museum.)

tion 32). Originally, this sepulchral monument was polychrome and had a canopy supported by eight pillars. The one standing there at present is quite recent work, by Professor Odrzywolski, imitating, in form and arrangement, the sarcophagus of

Henry IV, Duke of Cracow and Breslau (1290), in Breslau Cathedral. On the upper slab there is the figure of the king reposing in his coronation vestments, with sceptre and orb in his hands, the long coronation sword by his side. The



33. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF KING CASIMIR THE GREAT.

head of the king is of a pronouncedly Slavonic type. The feet are propped against a console adorned with vine-leaves. On the sides of the tomb there are reliefs of figures complaining, being personifications of the four estates of the Realm mourning

the death of the King. Some forty years later a royal sepulchre was put up, at state expense, to Casimir the Great (d. 1370). Its

34. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF KING CASIMIR JAGELLO, IN THE CATHEDRAL.
(Vitus Stoss.)

perfect artistic forms were probably the work of Italian craftsmen called from Hungary by Queen Elizabeth or by her son King Lodowick (illustration 33). As Casimir himself was the greatest

personality among Poland's early kings, so is his tomb the grandest and most precious among the royal sepulchres on the Wawel. It is made of red marble and sandstone. On the tomb reposes the noble figure of the monarch, his crowned head adorned by a long, curled beard, the gravity, wisdom, and calm which characterize his reign depicted in his face. The right hand holds a sceptre, the left an orb ; there is a dagger at the side. The body is clad with a tunic, girt on the haunches with a belt wrought in the form of a wall with little turrets. The upper garment, a cope, is held together by a broad clasp across the breast. The square tomb is divided into panels containing figures, over each of which there is a tail-piece canopy with tracery. The tomb is surmounted by superb canopy on eight pillars, the whole monument profusely adorned with crockets and finials of exquisite workmanship.

Space forbidding us to give a detailed description of the consoles found in the convent cloisters, the ivory casket at St. Mary's Church, and sundry small objects wrought of precious material and preserved in the museums, we now pass on to fifteenth century sculpture.

This is characterized by more accurate study of and deeper insight into nature. The Northern artist, having no opportunity for close contact with the relics of antiquity, had to turn a diligent eye to nature. In the period we now speak of, plastic art is no more at the service of architecture, but independent. The sculptor makes no attempts at the monumental, but directs his endeavours to a servile imitation of nature ; he wants a knowledge of anatomy and is entirely under the spell of medieval superstition and the tenets of his age. The clothing of the figures is intended to cover completely the naked body, and it is in the lines of the drapery that the artist's imagination is fully and forcibly displayed ; here the tendency to movement finds its immediate expression. Preference is given to strong, rough lines ; they are characteristic of Northern work generally, and thus found in Poland too. The picturesque element enters with full force into all conceptions. Down to the middle of the fifteenth century Bohemian

influences prevail at Cracow; from that time the art of Nuremberg is dominant. From that famous art centre numerous sculptors, carvers, painters, goldsmiths, and other craftsmen came to Cracow to settle down, marry, and establish their workshops in the city: they formed the stock of what are called the *Germani polonicati*. To this period belongs the sarcophagus of King Ladislaus Jagello's sepulchral monument, in the nave of the dome. This was erected after 1421, of red marble—probably from Salzburg—and is doubtlessly the work of a German artist. The canopy, of later date (1524), was added by an Italian, supposed to be Giovanni Cini. The features of the king's face, rendered very faithfully, seem to point to careful previous study of the living original. About 1463, that great and many-sided genius, Vitus Stoss, came for the first time to Cracow, where he settled down and married. His appearance marks an epoch in the development of Cracow art; his personality left the most signal and permanent impression on the character of the town and its peculiar style. The crucifix in the chancel-arch of St. Mary's Church, of 1473, already shows all the characteristic features of this artist's workmanship. In 1477 the citizens of Cracow summoned the "admirably adroit, diligent, and well-minded master, whose understanding and fame shine over all Christendom"—thus the town clerk describes him—from Nuremberg where he then lived, and ordered him to produce what became the *magnum opus* of his life: the high altar of St. Mary's Church (cf. frontispiece, and ill. 35). This magnificent work he finished in 1481. The *Golden Legend* of the Genoese monk, Jacobus a Voragine, was his literary guide in the conception of the carvings. The large middle panel of the altar shows, in figures of natural size, the decease of the Virgin Mary, who is represented collapsing amid the faithful circle of apostles. Above this group, Christ appears receiving into heaven the soul of the Holy Virgin, attended by angels singing and making jubilee. Above this, in the gable, rich with Gothic ornamentation, Mary is seen being crowned Queen of Heaven, between two angels and holy bishops. On the side wings of the altar-piece, scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin are represented

in bas-relief. On the *predella* we see an image of the rod of Jesse. The work is a landmark in the development of Stoss's art. Vivid and vigorous treatment of all details, rich drapery with restless crumpled foldings, bold and nervous movements: all these give to his art its own peculiar characteristic, which is simply exuberance of life. The types are extremely manifold, and bear witness to his masterly, dashing way of handling the chisel.

35. THE PASSING OF THE VIRGIN MARY.
(Scene from the high altar in St. Mary's Church.)
(Vitus Stoss.)

The master's admirable work procured him, in 1492, an order from King Casimir IV for a tomb in the Holy Cross Chapel (illustration 34). This was executed after Stoss's design, by George Huber of Passau, in red marble, probably of Salzburg. The most attractive feature of this piece of sculpture is not the architectural moulding of it, which seems rather heavy and affected, but the figure details; especially the highly individualized

expression of emotion in the figures on the side walls of the tomb constitutes the great artistic value of the whole. Though they do not reach the height attained by the artist in his wood-carvings, still they bear the lion's mark. The same characteristics that

36. THE ANNUNCIATION.
(From the high altar at St. Mary's.)
(Vitus Stoss.)

distinguish his work in the high altar of St. Mary's, are reflected in the statues of the Fathers of the Church which are distributed in the nave, the Gothic niches, and on the consoles. Among the numerous objects at Cracow which have been attributed to Stoss's

workshop, there is the stone crucifix on a side altar at St. Mary's (illustration 42). Another one, doubtless his, is " Christ praying in Gethsemane " (illustration 43). This relief, as well as the crucifix just mentioned, are both from the cemetery that

37. THE THREE MARIES AT THE GRAVE OF CHRIST.
(From the high altar at St. Mary's.)
(Vitus Sloss.)

once surrounded the church. In the collections of the Cracow Academy there is a carved shrine from the village of Lusina. On the wooden panels there is a representation of the Holy Family according to the poem of Walter of Rheinau, and the several scenes repeat those of the high altar at St. Mary's.

Another proof of Stoss's activity at Cracow is to be found in the convent church of the Bernardines ; it is a wood-carving representing St. Ann in company with the Virgin and Child. This has only been preserved in a very bad state ; but in the Diocesan Museum at Tarnów there is a well-preserved copy of it, rather free in its imitation ; it is unsigned and probably issued from the master's workshop. Finally, some wooden statues have been preserved in the Calvary of St. Barbara's Church, which also would seem to proceed from Stoss's workshop. Recently, the design of the excellent monumental brass on the grave of Callimachus

38. THE BLESSED VIRGIN.
(In the high altar at St. Mary's.)
(Vitus Stoss.)

39. ST. JOHN.
(In the high altar at St. Mary's.)
(Vitus Stoss.)

Buonacorsi (d. 1497) in the Dominican Church has also been assigned, not without some probability, to Stoss's sphere of activity. When the aged master left Cracow in 1496, his eldest son Stanislas succeeded to the management of the famous workshop, which he conducted for thirty years. First as goldsmith, afterwards as carver, he worked at Cracow, then at Nuremberg, where he died in 1527. None of his works is signed, and it is on the internal evidence of certain characteristics pointing to a former goldsmith's work that two carvings are ascribed to him, viz., the altar of St. Stanislas in St. Mary's Church (illustration 44),

and the shrine with a relief of Christ's passion in the chapel of the Czartoryski family on the Wawel. The son differs from the father by the quiet, phlegmatic temper he exhibits. His figures are short, broad-shouldered, sometimes correctly modelled, but wanting the buoyancy proper to the father's work. In the proceedings of the law courts and the city records we find quite a number of names of sculptors and wood-carvers, of whom we only know that they remain professional sculptors to the end of their lives ; the names are mostly German, but it is impossible to positively connect them with any works extant. It is most probable, however, that all these carvings came from the Cracow workshops. Thus, *e.g.*, the folding altar-piece, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the Holy Cross Chapel of the cathedral, exhibiting all the characteristic features of North German Gothicism, is usually assigned to the carver Laurence of Magdeburg, who lived at Cracow.

40. HEAD OF ST. PETER.
(Detail from the high altar in St. Mary's Church, Cracow.)
(Vitus Stoss.)

The altar of St. John in St. Florian's Church, of 1518, differs from all the carvings hitherto described ; it is evidently the work of an artist more modern in spirit, and desirous to strike out in a new direction : the elegant attitudes of the bodies, the picturesque grouping, the noble lines of the drapery, all usher in a new period. This altar originally stood in the Boner family chapel in St. Mary's Church.

Next to Vitus Stoss another great name of Nuremberg appears in the annals of Cracow art, viz., that of Peter Vischer. This famous brassfounder never indeed visited Poland himself, yet there is hardly any other foreign artist of whose work so much is to be found in this country. Down to the middle of the fifteenth century Flanders only supplied brasses to Poland. This

import from Flanders was checked by the rise of the Vischer workshops, which spread their influence over the whole country. The brass plate on the grave of Callimachus (mentioned above as designed by Stoss), the relief brasses of Peter Kmita (d. 1505) in

41. RECUMBENT FIGURE OF KING CASIMIR JAGELLO, ON HIS TOMB IN THE CATHEDRAL.
(Vitus Stoss.)

the cathedral (illustration 45), those of three members of the patrician family of Salomon (illustration 46), of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date; finally the magnificent monument to the Prince-Cardinal Frederick of the Jagellons, Bishop

of Cracow, were all produced by the famous Nuremberg brass-founder.[1] Some of these already belong to the early Renascence.

The history of Gothic PAINTING at Cracow closely resembles that of sculpture. It is entirely under the influence of the Prague

42. CHRIST ON THE CROSS.
(In a side altar at St. Mary's.)

school, and we find the Madonna of Hohenfurt repeated, with small variations, in the works of the fourteenth and even of the fifteenth century. An example of this is the Madonna with the goldfinch, of 1395, formerly in Odrzykon Castle, now in the

[1] Peter Vischer's authorship of some of these, however, has been violently contested of late.

Czartoryski Museum, being a rendering of the Madonna in the royal castle hall at Prague. The same type is repeated in a Madonna picture in the private collections of Mr. Ziemiencki, and in one at the village of Trzemesnia. Still purer aspects of fourteenth-century art, with its characteristic features preserved even more intact, are supplied by the great coloured windows of some churches: St. Mary's, St. Catherine's, St. Dominic's, and Corpus Christi. True, the artists here are wanting

43. CHRIST IN GETHSEMANE. BAS-RELIEF.
(*National Museum.*)
(*Vitus Stoss.*)

in originality, they often repeat their models without any deeper insight; yet the tradition has been preserved of a Cracow artist, named Wenceslaus, having painted the windows in St. Mark's Church at Florence. In the miniature paintings of this period we see various influences at work; all civilized countries contribute to enrich our collections. Thus in the antiphonaries of Tyniec Abbey, in the wall paintings of Lond (fourteenth century), as well as in the later *Swietoslaw* Codex (date 1449, Czartoryski Museum), the motives of the school of Prague are repeated. These relations with Prague, made evident by the works of art,

are also attested by written records of the time. Most of our miniature painters probably began their career like John Klobuk, called Kropacz, who was a student in Prague University from 1398 to 1400, and there also acquired his knowledge of art, which he then turned to account at home. The records of Kazimierz town from the years 1387–1390 contain some interesting notes on prices of pictures bought from Cracow masters. Of this period we possess a distemper painting of the Madonna

44. BURIAL OF ST. STANISLAS.
(From a triptych in St. Mary's Church.
(Stanilas Stoss.)

in Corpus Christi Church, which, in the features of the face, bears a resemblance to the pictures of Thomas of Modena, yet with the characteristic difference that Byzantine influence makes a more distinct appearance.

The painting of profane subjects is gaining ground towards the end of the fourteenth century. King Ladislaus Jagello had a court painter of his own, Jacob Wezyk. When this man had left the king's court on account of a disease in the eyes, the king called some Russian painters to Cracow, who executed sundry wall-paintings

in the Castle. This preference of the king for Byzantine forms is easily explained by the influences of Russian civilization, which were naturally very strongly at work in the Lithuanian court he had occupied before ascending the throne of Poland. In later years he seems to have inclined more towards Western art,

45. BRASS MONUMENT OF PETER KMITA, IN THE CATHEDRAL.

for shortly after the Russians the place of a court painter was taken by a Cracow master, Nicholas Speckfleisch. His social position would render the hypothesis admissible that it was he who first organized the painters' guild at Cracow in 1410. This guild included sign-painters and church painters, carvers, gold-

smiths, glaziers, and saddlers (whose occupation was then closely connected with painting). The arms of the guild were fashioned after those of the painters' guild at Prague; like them also, the Cracow painters had St. Luke for their patron, and the tasks set for admission to mastership—"masterpieces"—were similar in both towns. This explains, for instance, the fact that Cologne influences are traceable in such works as the picture of the Annunciation, in

46. BRASS MONUMENT OF PETER SALOMON, A CRACOW PATRICIAN, IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

the Czartoryski Museum, or the tripartite family altar of Princess Sophia, sister of King Sigismund I., the latter (now at Warsaw) being a work of an artist known only by the initials M.S.T., of 1456. The Cologne school had just reached the height of its development, and all medieval ideals were embodied in its work. Cracow painters mostly lodged near the Castle and in Broad Street. A measure of their artistic perfection is supplied

by the paintings at Ruszcza (*c.* 1425). It is possible that they were done in the Cracow workshop of Master Paul of Kremsier. In these there is again a strong Bohemian element, which we also notice in a picture representing the birth of St. Mary in St. Catherine's Church ; and in a votive picture, being the offering of one John Ognazd, Governor of Czchów in 1450 (this is now at Lemberg). Sometimes, however, Cracow painters venture beyond mere mechanical routine ; this is shown, *e.g.*, by a pen-drawing of 1445, being a portrait of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki. As early as Jagello's times there had come to Cracow a painter named Nicholas, of Kres, in Istria ; 1423-1444 was the period of his most intense activity in the town. The fashion he introduced is best represented by a Madonna on a throne, adored by the two St. Jacobs and the two donors ; the picture, which is painted in tempera, is in the National Museum at present. The religious lyrism of its spirit, the harmony of forms, the light, silvery colours combine to produce a strangely fascinating impression ; as regards form, there is besides the Greek profile of the head of Christ and the regular features of the Virgin—which point to Cologne models—the notable endeavour to overcome rudeness and awkwardness in the outlines of the bodies ; the background is formed by a piece of Venetian brocade. In all the characteristic features of the picture we see the influence of the master's model.

Stanislas Durink, a miniaturist, was court painter to King Casimir Jagello from 1436 to 1486. His miniatures have been preserved in the archives of the Chapter. In the court of King Casimir two tendencies in art stood opposed to each other. The Queen-Mother greatly favoured Byzantine civilization. To her, the Holy Cross Chapel is indebted for its magnificent decoration by Russian painters in 1471. The king's wife, Elizabeth of Hungary, on the other hand, was all for Western European culture ; her influence is seen in a number of artistic undertakings, the execution of which she entrusted chiefly to masters called from Nuremberg. One of these works is an altar-piece with side wings, to be found in the chapel already mentioned, of 1471 ; it contains

a picture of the *Mater Dolorosa ;* on one of the panel paintings there appears a distinctly Jagellonian type of face. In the execution of this altar, the Nuremberg master, Hans Pleydenwurf, had an active share. The contemporary influence of Flemish painting is already noticeable in some Cracow pictures, such as one representing St. Augustine, in the private collections of Countess Potocka. The religious worship of St. Stanislas having become a national institution, Cracow artists frequently choose subjects from the life of

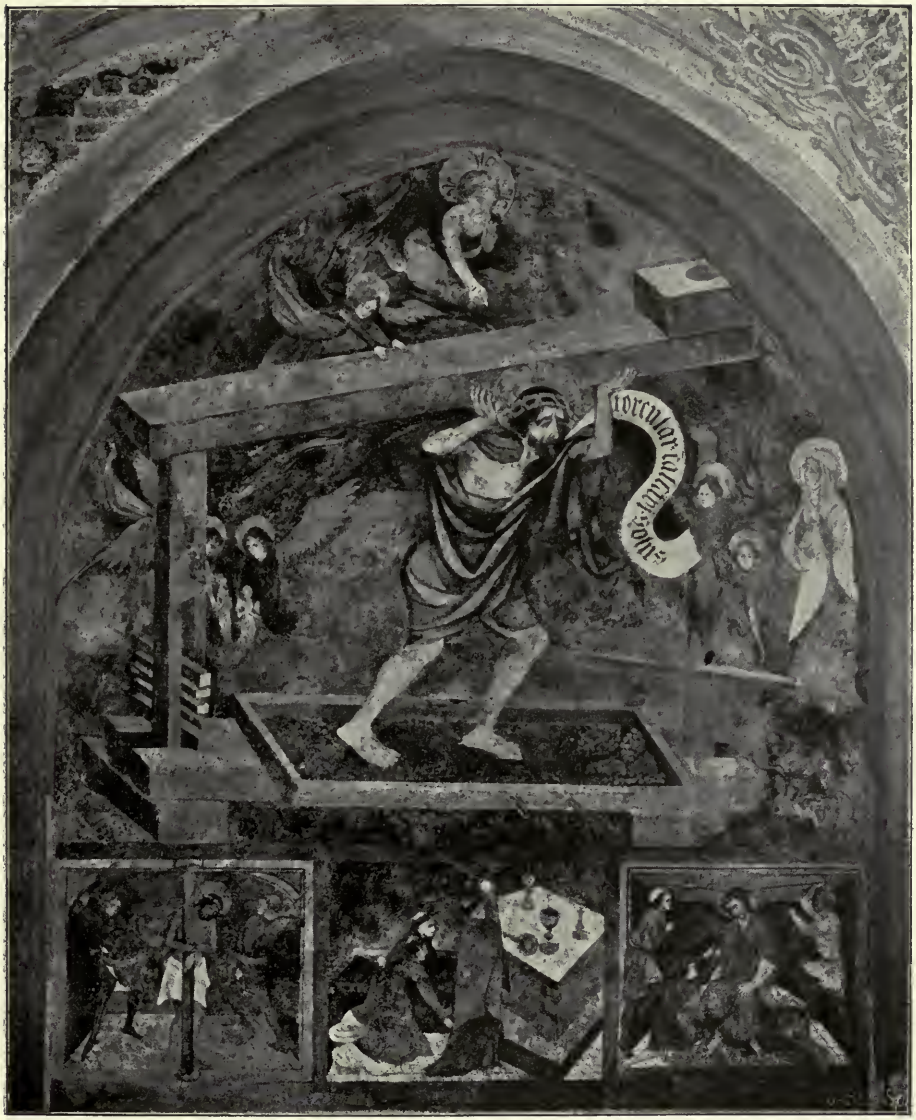
47. CRUCIFIXION.
(Fresco Painting in the Refectory of the Dominican Convent.)
(Fifteenth century.)

the holy martyr for the themes of plastic works, which in that case always exhibit some peculiarly local features. About this time several shrines were erected to this saint, one of them in the cathedral ; of this, the pictures of SS. Stanislas and Adalbert, evidently dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, have been preserved. Some cycles of pictures were composed under the influence of the church mysteries ; they were mostly set into shrines such as those preserved in St. Giles's Church, or in the cloister of the Augustine Convent. The influence

exercised on painting by the carvings is manifestly shown by a picture of the Holy Family in the National Museum. Cracow painters of the fifteenth century enjoyed a very wide reputation; they were often called to other Polish cities when painters' work was wanted. Thus, in 1476, the city of Lemberg summoned a painter of Cracow, Nicholas Haberschack, brother-in-law to Stanislas Stoss, to paint a carved altar-piece. He probably stood in a close relation to the workshop of Stoss.

The restoration of several convent churches, during recent years, brought to light a number of valuable medieval wall paintings, which had been thickly covered by whitewash for centuries. They have been renewed and made permanent, and in this state bear witness of the artistic movement of the period, which had made its way from the West through Bohemia to Cracow. Such pictures, as the Mystic Press (illustration 48), in the cloisters of the Franciscan Church, are rarely to be found anywhere else in the world. The Crucifixion, in the refectory of the Dominican convent (illustration 47) is typical of an epoch of ardent faith and spontaneous religious emotion. Unfortunately, the tempestuous ages that have passed over the city, with fires and invasions, have not suffered many such relics to be preserved. Master Vitus Stoss himself, whose merits were so great in reforming all departments of Cracow's medieval art, had also been the first one (about 1485) to execute copper engravings in a true painter's spirit and with a fine sense of the rules of design. One of his drawings for the altar of Bamberg is to be found in the archæological cabinet of Cracow University. At the same time foreign artists and merchants coming to Cracow brought woodcuts and copperplates, chiefly German work, into the town; these, of course, could not fail to exercise some direct influence on the imagination and workmanship of Cracow's painters. Thus, a miniature in the MSS. collection of the Chapter is copied from an engraving by Franz of Bocholt, or Israël of Meckenen.

Applied art, in the Gothic period, has the same origin as the plastic arts; its monuments are mostly products of native industry. The magnificent seals used by kings and princes are



48. MYSTIC PRESS.

(Fresco Painting of the Fifteenth Century, in the Cloisters of the Franciscan Convent.)

distinguished by tasteful design and delicate execution. One Reinhardus, appointed Governor of Cracow by King Wenceslaus in 1305, had been minter at Florence. The first Polish gold coins produced under Ladislaus Lokietek were modelled on the *fiorino d'oro*. The Florentine lily, being equal in signification with that of Anjou, becomes the symbol of our Gothic period. Of all branches of applied art, metallurgy stands foremost. The city records of the time mention a great number of goldsmiths. Besides the native products, there was much jewellery of excellent manufacture brought to Cracow from various parts. Thus,

49. IVORY CASKET IN THE CATHEDRAL TREASURY.

through Queen Hedwig, the treasury of the Cathedral—rich even to-day, though repeatedly plundered—came into possession of a beautiful ivory casket with silver mountings and bas-reliefs of various scenes from romantic legends. Of the same period there is a large golden cross in the same treasury, adorned with gems and *niello*, small figures of knights at the chase, and animals : it was probably made of two crowns, viz., those of Queen Hedwig and Ladislaus Jagello. The so-called "Cup of Hedwig" must also be mentioned here ; it is a cup of yellow glass with silver fittings ; the glass is Oriental, but the engraved

stem of silver added to it is Cracow work of the fifteenth century. Three silver sceptres, all of the fifteenth century, are preserved in the University. A pax in St. Adalbert's Church with fine *niello* work, pointing to connections with the Rhenish school, also belongs to this period. Similar to it in style, but simpler, the cross in St. Mary's Church marks the transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. A splendid collection of chalices is preserved in the treasuries of the churches; they are all of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century and exhibit a rich variety of artistic details; generally, however, the foot is composed of six leaves adorned

50. RELIQUARY, CONTAINING THE HEAD OF ST. STANISLAS.

with figures of saints, either sculptured or engraved, the handle either of architectonic shape with tracery windows, miniature buttresses and pinnacles, or spherical, with filigree enamel.

In 1488 Matthew Stoss, goldsmith (d. 1540), a brother of the famous carver, came to Cracow, where, as records in the archives attest, he displayed great activity. Many a work of Cracow goldsmith's art is probably to be attributed to him. They naturally all show, both in manner and detail of execution, the paramount influence of his brother's genius. The treasury of the cathedral is also rich in reliquaries; the finest of these, a work of the court goldsmith, Martin Marcinek, is a gift of Queen Elizabeth of

Habsburg and her sons John Albert and Cardinal Frederick. In spite of the late date (1504), its exquisite forms are purely Gothic (illustration 50). Other products of applied art can be but briefly mentioned; among such are some glazed tiles preserved in the town's collections, being most interesting specimens of medieval pottery; sundry small pieces of cabinetmaker's work, fine tissues and embroideries used for paraments, and some beautiful specimens of artistic bookbinding.

51. BRASS MONUMENT OF PHILIP CALLIMACHUS BUONACORSI, IN THE DOMINICAN CHURCH.

MODERN TIMES

CRACOW is the town which earliest and most easily of all in Central Europe passed under the influence of the new Italian architecture. Already in the reign of Casimir Jagello (1447–1492) we see the dawning of a new epoch, characterized by deeper insight into and critical appreciation of the literature of antiquity. There is lively intercourse both with Italy and with Hungary, where messengers of

52. "WALL STREET."

the new learning had already appeared. The susceptibility and the imitative instinct, which are both among the most essential qualities of Polish national character, secured to the new ideas an eager reception and complete success. The first humanists came to Poland; besides the prelate and virtuoso Gregory of Sanok, mentioned before as professor of philology in the University, there came to the royal court a poet banished

from Rome, Philip Callimachus Buonacorsi. He educated the young princes; when, later on, they ascended the throne, he became their favourite adviser. Some German scholars also resorted to Cracow: Thomas Murner, the Bavarian historiographer, John Aventinus, John Virdany, mathematician, Henry Bebelius, and others. Conrad Celtes, the laureate herald of humanism, lectured in the University of Cracow in 1489, and founded the *Societas Vistulana;* this was joined by the Silesians, John Sommerfeld and Laurence Corvinus, by Ursinus, a zealous champion of the new ideas, by Valentine Eckius of Switzerland; also by two Englishmen, Coxus and Licorianus.[1] The house of the learned Rudolph Agricola the Younger became a centre of culture where the votaries of humanism met to hear his lectures, reading out their own works and debating. Public oratorical contests became exceedingly popular, in fact an everyday practice, and had a great influence on literature. During the two short reigns of John Albert (1492–1501) and Alexander (1501-1506) the current of humanism grows continually stronger. Besides the works of art, of which we shall speak presently, this is manifested in classical Latin constantly gaining ground and becoming not only the language of literature, but also of general intercourse. In the long reigns of King Sigismund the Old (1506-1548), and of his son, Sigismund Augustus (1548-

[1] Leonard Cox (fl. ab. 1572), schoolmaster at Reading, Caerleon, and Coventry successively, author of an "Art of Rhetoryke" and of "Commentaries on W. Lily's Construction of the Eight Parts of Speech," translator of "Marcus Eremita de Lege et Spiritu," and of Erasmus's "Paraphrase of the Epistle to Titus" (*Dictionary of National Biography*). He lectured in the University of Cracow in 1518–1519 on Livy, Quintilian, and the Letters of St. Hieronymus, and in 1525–1526 on Cicero, Virgil, and Quintilian.—Erasmus Licorianus matriculated at Cracow in 1525 as "Erasmus Johannis Œmpedophillus Lycorianus, dioc. Salisburgensis, poeta t.s." This was, however, not an Englishman of Salisbury—for no such Englishman is known even to the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*—but a German of Salzburg.

In 1526, Licorianus is mentioned in the *Acta Rectoralia* of Cracow University as having sued Cox for libel in the Rector's Court. The affair was connected in some way with a feud then going on between the two Polish families of Laski and Tomicki (*vide* Prof. K. Morawski, in his Polish *History of Cracow University*, II. 241 f.)—Translator's Note.

1572), the German element is to some extent supplanted by the Italian, and the native Polish middle-class gains in strength. The immigration of numerous Italians, occasioned by the marriage of Sigismund I to Bona Sforza, gave the town a wholly new aspect. The melodious language of Italy was heard in the streets, in some of the churches Italian songs were sung, at court the band played Italian airs. The city records are full of documents written in Italian, and Italian artists are at work in building up the monumental structures of the Renascence, which are among the first works in that style on our side of the Alps. Soon the Italian element blended with the Polish, and the very next generation are Poles in all respects. The prelates, who either reside at Cracow or occupy its episcopal see, rival the royal court in favouring literature and the arts. Thus the illustrious Canon Erasmus Ciolek (d. 1522) builds a *magnificentissimum palatium* for himself, calls learned men of Italy and Spain to his side, and employs miniature painters in illuminating MSS. Another famous ecclesiastic, Bishop Peter Tomicki (d. 1535), equally distinguished as statesman and scholar, being one of the most zealous humanists, reformed the University, of which he was professor, on Renascence lines. Several occupants of the Cracow see followed his example. Thus, Bishop Samuel Maciejowski (d. 1550) assembled in his castle at Pradnik, near Cracow, the very flower of humanist society; the debates of these circles supplied ample literary material to Lucas Górnicki for his *Polish Courtier*, written in imitation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. The immediate successors of Maciejowski, Bishops Zebrzydowski (d. 1560) and Padniewski (d. 1572) kept up the literary *salon* he had established, and the most eminent writers of the time, Kochanowski, Górski, Nidecki, Montanus, and others, were frequently inspired in their work by these conversations. The patricians of the town, owing to their high intelligence and great riches, were able to hold their own in social rivalry with the ruling class. They are still in close relations with and of great influence at the royal court. The two Boners, father and son, are, in the true

sense of the word, ministers of finance to King Sigismund I. The king's secretaries, being patrician's sons, such as Decius, Nidecki, Górnicki, Kromer, are all eminent men of letters. The rich citizens pay homage to the spirit of the new era; they build their private houses in Renascence style, on the model of the royal castle, and on the fronts of them they put, for inscriptions, Latin sentences from classic authors, cut in stone or marble, of which many are still legible. Outside the town they build magnificent villas, such as that of Justus Decius in Wola Justowska, or modest manor-houses, where they spend the summer. Their richly endowed daughters are often married to nobles and princes. The presence of so many distinguished representatives and protagonists of humanist science and culture at Cracow created an intellectual atmosphere and made the town one of the centres of Occidental civilization. The unbroken relations of Polish scholars with the heads and leaders of European learning are reflected alike in science, poetry, and historiography. The printing-press of Cracow attained to a high level of excellence. In 1503, the printer Caspar Hochfeder, of Metz, came to Cracow at the suggestion of a wealthy bookseller, Haller by name. This John Haller, a native of Rothenburg on the Tauber, then established a printing-press in his own town house, in 1525, and a paper-mill at Pradnik. His example prompted a good many others to do the like; Hermann Viëtor (who established his printing-office in 1510), Matthew Scharffenberg, Florian Ungler, and others, succeeded in keeping up the high reputation of Cracow printing for two centuries. The public institutions of the town were mostly reformed and reorganized; thus, the hospitals, which had existed since the thirteenth century were, in the sixteenth, enlarged and practically founded anew.

Besides the nations already mentioned (Poles, Germans, Italians), the Jews formed a large part of the town's population. Most of them had fled, or were descended from such as had fled, from Germany because of the religious persecutions of the Middle Ages. Certain quarters of the city were assigned to them; but

being pushed from these in course of time by the growing flood of Christian population, they chose the suburb of Kazimierz for their habitation, and founded an almost purely Jewish community. There they still have their old synagogues (illustration 53), their interesting cemeteries with characteristic tombstones of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their own particular societies, hospitals, and Hebrew schools; they speak

53. INTERIOR OF THE JEWISH SYNAGÓGUE AT KAZIMIERZ.
(Fifteenth Century.)

among themselves a peculiar jargon, being a mixture of other languages, especially German and Polish; they keep their own literature and the national costume. All these peculiarities give its distinctive, Oriental character to this, perhaps unique, relic of medieval town life: a *Ghetto* in a modern European city.

After the reign of Sigismund August (the last of the Jagellons), during which the Reformation had gained a transitory ascendency,

and after a short stay of Henry of Valois, who forsook his Polish kingdom for the crown of France, the heroic Stephen Báthory, Duke of Transsylvania, was elected King of Poland in 1576. The renowned conquests he won in the north and east were all solemnized by triumphal entries into the capital. The Jesuits at that time preached patriotism and loyalty to the monarch; they took a leading part in national education, literature, and religious life, and it was by their means chiefly that the rise of Protestantism was ultimately checked by Catholic reaction. At Cracow they also took care of such poor as were ashamed to beg. The great writer and preacher Peter Skarga, a member of this Order, founded the "Mercy Society" connected with a bank called "Mount of Piety" (*Mons pietatis*), which has survived all misfortunes of the town. The citizens did not fare very well at this period; the nobility jealously kept hold of their monopoly of political rights, and it was their want of economic sense that brought to pass the pernicious laws of 1565, by which Polish merchants were forbidden to export their wares, the import of foreign merchandise being at the same time greatly facilitated. The nobility only wanted to get all they required at the lowest possible price, and generally to regulate prices at their own sweet will. In spite of these hard times Cracow would have been able to maintain its high level by means of the accumulated resources of centuries, if King Sigismund III (of the Swedish Vasa dynasty) had not ultimately lowered the town's importance by transferring his residence to Warsaw.

The Swedish campaigns (about the middle of the seventeenth century) with their sieges—Cracow sustained one in 1655—plunderings, and fires, dealt the hardest blow to the welfare of the town and brought about its economic decadence. They also made terrible havoc among its art treasures. Many of the monuments, whether of noble or ignoble metal, were then destroyed for ever. The plague visited the impoverished town and desolated its streets; all life ceased, there was a quiet of death, a lethargy only broken sometimes by religious quarrels. Nor did the eighteenth century prove a happier era. The wars

of Charles XII. brought new misfortunes; soldiers, Swedish, Saxon, Russian, and Polish, alternately occupied the town, leaving it poorer each time. The Polish Diet of 1710 decreed that a part of the contributions extorted from the town, to the amount of half a million of Polish florins, should be paid back to it by the realm. On the 17th of August, 1734, the last coronation of a Polish king took place in the Wawel, viz., that of Augustus III of Saxony and his wife, Maria Josepha. His successor, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski (who was not crowned) visited the town in 1787 and promised to give it some aid, but the whole country had grown so poor by this time that no help could be given. The war of independence, undertaken in 1794 by the great national hero, Thaddæus Kosciuszko, and quenched in blood by the united forces of Russia and Prussia, was begun in the old capital of Poland; at Cracow General Kosciuszko had organized the first troops of his famous peasant militia, at whose head he won the glorious victory of Raclawice.

After the third division of Poland, Cracow, in 1796, fell to the share of Austria. It had hardly 10,000 inhabitants at that time; the streets looked like heaps of ruins. The wars of Napoleon awakened fresh hopes for liberty and new life in the town, especially when, in 1809, a Polish army under Prince Joseph Poniatowski entered it and added the whole of western Galicia to the independent Grand-Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon had created—and again, when the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, declared it a free town. This freedom of the city republic, however, was but apparent: everything was managed by the orders of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, through their agents. Three small towns and 244 villages formed the territory of the free state. Freedom from customs duties and ensuing cheapness of all articles brought about a new rise of commerce and a rapid increase of population. There were some sweeping changes in administration, regular institutions of a modern type, mostly on the French model, being established.

When General Kosciuszko died in Switzerland in 1817, his body was brought to Cracow and buried among the kings on the

Wawel. But the people of Cracow wished besides to create some perennial monument of its patriotic gratitude to Poland's hero, and this was, by a happy thought, accomplished in the ancient Slavonic manner by raising a high tumulus on the broad ridge of Sikornik Hill, dominating the town and its surroundings. The "Mound of Kosciuszko" is one of the proudest landmarks of Cracow.

Political freedom, though limited, naturally gave new vigour to intellectual life; the community set to work on its organization. New societies were founded for humanitarian and scientific purposes. Thus, in 1816 the "Scientific Society" arose, later to be changed into the present Academy; its first president was the then Bishop of Cracow, John Paul Woronicz, himself a poet and lover of the arts; the Charity (1816), Musical (1818), Agricultural (1819), and other societies followed. Learning is chiefly represented by admirably industrious historians, such as Michael Wiszniewski, Joseph Kremer, A. S. Helcel, Joseph Muczkowski. New periodicals were started. A group of Cracow poets arise, whose enthusiasm is chiefly inspired by the beauties of the town and its surroundings: B. E. Wasilewski, Fr. Wezyk, and others. Important political events were not long in coming to change the face of things. When aspirations for national liberty and revolutionary currents were rising to their highest in their Polish dominions, the three Powers resolved to put an end to the independence of Cracow. On November 16, 1846, Imperial troops entered the town, and the free state was annexed to the possessions of the Austrian Crown under the name of the Grand Duchy of Cracow.

The first few years of Austrian rule are a tale of woe in the annals of the city; it was not till the political changes leading to representative government had taken place that things grew better. The Constitutional Articles of 1867 created new and more favourable conditions for the development of arts and sciences. Art will be dealt with in the next chapter. The new municipal regulations, based on the principle of autonomy (granted in 1866), made it possible for the sometime Rector of

Cracow University, Dr. Dietl, when elected President of the town, to set large reform schemes afoot for lifting the city out of the wretched situation in which it had been left by the neglect of the central government. However, the financial distress of the impoverished citizens, together with the want of manufacturing activity, this having been hindered by various obstacles and impediments, made it impossible for the town to find the means of carrying out some of those reform plans. In 1872 the Emperor Francis Joseph founded the Academy of Sciences at Cracow. The town has been ever since the centre of Polish literature and art. Methodical investigations in all domains of science were taken up on the Occidental model. Adherence to truth in historical writings was more strictly established, and mere dilettantism discouraged by criticism; the old sources of history were arranged and edited. Natural science, long neglected, made a new start, and names of experimental scientists like Wróblewski and Olszewski (who succeeded in liquifying some gases) became known all over the world. Medicine also has its eminent representatives, who not only give splendour to the medical faculty of the University, but also exercise a most beneficial influence on the reform of the town's sanitary arrangements. Let us mention one only, Dr. Henry Jordan, who founded a large park for the games and sports of youth. This unique institution has done excellent work in improving the physical and moral conditions under which young people grow up in the city.

The collections in Cracow illustrative of history and civilization are rapidly growing, chiefly by gifts from private persons desirous to contribute towards constructing a full image of the glorious past. This tendency prevailing in the public mind is fostered by the municipality, which by preserving the National Museum, fulfils its historical task, and proves a faithful guardian of the relics of civilization. Duke Ladislaus Czartoryski put his famous collections at the disposal of the community by exhibiting them, since 1880, for public inspection in buildings reconstructed after the plans of Viollet le Duc. Dr.

Adrian Baraniecki, with the concurrence of the community, founded the Technical Museum. In 1893, immediately after the death of the great painter Matejko, his house, at the suggestion of Professor Marian Sokolowski, was transformed, the arrangements and furniture being left unaltered, into a permanent exhibition of the masters' great historical collections. The Archæological Cabinet, founded by Professor Joseph Lepkowski, and adjoining the University, contains many precious relics of art and civilization, ancient and modern, especially Polish. Finally, in 1902, Count Emmerick Czapski founded a museum called by the name of his family ; its numismatic cabinet and collection of engravings are among the richest in Poland.

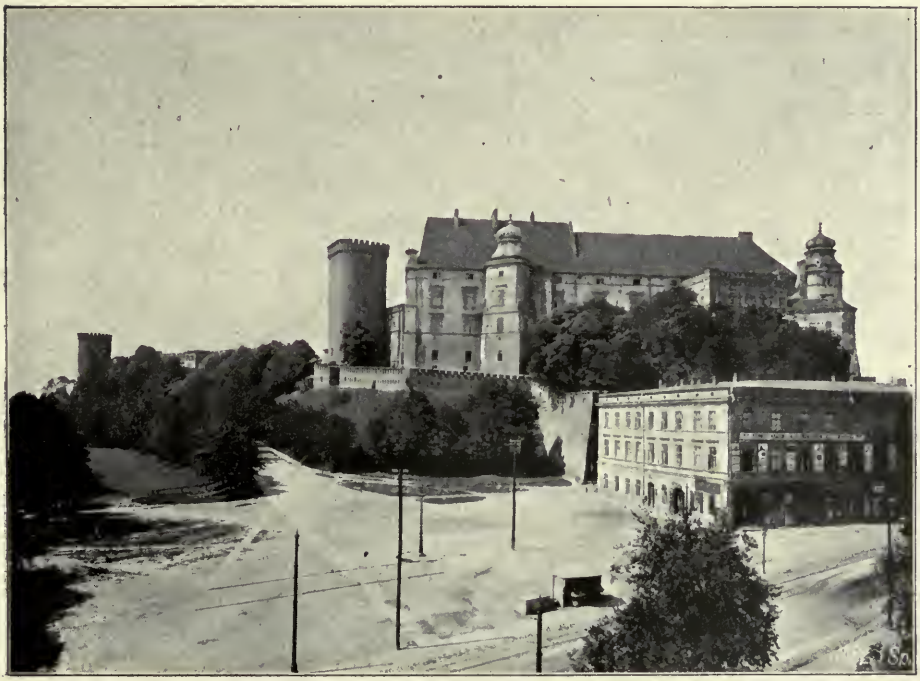
The province of Galicia bought for a heavy sum the royal castle on the Wawel from the military (who had occupied it as barracks), and made a present of it to the Emperor of Austria for residence whenever he would stay in Galicia. The liberal monarch ordained the greatest part of the castle, when restored, to contain the National Museum—thus meeting the wishes of his subjects. The restoration of the castle is in progress, and at a not very distant period the precious relics of the Polish nation's glorious past will have found a worthy repository in the ancient mansion of its kings.

54. KING SIGISMUND THE OLD.

ART FROM THE RENASCENCE TO THE PRESENT TIME

ART FROM THE RENASCENCE TO THE PRESENT TIME

THE golden age of Polish civilization was that of RENASCENCE ARCHITECTURE. A great fire in 1499 had turned the royal castle on the Wawel into a ruin. Sigismund the Old, then only Crown Prince, and living at the Hungarian Court, was already endeavouring to find an opportunity for coming into contact with Italian artists. In



55. THE ROYAL CASTLE, WAWEL (SEEN FROM THE EAST).

Hungary he bought, from Italian architects, plans for the castle to be erected, and in 1502 he called Franciscus Italus to Cracow, who built the western part of the palace, with the entrance door and the oriel. This oriel, attached to the short wing at the height of the second story, and facing the court, is of extraordinary beauty and charm. Its ornamentation, resembling that of the ducal palace at Urbino, perfectly equals the finest work of its kind to be found in Italy. This older part was afterwards transformed

by the Florentine master, Francesco della Lora, in the years 1510-1516, and adapted to the uniform ground-plan of the arcade court. Della Lora left Florence in 1509, and came to Cracow with six assistants. Sigismund I assigned the sum of 30,000 ducats a year for the building of the new palace ; besides, he put a great number of Tartar captives at the disposal of the builders for manual labour. The northern wing of the court was the first to be ready and connected with the western one ; in 1516, however, the architect died. In the next year his place was taken by an equally eminent master, Bartolomeo Berecci, who continued work on the eastern and northern parts of the building in accordance with the plans of della Lora. In this he was assisted from 1522 by the Florentine sculptor and architect, Nicolò Castiglione, who died at Cracow in 1545. Finally, on July 21, 1530, the foundation for the last wing, the southern one, was laid. But when the whole palace was completed, in 1536, a fire broke out and destroyed the work of della Lora, viz., the eastern and northern parts of the castle. The indefatigable King Sigismund instantly ordered the parts burnt down to be restored by Berecci, but unfortunately the great artist was soon afterwards assassinated by an Italian. Nevertheless the work was continued under the reign of the following King Sigismund Augustus. It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the magnificent Renascence structure was finished. It was unanimously admired and highly praised by all foreigners who visited Cracow and recorded their impressions. Round the imposing square arcade courtyard, with its two stories supported by exquisite slender columns, there are galleries running which are distinguished by easy gracefulness of structure and very original moulding of the wall spaces (illustration 56). These latter show threefold windows, and doors with stone frames, which are partly in pure Renascence style, partly in a mixture of Gothic and Renascence, giving to the ornamentation a peculiarly local character. The abundance and variety of architectonic lines gives a particular charm to the whole. From the lintels the spectator is greeted by Latin sentences. Within there is an

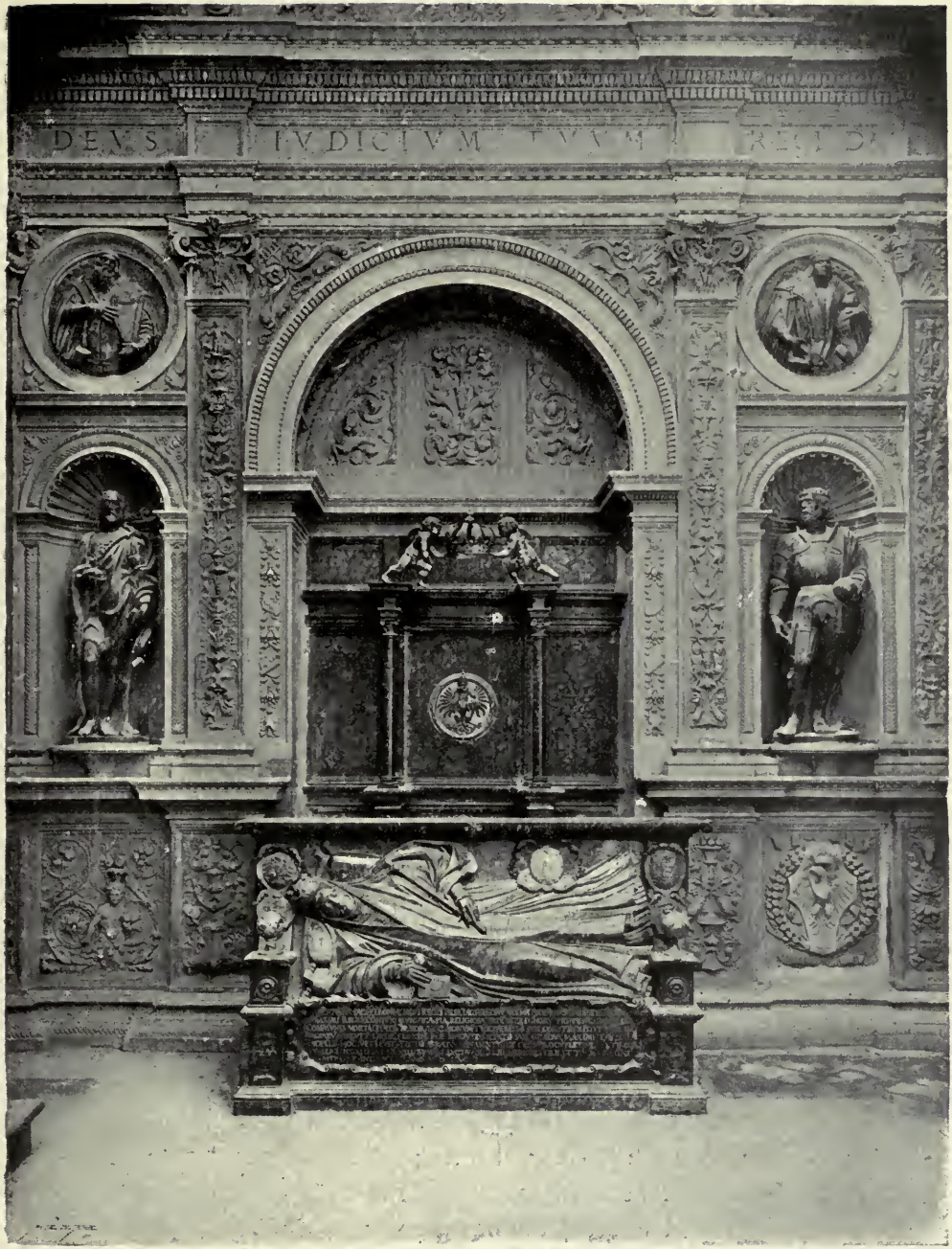
endless flight of apartments, sometime brilliant, now decayed through having long been used as barrack-rooms. The most splendid of these is the meeting-hall of the Diet of the Realm, with its ceiling adorned by carved heads.

56. THE COURTYARD OF WAWEL CASTLE, NOW IN COURSE OF RESTORATION.

The old inventories, containing descriptions of the royal apartments, which were full of most precious objects of art, bear eloquent witness to the grandeur of past times. King Sigismund III, of the Swedish Vasa dynasty, to whom the Jagellonian

monarchy came as a heritage from his mother, was a laureate baroque artist, both painter and goldsmith, and alchemist too (like his contemporary on the Imperial throne, Rudolf II of Habsburg): it was one of his alchemistic experiments that occasioned the great fire which again destroyed part of the castle, viz., its northern wing. His best architects, Jenrik and Gian Maria Bernardone of Milan, rebuilt that northern wing in the years 1596–1609, and erected a new tower by the side of the old "Hen-foot." But when Sigismund transferred his residence to Warsaw, the slow decay of the castle began, which went on for centuries. Only in 1905 the great restoration was begun on the plans of the present Wawel architect, Sigismund Hendel. As stated above, part of it is to serve as occasional residence for the Emperor, part to contain the National Museum.

Berecci had, in 1517, submitted to the king the plans for the Sigismund Chapel, and it was not long before the foundation-stone was laid (May 27, 1519). The architect's assistants were two Italian sculptors: John Cini of Siena and Antonio da Fiesole. Besides, we learn from records in the archives that the royal sculptors Filippo da Fiesole, Nicolò Castiglione, and Guglielmo Fiorentino took part in the adornment of this magnificent structure. Antonio da Fiesole was a pupil of Andrea Sansovino. The grand work of all these artists is a perfect gem among the masterpieces of Renascence art on our side of the Alps. Outwardly, the Sigismund Chapel exhibits a square substructure without windows; the moulding of the walls by means of pilasters is exquisitely elegant and neat. On the architrave appears the date, 1520. On one of the spaces between the pilasters there is an escutcheon with the eagle of the realm and the initials of the royal founder. Above the square substructure there rises an octagonal tholobate, with windows surmounted by round arches and flanked by ornamental pilasters. On this reposes a gilt, scalloped cupola, and above it, a lantern terminating in a ball, on the top of which an Italian *putto* is seated, with globe and sceptre in his hands. The interior of the chapel, rich in decoration, is in accord with the outside; it is also

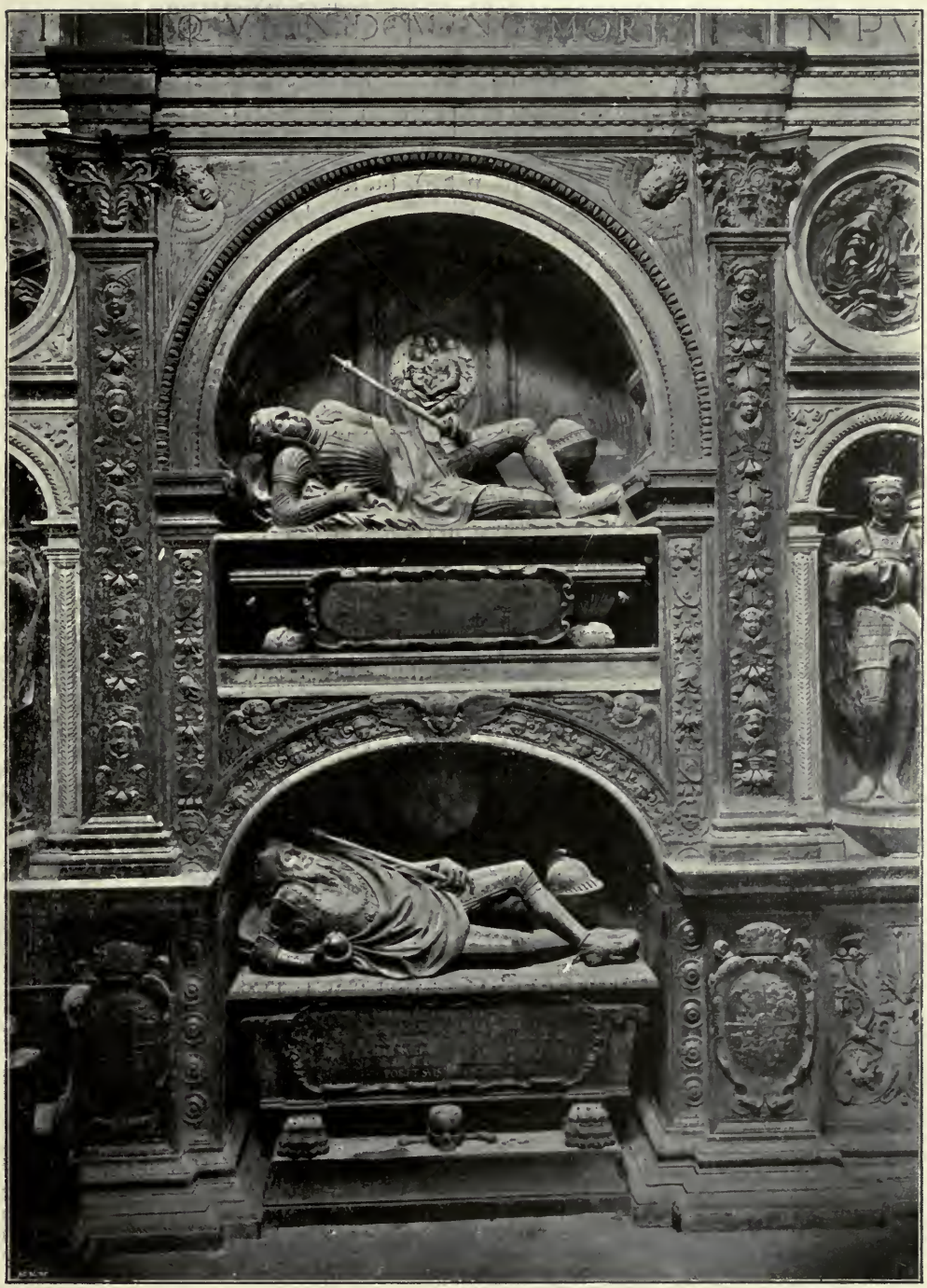


57. MONUMENT OF QUEEN ANNE OF THE JAGELLONS, WAWEL CATHEDRAL.

moulded by pilasters, each one of the large arched niches, into which they divide it, being flanked by two small ones filled by marble statues, with medallions over them, containing busts (illustration 57). In the large niche to the east there is a silver altar (illustration 58). Opposite to this, there stood formerly the cenotaph of King Sigismund I. The red marble figure of the king, represented in full armour, sleeping, is a work of Gian Maria Padovano. After the death of Sigismund Augustus, his sister Anne ordered the monument of Sigismund I to be raised from the ground and a second one for her brother to be placed below it, which was executed by Santi Gucci. On the south side, Queen Anne had a marble throne erected, with a recumbent image of herself on the front of it (illustration 57).

The decoration of the Sigismund Chapel is among the most beautiful specimens of its kind, and the harmonious architectonic proportions, together with the noble structure of the cupola, make the whole a perfect masterpiece of sixteenth-century art. The monumental architecture of the palace exercised a great influence on the whole development of the Polish Renascence; it became a general custom to erect buildings, both sacred and profane, in the new style, on the model of the castle and the cathedral.

The narrow house-fronts of Gothic times were enlarged by the combination of several houses into one; and by pulling down the dividing walls, room was gained for large courts which were a favourite opportunity to Renascence architects for displaying harmonious proportions and architectonic rhythm in galleries and arcades (illustrations 63–65). The beautiful front portal led into an entrance hall. The most characteristic feature of the Cracow Renascence buildings is the so-called attic. Following the example of classic art, the architects of the Renascence laid particular stress on bringing out the horizontal lines; the rule was also observed in the attic, which served to conceal the roof on the front side, and this could be effected the more easily, as the length of house-front had been increased by the means just mentioned. A high rampart with a fantastically-shaped superstructure runs round the



58. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF KING SIGISMUND THE OLD AND HIS SON, KING SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS, IN WAWEL CATHEDRAL.

border of the roof, which is effectually concealed by it. This attic, moulded by pilasters and arcades, and set between two cornices, is typical of Cracow architecture. An example of this is "Drapers' Hall" (illustration 29), built, as mentioned before, by Padovano.

The columns supporting either arches or wooden architraves with projecting roofs over them, have Ionic capitals, *e.g.*, those in the palace galleries on the Wawel, or in the cloisters of private houses. A remarkable feature is formed by stone blocks of a peculiar basket-like structure, superimposed on the capitals, and establishing the communication between these and the ceiling. Sigismund Augustus, on ascending the throne, found Renascence art fully developed; it had already struck deep roots in native architecture. The first generation of Italians was dying out; before 1550, Guglielmo da Firenze died; he was followed to the grave by Filippo da Fiesole, then by Bernardo de Gianotis of Rome (in 1541), by Antonio da Fiesole (in 1542), and by Nicolò Castiglione in 1545. There remained only Gian de Senis, who was active as both sculptor and architect, from 1532 to 1565. But the ablest of them all is Gian Maria Padovano, who during his long stay in Poland, produced a great number of masterpieces in architecture and sculpture. Among the Polish architects, the first rank is due to Gabriel Slonski, a disciple of Antonio da Fiesole. The excellent portal, of 1550, in Canons' Street, or the interior of a corner house in St. Anne Street (1562) are among the preserved specimens of his workmanship. Of the numerous buildings mentioned in the town records as executed by him, special notice is due to the episcopal palace, which was begun by Master Padovano, and finished by Slonski at the order of Bishop Padniewski (1567).

Slonski died in 1598. The most eminent of his pupils was John Michalowicz of Urzedów, the builder of Bishop Padniewski's chapel of the Three Magi in the Cathedral. A general tendency arose, in this period of the later Renascence, to add new chapels to extant churches; of course the Sigismund chapel served as model and pattern of imitation for all; thus

there arose, in the Dominican Church, the chapel of St. Hyacinth, erected by the monastic architect, John of Breslau, in 1543; then, there were the chapels of the Myszkowski family (1614), that of the Dukes Lubomirski (1616) with a fine portal,

59. ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

and the magnificent marble chapel of the Zbaraski family, a work of the architects Antonio and Andrea Castelli. The treasury of St. Mary's is a specimen of a particular variety of the Northern Renascence.

The first building in BAROQUE STYLE produced at Cracow was the gorgeous church of St. Peter, founded for the Jesuit Order by King Sigismund III (illustration 59). The building was

60. CHAPEL OF ST. STANISLAS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

erected on the model of the Jesuits' church *il Gesù* at Rome, under the superintendence of Gian Maria Bernardone, with Joseph Buscius for collaborator. After the death of Bernardone (1605), the work was continued by John Gislenus, and finally

completed by John Trevano. In its ground-plan, the church has the shape of a cross, with a grand cupola over its centre ; the nave is broad, the concentric side aisles extremely narrow. Excellent in its proportions and in the pictorial aspect of the whole, the church impresses us as a perfect work of art. The splendour of the edifice is best exemplified by the façade, rich in architectural moulding, and adorned with statues and marble wainscoting. Its conception in its organic entirety is still dominated by the spirit of the Renascence. The enclosure in front of the entrance is formed by statues of the twelve Apostles, all in pathetic attitudes, done by Hieronymus Canavesi. To the same period belongs the sepulchral chapel of St. Stanislas in the cathedral (illustration 60). Another sample of baroque style is the Church of St. Francis of Sales, built by the Jesuit friar, Stanislas Solski, with the probable collaboration of the architect Solari. The architectural moulding consists of strongly projecting cornices, and rich plastic ornamentation of festoons, statues, and obelisks. In the aspect of its façade, this church is evidently closely allied to that described above, but it has one aisle only. The University Church of St. Anne follows next (illustration 61) ; it was built by Maderna, some time after 1594, on the model of St. Andrea della Valle in Rome, after a project of Peter Paul Olivieri. The structure strictly follows the Roman type, with the cupola over the crossing ; the front, flanked by two towers, is richly moulded by columns, pilasters, and niches. The interior of the church is full of exuberant baroque decoration, with its stuccoes, figure paintings, and gildings. There is a row of chapels annexed to the nave, and organically connected with each other by means of a side-passage. The stucco-work and the wall-paintings closely associated with it, were done by the plasterer Balthasar Fontana, called to Poland in 1695, and the painter Charles Dankwart. Fontana, an Italian of Como, came to Cracow after staying for some time in the Court of the Prince-bishop Lichtenstein of Olmütz. Dankwart was a Swede by birth ; he came to Cracow from Neisse in Silesia.

Of all these churches, St. Anne's shows the characteristic features of the baroque style in their fullest and highest development—the highest, indeed, which they ever reached in Cracow architecture.

61. INTERIOR OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH

It is the most perfect example of the use that baroque style made of pictorial effects; it shows plastic art encroaching upon the sphere of painting, the very low reliefs evidently being intended

to imitate pictures—and painting, on the other hand, attempting to reproduce sculptures. In all this, there is that chaotic confusion of artistic principles which makes baroque art appear as the degeneration and decay of Renascence.

Among the secular buildings of the period, the palace of the Wielopolski family—the present Town Hall—deserves special mention. It is a monumental structure in late Renascence style, somewhat like the Palazzo di Venezia at Rome, the interior

62. COURTYARD OF THE HOUSE, NO. 20, CENTRAL SQUARE.

distinguished by beautiful vaultings and a staircase of noble forms. Here and there, in the streets of the city, we come upon interesting portals of houses, *e.g.*, that of No. 20, John Street, showing a luxuriance of baroque forms; in others, there are spacious entrance halls, *e.g.*, in No. 20, Central Square, where there is also the usual arcade court of Renascence architecture in the modified arrangement of this later period. This court was perhaps a work of the Flemish architect, Hendrick van Peene,

who had been called to Cracow by the Zbaraski family in 1625. An interesting feature of Cracow's private houses in all these periods are the figured signs distinguishing each mansion quite as numbers do in modern times; on the house No. 20, Central Square, such a sign is still preserved.

Of Rococo Style fewer specimens are to be found at Cracow than of baroque. Such as deserve mention are: Bishop Grot's

63. COURTYARD OF THE HOUSE, NO. 17, CANONS' STREET.

Chapel on the Wawel; in the town, the Church of the Piarist Fathers, sacred to the Tranfiguration of Christ; Count Stadnicki's palace in Castle Street, and several halls in private houses of Cracow which were decorated in rococo fashion.

The returning influence of classical form is noticeable in the house front of No. 20, Central Square; the principle of careful elaboration and symmetrical arrangement of architectonic details is consistently carried out, even to the balustrades of columns on the roofs, which form another characteristic feature of the

recurring classical style. Empire style, with its harmonious correspondence of windows and pilasters to the triglyphs and metopes of the ornamental frieze, is exhibited in the palace, No. 11, John Street.

A great fire in 1850 destroyed whole quarters of the town, and almost entirely effaced its medieval character. The work of rebuilding was begun, but money was wanting for the erection of

64. COURTYARD OF THE HOUSE, NO. 21, CANONS' STREET.

monumental structures. All that could be done was to save the most precious relics of medieval architecture from disappearing. At the head of the intelligent and industrious group of rebuilders there stood an architect named Charles Kremer (d. 1860); the task of restoring the *Collegium Maius* (now University Library, illustration 31), having fallen to his share, he carried it out most systematically. From the houses changed into ruins by the fire, he zealously collected such relics as had been preserved

in the shape of door lintels, stone coats-of-arms, and foundation tablets, and transferred them all to the restored building. Bergmann of Vienna, and Felix Ksiezarski of Cracow, brought to an end the work of restoration begun by Kremer. The cloisters round the quadrangle of the building are full of the romantic glamour of medieval architecture, but there is also in their forms all the freshness and clearness of the Renascence. Felix

65. THE UNIVERSITY (*COLLEGIUM NOVUM*, 1884).

Ksiezarski (1820-1884) is a typical Cracow architect of the nineteenth century. After studies at Munich and Metz he settled at Cracow, and did a great deal of architectural work, most of which, being in plain Romanesque or Gothic style, was, by its simplicity, adapted to the straitened financial means of the impoverished city. His *magnum opus* is the new University building (*Collegium Novum* (illustration 65), finished in 1884, which indeed deserves the highest praise on account of the prudent and practical arrange-

ment of the lecture-rooms, the dignified and noble form of its outward aspect, and above all the exquisite beauty of the staircase.

An imitator of the famous Charles Frederick Schinkel, of Berlin, meets us in the person of Philip Pokutynski (1829-1879), Professor of Architecture in the Polytechnic Institute; he built the Academy of Sciences (in Slawkowska Street), a structure of grave and modest, yet monumental aspect, with classical features in its outward details. Another architect, also trained at Berlin, was Matthew Moraczewski. Thomas Prylinski (1847-1895), a man of great natural talents, is distinguished by excellent taste in the choice of architectonic forms and harmonious beauty of proportions. He lays particular stress on ornamental details, such as fine capitals, door framings, &c. His most important work is the reconstruction of Drapers' Hall (illustration 29), in which task he had the aid and advice of the great painter John Matejko. Both these men were ardent lovers of the past, and again and again gave expression to this love in their work. The decoration of Matejko's house was their joint production. Another noteworthy creation of Prylinski's was Helcel's Institute for Incurables, with its large front and graceful chapel, in which all the beauties of the Renascence revive.

Of the architects of the present generation we may mention (in alphabetical order): Ladislaus Ekielski, who, together with Thaddæus Stryjenski, built the orphan asylum founded by Duke Lubomirski in 1893; Sigismund Hendel, now superintending the restoration of the castle, and distinguished by many previous successes in restoring ancient buildings; Francis Maczynski, who built the Palace of Art, the new house of the Cracow Chamber of Commerce, and the concert hall of the Musical Society (this latter in a strikingly original fashion); Professor Slavomir Odrzywolski, who restored the cathedral; Theodor Talowski, an architect of great imaginative power and originality, to whom Cracow is indebted for many picturesque structures; Louis Woytyczko, particularly remarkable for his fine taste in matters of decoration; finally, John Zawiejski, who built the new theatre, with its beautiful, well-meditated interior.

The SCULPTURE of the Renascence was also introduced into Poland by Italian artists; like architecture, it first flourished at the royal court. In 1501 King John Albert died, and his mother, Queen Elizabeth, a highly gifted lady, whom the humanists used to praise as both daughter of a king, wife of a king, and mother of kings, wishing to perpetuate her beloved son's memory by a worthy monument, erected, at her own and Prince Sigismund's

66. OLD BUILDINGS IN THE SQUARE AT THE BACK OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

expense, a sepulchre of red marble and sandstone in the Corpus Christi Chapel, which she had founded in the cathedral. In this work of plastic art two distinct styles appear combined. The marble figure reposing on the tomb is Gothic; the drapery, heavy and hard in its folds, and the face (portrayed from the original) clearly belong to the past epoch; the whole framing, on the other hand, with its Roman pilasters and simplicity of ornamentation, exhibits the influence of the Italian cinquecento. From the

privy purse accounts of Prince Sigismund for 1502 we learn that the Prince kept in his court an Italian artist named Franciscus, and it may fairly be supposed that he built that sepulchral niche in Renascence style ; he was probably a disciple of Ambrogio da Milano. With this monument of Renascence Art we enter on a new epoch, which, by the great number and extraordinary beauty of kings', magnates', bishops', and citizens' tombs produced in it, has become the golden age of Cracow sculpture. It extends over a long series of years, from 1501 to 1610. The primitive medieval form of a sarcophagus with a stone canopy gives way to the new model, with its slender columns, niches, and cornices, all harmoniously combined, and animated by highly imaginative ornamentation. The various colours of the material (marble, alabaster, sandstone, bronze) add new splendour to it, and give proof not merely of mastery in handling the chisel, but also of the thorough knowledge of architecture which these artists possessed. The Italians of Sigismund I's reign did not like to use the native white sandstone of Poland for figure sculpting ; they preferred for that purpose the red marble of the Zips country (now in Northern Hungary, then a Polish territory), because this material allowed of detailed and exact treatment of contours and minute particulars. White freestone or limestone, on the other hand, proved to give wider play to the artist's imagination. Accordingly the Italian sculptors in Poland used both, taking red marble for the figure, and native stone for the architectural setting. In that period of the Wawel's history, when the Sigismund Chapel was added to the Cathedral, a large field was opened for the display of sculptors' talents. At the head of the sculptors then active doubtless stands Bartolomeo Berecci. To him probably must be ascribed the tomb of Bishop Tomicki (d. 1535). For the task of ornamenting the King's Chapel, Giovanni Cini, of Siena, was selected, a disciple of the famous Lorenzo di Mariano, called Marina. The grotesque character of his ornamentation had a deep influence on the further development of Cracow sculpture in the sixteenth century. About 1530 Gian Maria Padovano, called Musca, came to the royal court. He was medal-maker, sculptor,

and architect in one—*Il celebre Musca, che lasciava in marmo ed in bronzo opere pregevolissime*—had already won a name at home by his decoration of St. Anthony's Church at Padua. From his hand also came the exquisite medallions of Sigismund and Bona Sforza. As an architect he produced several Cracow buildings described above, and many others in other places in Poland. The tombs of King Sigismund I (illustration 58), of Bishop Peter Gamrat (d. 1545), of Peter Boratynski (being the first piece of Renascence sculpture in freestone), the statues adorning the ciborium altar in St. Mary's Church, came from his workshop. In the tomb of King Sigismund, besides Musca, John de Senis had a share, and the figure of Sigismund Augustus filling the raised niche was added by Santi Gucci. Thus the double tomb is not a uniform work of plastic art, but a composite creation of three different artists. Near the Sigismund Chapel we notice the tomb of Bishop John Konarski, of Cracow (d. 1525), another specimen of Italian art.

The numerous other masters of this period, known by name as having worked at Cracow, shall not be separately noticed here, because no direct connections can be established between each of them and any extant monuments. Of these we may yet mention the tombs of Bishop Samuel Maciejowski (d. 1550)—one of the most perfect works of the Renascence, pure and sublime in style—of Andrew Zebrzydowski (d. 1560)—rich in decorative ornament—and of Valentine Dembinski, castellan of Cracow (d. 1584). All three are closely allied in structure. Another one, quite distinct from the rest, is the standing image of a Polish knight, Peter Kmita (d. 1553), Crown-Marshal and waywode of Cracow, the last scion of a noble race, praised in contemporary records as *vir animi magni et consilii*. Of the grand display of plastic ornament in the castle, particularly in the royal apartments, nothing has been preserved except the door and window frames mentioned before, and some of the heads carved in wood that adorned the meeting-hall of the Diet. These carvings, however, point to the Frankish school rather than to Italian models; but it is difficult to say, whether they

were the work of the king's cabinetmaker, Erasmus Kuncz, or of another man. Among the Polish and German artists who then dwelt at Cracow besides the Italians, one only rises above the common level: John Michalowicz of Urzedów, architect and sculptor, called "the Polish Praxiteles" by his admiring contemporaries. He came to Cracow about 1565 and found himself

67. MONUMENT OF BISHOP ANDREW ZEBRZYDOWSKI, IN THE CATHEDRAL.

in the middle of the Italians' activity, then at the height of its vigour. Of course, he was soon powerfully influenced by them, and his chisel got used to the forms they taught him to employ almost exclusively. Both tendencies, however, the German and the Italian one, find a representative in him, and are united in his works.

The cathedral contains two monumental productions of his:

viz., the tombs of Bishop Philip Padniewski (d. 1572) and of Andrew Zebrzydowski (d. 1560), the first of these with an alabaster figure of the bishop; the other (illustration 67) probably, like the first, was done simultaneously with the decora-

68. MONUMENT OF KING STEPHEN BÁTHORY, IN THE CATHEDRAL.

tion of the chapel founded by Zebrzydowski. To Michalowicz also a portal in Canons' Street is ascribed. Besides all these monuments, we must mention the colossal mausoleum of Lawrence Spytek Jordan, castellan of Cracow and of Sandec, whom Vasari mentions as *grandissimo signore in Polonia e uomo di grande autoritate appresso al rè*. At Caldore, near Verona, this Polish

dignitary made the acquaintance of Bartholomeo Ridolphi, a plasterer, whom he induced to enter King Sigismund Augustus's service. In the monument to Jordan, however, it is not the hand of this Italian master that we trace ; it rather shows some features characteristic of the German Renascence. Towards the end of the sixteenth century there appeared the sculptors' family of the Gucci. Santi Gucci, born at Florence, being a son of Giovanni della Camilla, who restored the cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore, had a good training at home. Of his works, we find on the Wawel the large monument of King Stephen Báthory (illustration 68). The decorative moulding which is of baroque intricacy, the scrolls and volutes, distinctly show that we are bordering on a new epoch. Sculpture is rapidly approaching a period of decline.

In the whole artistic movement, which thus centres in Wawel Cathedral, the citizens of Cracow take a warmly sympathizing part. The patricians of the town follow the example of kings and senators in building chapels of their own, founding altars, and erecting tombs. These of course are more modest in dimensions, but they equal the best in elegance of form ; we even find such as are not surpassed by the others in grandeur and originality either. For proofs, it suffices to single out the Renascence monuments of Cellari and Montelupi (illustration 10), Lesniowolski, and others in St. Mary's Church, or the beautiful and interesting slabs of Cracow's Campo Santo in the cloisters of the Dominican Church.

Of the sepulchral brasses of the Renascence, the tomb of Prince-Cardinal Frederick Jagello, of 1510, deserves to be mentioned first (illustration 69) ; it has been described before. Here it only remains to point out the difference in style between the upper slab, with the engraved portrait of the Cardinal, which is Gothic, and the Renascence relief on the front side, representing the Cardinal as conducted by St. Stanislas to the throne of the Mother of God. Evidently, the plans were made by two different artists at Cracow, and jointly executed in Vischer's workshop at Nuremberg. One of the most beautiful monu-

mental brasses is that of Sophia Boner (d. 1532), in St. Mary's Church ; six years later that of her husband, Severin Boner, was added. The authors of both these monuments are unknown to us. But it is possible that the brasses were cast in one of the Cracow workshops, which at that time displayed a vigorous activity. The brassfounders, who usually learned their art at Nuremberg, are still at work in the seventeenth century, although the older tradition is now represented by the artists of Danzig.

69. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT TO CARDINAL FREDERICK JAGELLO IN WAWEL CATHEDRAL.

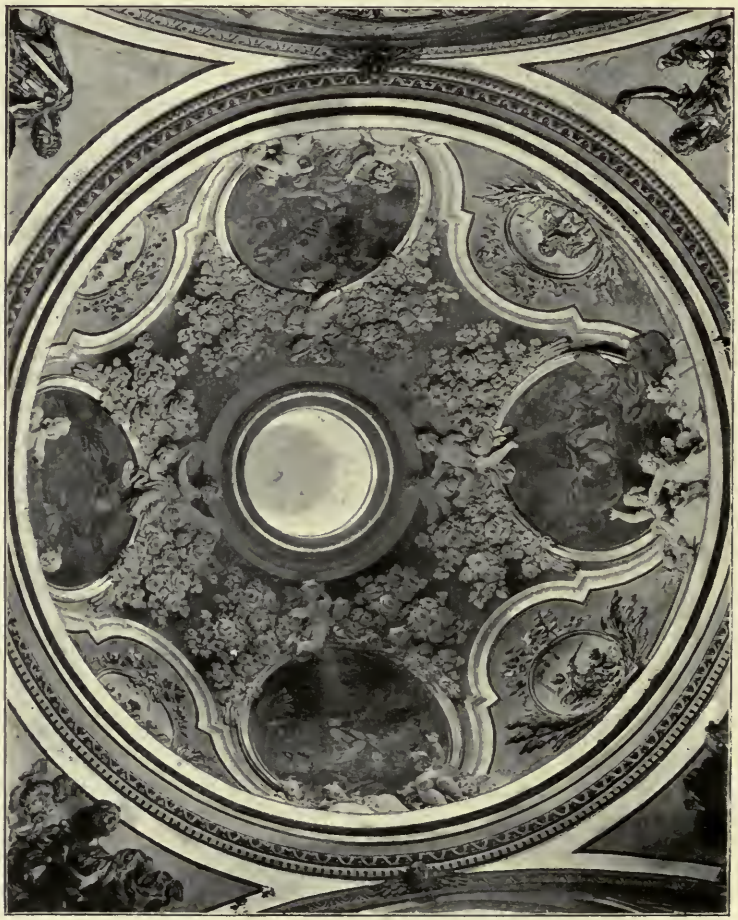
In sculpture, there is, as indicated above, a change of style, accompanied by a preference for new material. Stone is supplanted by stucco, forms become more picturesque, movements unnaturally violent. Since the year 1619, when the royal residence was transferred to Warsaw, the art of Cracow, for want of the powerful support it used to find in the court, is falling into decay. About 1612 a sculptor of Breslau, named John Pfister, came to Poland, an excellent artist, whose works in alabaster

became known in many parts of Poland ; among other attributions, the mausoleum of the beatified Stanislas Kazmierczyk (1632) in Corpus Christi Church is supposed to be Pfister's work. Stucco is represented pre-eminently by the two brothers Balthazar and Francis Fontana, who decorated St. Anne's Church (illustration 61), and St. Hyacinth's Chapel in the Dominican

70. TOMB OF ST. HYACINTH, IN THE DOMINICAN CHURCH.
(Balthazar Fontana.)

Church (illustrations 70, 71). Claptrap and soulless splendour are the chief characteristics of this period ; they are prominent in such monuments of the time as the sepulchres of King John Sobieski, King Michael Korybut, or Bishop Soltyk, on the Wawel. They give most eloquent proof of the decay of art. During the last span of Poland's independence in the eighteenth century Cracow is entirely devoid of artistic genius, Warsaw having become a centre of attraction through the last king's liberality and taste.

The short stay of the great Dane Thorwaldsen, in 1820, was of some importance for Cracow. The master, who stood rapt in admiration at the sight of the magnificent works of art, which Cracow's churches revealed to him, contributed not a



71. VAULT OF ST. HYACINTH'S CHAPEL IN THE DOMINICAN CHURCH.
(*Balthazar Fontana.*)

little to the awakening of some interest in the accumulated treasures of ages. His beautiful statue of Vladimir Potocki in Carrara marble, and a figure of Christ, both in the cathedral, remained as monuments of his relations to Cracow (illustration 72).

The Florentine artists, Tadolini and Ricci, supplied some sculptures without ever having visited Cracow. The short Neo-Gothic period is represented by two Italians, Francesco Lanci, architect, and Paolo Filippi, sculptor; their drawing-room-like decoration of Queen Sophia's Chapel in the cathedral has been removed in the course of the present restoration. A

72. STATUE OF COUNT VLADIMIR POTOCKI IN WAWEL CATHEDRAL, BY THORWALDSEN.

revival of Cracow sculpture was first started by Charles Ceptowski, a disciple of Thorwaldsen. He educated several artists of the younger generation, such as the brilliantly gifted Leon Szubert, who unfortunately died early, the excellent stone-cutters, Edward and Sigismund Stehlik, and the sculptor Rogozinski. From the Cracow workshop of Valerian Gadomski, a pupil of Filippi, there came several works of high artistic value, which now adorn public places and buildings.

All these were teachers in the Cracow School of Arts; so was Marcel Guyski (d. 1893); he produced busts chiefly, which give proof of high talent, and indeed must be included among the best works of their kind, on account of both excellent characterization and technical perfection. During the first period of his activity he was under the predominant influence of Luigi Amici, but later on, after a prolonged stay at Paris, which brought him into contact with French art, he adhered to French models. His pupils, Antonia Rozniatowska, Tola Certowicz, and Thaddæus Blotnicki, inherited some of the excellences of their master's talent. Of Gadomski's pupils, Anthony Pleszowski, who unfortunately died young, was doubtless the most highly gifted one. His bronze figure, entitled *Mourning* (in the National Museum), although repeating a motive of Michel Angelo in a Michelangelesque manner, yet shows individual depth of feeling, beauty of conception, and extraordinary harmony of lines. Another pupil of Gadomski's, Alfred Daun, produced the decorative groups standing in the parks that encircle the city.

In the National Museum are found some fine bronzes by Pius Welonski; his *Gladiator* (illustration 73), and *Sclavus saltans* are marked as works of a higher order, by the exquisite beauty of outline and correctness of form. His also is a bronze statue of *Bojan* (a legendary Slavonic hero) in the city parks. Among others, the groups and statuettes contributed by Peter Wojtowicz to the National Museum, are distinguished by academic precision and exactitude of work. In the quadrangle of the University Library building, and in front of the new theatre we see two sculptures of Cyprian Godebski, who made a name in France, and accordingly followed French tendencies in art: one of these is a statue of Copernicus, the famous astronomer, in the guise of a Cracow undergraduate; the other, a bust of Alexander Fredro, the Polish Molière. Another sculptor addicted to French modernism, Wenceslaus Szymanowski, established his studio at Cracow in 1906; his monument of the painter, Arthur Grottger, in the city parks,

73. THE GLADIATOR, BY P. WELONSKI.
(National Museum.)

is an eminent proof of thorough mastery of form and extraordinary talent. There is marked naturalism in his highly expressive handling of the subject, combined, however, with a rich and fervid imagination (illustration 74).

In the Cracow School of Art, which has been raised to the rank of an Academy, sculpture is taught by another artist of high talent, and repeatedly distinguished by honours abroad:

74. MONUMENT OF ARTHUR GROTTGER.
(*W. Szymanowski.*)

Professor Constantine Laszczka. His portraits, busts, and masks are marked by depth of imaginative conception, keenness of observation, and variety of individual expression.

The prevalence of typical features as a source of effect, noticeable in the sculptures of Professor Laszczka, is fully developed in those of his pupil John Szczepkowski, who, not satisfied with merely a typical face, gives a harmoniously typical cast to whole figures and even groups.

A great stir in Cracow sculpture was occasioned by the competition for a monument to Poland's greatest poet, Mickiewicz, in 1880-1890: this gave an opportunity for arising into public notice to some young talents previously hidden in obscurity. The model which connoisseurs reputed best, that of Anthony Kurzawa (representing Mickiewicz waking to life the winged Genius of Poetry) did not obtain the first prize; it was too purely intellectual, too much devoid of glaring outward symbols to suit the taste of the general public: this turned rather to

75. MONUMENT OF QUEEN HEDWIG IN WAWEL CATHEDRAL.
(*A. Madeyski.*)

the project of Thaddæus Rygier, which accordingly carried the day. His monument, in deference to literary considerations with which we are not concerned, was put in a place decidedly ill-chosen from the æsthetic point of view, and thus Central Square was disfigured rather than adorned. Rygier's monument is of very unequal artistic merit; at all events, it is the production of an intelligent artist, anxious to preserve harmony of proportions in the groups, to which he has given a graceful if somewhat lifeless expression.

The sculptures in the Cathedral have lately received new additions in the shape of two important monuments of modern Polish art, both of them works of Anthony Madeyski, a disciple of Gadomski, living in Rome. One of these is the monument of Queen Hedwig (illustration 75). On a sarco-

75. MONUMENT OF KING LADISLAUS III. (D. 1444).
(*A. Madeyski.*)

phagus of yellow marble there reposes the majestic figure of the sleeping Queen, in white Carrara marble, with hands folded in prayer. The work, a gift of Count Lanckoronski, is distinguished by force and precision of contours, a thorough knowledge of anatomy, and easy-flowing drapery. A similar excellence of form, though not of colour effect, marks the monument (standing in the nave) of King Ladislaus III., who

lost his young life on the battlefield of Varna (1444) in heroic fight against the Mussulmans for the sake of Christendom. As

77. MONUMENT OF KING LADISLAUS JAGELLO.
(*A. Wiwulski.*)

a contrast to the predominance of white in the colour of the other monument, we see here a parti-coloured tomb of *rosso antico*, *schio*, and *verde antico:* the figure of the Christian

Knight, reposing on it in full armour and with the crown on his head, is of bronze.

In 1910, when the whole nation sent representatives to Cracow to commemorate the 500th anniversary of King Jagello's victory over the German "Knights of the Cross," Paderewski, the pianist of world-wide fame, presented to the town a monumental equestrian statue of the King, on a solid granite base, surrounded by four groups of figures representing moments of the fight. The whole, a powerful piece of work by a young sculptor named Wiwulski, is a proud memorial indeed of a great event in Poland's history ; it adorns the square in front of the College of Art (illustration 77).

For PAINTING, the Renascence also meant the dawning of a new day. This is manifested by the disappearance of the typical gold background with Gothic tracery, which is replaced by some rudiments of landscape. A very strong current of new ideas distinctly permeates the painters' guild of Cracow in 1490. It is decreed to reform the ordinances of the guilds by new statutes. Immigration of painters from Nuremberg, Silesia, Saxony, Moravia, and Bohemia becomes more frequent ; all these foreigners infuse new life into Cracow painting. It is not improbable that even the greatest master of German Renascence painting, Albrecht Dürer, passed through Cracow on his wanderings. Among others, there came Joachim Libnan of Dresden ; he was in close relations with the Augustine Order, which the Lanckoronski family used to endow with their foundations. Thus it is highly probable that the interesting folding-altar of St. John the Almoner, of 1504, came from his workshop (illustration 78). The characteristic figures of this triptych, the *mise-en-scène* of the whole episode, the bright colouring, the Renascence-like ornaments on the gold background, all show this to be the first real Renascence painting at Cracow. Making allowance for medieval realism of manner and traditional means of expression, as shown, *e.g.*, in the folds of drapery or in the difference of proportion between the Saint's figure and those of the common men, we still clearly see new principles of art asserting themselves, chiefly those that were

78. TRIPTYCH, WITH SCENES FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. JOHN THE ALMONER.
(Augustines' Church.)

propagated in Germany then by the Venetian painter Jacopo dei Barbari. Libnan, who was active at Cracow from 1494 to 1522, was probably, like his namesake in the world of letters, a Silesian. He was honoured by the title of Court Painter. In the decoration of the new Castle on the Wawel, then being built, two painters were chiefly employed, one Blasius, who came in 1526, and Hans Dürer, a brother of the famous Albrecht. A little picture of St. Jerome in the National Museum, insignificant as a work of art, marks the year 1526 as the probable date of Dürer's coming to stay at Cracow. In 1529, at the very latest, he entered the king's service and painted the walls of the royal apartments on the Wawel. The excellent portrait, in Renascence style, of Bishop Peter Tomicki, in the cloisters of the Franciscan Church has been ascribed to Dürer (illustration 79). From the king's Privy Purse Accounts of 1538 we learn that Dürer also furnished a painted model of the silver altar in Sigismund Chapel ; but the actual pictures (illustration 92), which represent the story of Christ's Passion, are of higher artistic value than Dürer's authenticated works. In the treatment of his subject the painter follows, it is true, the so-called " Little Passion " of Albrecht Dürer, which of course his brother would have done ; but in their workmanship, especially as regards design, the pictures are more like those of Strasburg masters, such as Hans Baldung Grien, whose relations to Cracow are testified by some of his woodcuts. Hans Dürer died at Cracow in 1538, in his own house in Castle Street.

About 1503 there appear in Cracow books, printed by Hochfeder, Haller, Ungler, and Viëtor, numerous woodcuts, partly imported from Germany, partly produced at Cracow. Some of them are from the hand of one Hans Czymerman (Carpenter), who came from Iglau in Moravia ; and this origin of his is characteristically manifested in his artistic remains. He is particularly remarkable for many-sided versatility. From 1496 to 1501 he worked as painter and wood-carver at Breslau, afterwards at Cracow, where he remained till the end of his life (1532). His first greater works were the miniatures illuminating a codex in the possession of Erasmus Ciolek, Bishop of Plock.

Here he illustrated Polish Church Life (illustration 20). Another series of scenes from common middle-class life, particularly from

79. PETER TOMICKI, BISHOP OF CRACOW, 1524–1535.
(*Hans Dürer (?).*)

that of Cracow's artizans and traders, is the subject of Czymerman's miniatures in the famous codex of Balthazar Behem, unique

of its kind. These are characterized by a touch of satire, like that pervading the woodcuts in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, or the engravings of Martin Schongauer (illustration 12). The miniatures, unequal in value as they are, contain much living truth and give us a faithful image of the Cracow citizens' life and occupations. A prayer-book of Queen Bona Sforza, of 1526

80. HOLY TRINITY.
(*National Museum.*)

(now at Oxford), and a richly illuminated missal with a portrait of King Sigismund I, were probably likewise painted by Czymerman. Another work of his is an interesting oil-painting of the Holy Trinity in the National Museum (illustration 80). In this he repeats motives both of Wohlgemut and of Dürer, and it is particularly remarkable that the features of God the Father are imitated from those of Albrecht Dürer himself, as the painter

found them on a portrait of the German master, painted before 1500 (now unknown). It is possible that such a portrait was in the possession of the Haller family at Cracow, who were related to Dürer. The Franconian painter Michael Lencz, or Lantz, of Kitzingen, became a citizen of Cracow in 1507, and died there in 1540. A picture of his, the Conversion of Paul, 1522, to be seen in St. Mary's Church, is marked by all the characteristics of the Nuremberg School.

In the royal court, the influence of Renascence ideas produced an atmosphere of individualism, of adoration for great minds, firing the soul of the nation and lifting it up to their own height. Such a disposition was naturally favourable to portrait painting. Accordingly, we possess, from this time, a great many likenesses, to be found on the Wawel, in the cloisters of the Franciscan Church, and in the Museums. Miniature painting was a favourite pursuit both with monks and laity. Thus, a Vicar at the cathedral, Peter Postawa of Proszowice, illuminated the vellum codices of the Cathedral Library. A Cistercian named Stanislas did the same for the Convent Annals of Mogila, which he adorned with a series of portraits of the Abbots. Victorinus, a Dominican, and others illustrated the records of their several convents by similar works of art. In 1514, Hans Suess of Culmbach, a friend of Dürer, came to Cracow and displayed, within a short time, a brilliant activity which had a powerful influence on Cracow painting. The warm colours he used, and the new types he introduced, remained for a long time models for imitation. Suess, whom Boner had called to Cracow, produced and left here some of his finest works, which are also among the most characteristic productions of Dürer's school. In St. Mary's Church we possess a cycle of eight pictures from his hand representing the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and one from a cycle devoted to St. John the Evangelist; five others are in St. Florian's Church. The Pauline Convent, the Czartoryski Museum, and the collections of Count Potocki possess one picture each from Suess's hand. Two most significant innovations were introduced by him as new elements into

Cracow art: first, he pointed to the study of nature as a fountain of youth, and, in fact, the fundamental condition of real artists' work; secondly, as regards technicalities, he first taught Cracow painters an imaginative and intelligent treatment of landscape. Accordingly, we notice in subsequent pictures by Cracow artists, not only imitation of his workmanship, but even repetition of his types, *e.g.*, in the picture of St. John the Evangelist in St. Catherine's Church, or in an Assumption of Mary (in the Czartoryski Museum), which plainly repeat motives of Culmbach's from such pictures as the above-mentioned Death of St. Catherine.

Franconian influence is traceable in such works of Cracow painters as, *e.g.* the Madonna in St. Nicholas's Church of 1515-1520. Touches of local character sometimes appear in the shape of a Slavonic type of face, or a picturesque background of Cracow landscape; also in the national costume, which there is opportunity for exhibiting in scenes like the martyrdom of St. Stanislas.

Nuremberg influence is by no means the only one acting on Cracow painting; almost simultaneously with it, the Flemish school comes into prominence. To this there belong: a wall painting in the Carmelites' Church, and a picture signed with the monogram G., of date 1517, which, from the ancient church of St. Michael on the Wawel, has been transferred to the collections of Prince Czartoryski.

It is somewhat strange that in the great Renascence movement, inaugurated and guided in architecture and sculpture by *Italian* artists, painting should have fallen entirely within the sphere of *German* influence only. Miniature painting only shows Italian forms, the codices being partly of Italian origin, partly illuminated in Poland after Italian models. The reign of King Stephen Báthory is marked by a great rise of portrait and of battle painting. The Breslau portrait-painter, Martin Koebner or Kober, who was court painter to the king, made a portrait of the king in 1583 (now in the church of the Missionary Fathers); it is correct in design and vigorous in colours (illustration 81).

With the accession of King Sigismund III, painter, goldsmith, turner, musician, and alchemist, in short, a dilettante in all branches of art, the domination of baroque style sets in. Being a warm friend and favourer of art, he gave equal protection to

81. KING STEPHEN BÁTHORY.
(*Martin Koebner.*)

many different tendencies: Italian colourists, Dutch and German masters, all had his support. Among the artists at Sigismund's Court, we find the Venetian master Thomas Dollabella, in company with the Northern ones, Danckerts de Ry and Peter

Gottländer (possibly identical with Peter Soutman, a pupil of Rubens), the Germans, Jacob Troschel of Nuremberg and Hans Lange, sometime in the Emperor's service, and a Pole, John Szwankowski. The education the king had had in youth, could not but definitely direct his sympathy to the artists of the North ; thus it is quite natural that, in the end, we find a Dutchman, Paul Tomturn, called Thurn for short, in the King's employment, and that a countryman of his, Jacob Mertensy, found plenty of work to do at Cracow during his stay from 1598 to 1606. In the town of Wisnicz, not far from Cracow, there stayed, about 1539, another Low-Country man, Matthew Ingermann, a Belgian.

Of seventeenth-century Polish artists, John Ziarnko, known abroad under the name of J. A. Grano or Le Grain (which is a translation of his Polish name), attained high fame both as painter and engraver. He had originally learned the goldsmith's art and painting at Cracow. In 1598 he went to Paris and there continued his work. Thomas Dollabella, mentioned above, was born in 1570 at Belluno in Venetia, and died at Cracow in 1650, after having served three Polish Kings, viz., Sigismund III, Ladislaus IV, and John Casimir (all of the Vasa dynasty). He is among the most productive artists of his period. His most characteristic feature —inherited, in fact, from his master, Aliense—was a certain decorative grandeur, united with a rather superficial treatment of the canvas. He cared little for nature, but aspired to excellence in brilliant compositions which he threw off with magnificent ease. He found many pupils and imitators ; the most eminent among them is Zacharias Zwonowski, who died young in 1639, and whose pictures are to be found in St. Catherine's Church. Of the Cracow paintings of this period, a picture of St. Sebastian in the convent of the Camaldulenses at Bielany (on the Vistula near Cracow), with subtle modelling, silvery tones of colour, beautiful landscape and fine figures of Polish knights, may be called the best. We know nothing of the works of a family of painters in the seventeenth century (John, Martin, and Adalbert Proszkowski), and of one Luke Porebowicz (d. 1637) except that

they are highly praised by their contemporaries. An imitator of Rubens meets us in the person of the Bernardine Friar, Francis Leksycki (d. 1668), whose paintings are preserved in the church of his convent. Another Cracow painter of the period, John Alexander Tricius, who was a valiant soldier too, learned his art from Poussin in Paris and Jacob Jordaens in Antwerp; on returning home, he entered the royal service, and was court painter to Michael Korybut, John Sobieski, and Augustus II successively (1653-1692). The victory of King John Sobieski over the Turks at Chocim in 1673, he commemorated by a votive picture in St. Peter's Church.

The finest portrait of the seventeenth century is doubtless that of Bishop Trzebicki in the Franciscan Church, painted by Daniel Frecherus in 1664.—The work of the Cracow artist, Bogdan (Polish for Theodor) Lubieniecki (1653-1729) essentially belongs to the history of German art. The baroque church of St. Anne contains, as mentioned above, the paintings of a Swede, Charles Dankwart, besides those of two Italians, Innocentio Monti and Paul Pagani, and of a Polish nobleman, Eleutherius Siemiginowski, who was obliged to sign his pictures *Eleuther* only, in order not to incur the censure of the nobility for following such a mean, plebeian vocation, as that of painter was even then reputed to be. The most eminent representative of religious painting at Cracow in the eighteenth century was Simon Czechowicz (1689-1775). In his moral life a perfect Fra Angelico, in art a follower of Carlo Maratta, he was also the first Pole who founded a public school of painting at Warsaw. His pictures, to be found in the National Museum, in the Cracow High School of Art, in St. Anne's Church, &c., prove him to have been a man of no very strong individual powers, an eclectic, devoid of original conceptions, who devoutly followed masters and models such as Raffael, Rubens, Maratta, Guido Reni, Michel Angelo; his most original production is the *Vision of St. John of Kenty*, in the church of St. Florian. Besides him there is Thaddæus Konicz or Kunze (d. 1758), born at Cracow, who made a careful study of nature, showed more of original depth of conception,

and in spite of the occasional superficiality of treatment, attained a high level of art, witness his pictures in the Cathedral and in the church of the Missionary Fathers, in the quarter called Stradom. The year 1745 is remarkable for an important event in the evolution of plastic art at Cracow : for in this year the Rector of the University, by a decree, admitted the painters of Cracow as followers of a liberal profession, to the freedom of the University. The painters forthwith entered their names on the books of the University ; this meant an important change in their social position.

Under the reign of Poland's last king, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, a weak monarch, but a great favourer of the arts, the Court of Warsaw became a centre of refined culture. The most eminent foreign artists entered the king's service and exercised a beneficial influence on the education of Polish adepts. The king formed the design of a series of pictures illustrating Polish history. This idea had a deep suggestive influence on artists' minds all over the country. Thus there appeared at Cracow, Michael Stachowicz, an indifferent artist, but valuable to us for his observation of contemporary events of the life that rolled its tide through the squares, streets, and churches of Cracow ; all he saw there he registered faithfully in his drawings and pictures, and thus became a truly representative, national painter.—Abbé Hugo Kollataj, who reorganized Poland's educational system, provided for the teaching of design by appointing for this purpose one Dominic Estreicher, a Moravian painter. At the same time, the art of miniature painting on ivory became fashionable ; at Cracow, it was illustrated by the names of the eminent artists Kopf (d. 1832), Kosinski (d. 1821), Sonntag (d. 1834), and Cercha (d. 1820). The finest collection of ivory miniatures is to be found in the museum of Prince Czartoryski. This collection must also be mentioned here as extremely rich in pictures of great foreign masters. We find there the portraits of Cecilia Galerani by Lionardo da Vinci, of Jacob Meyer, burgomaster of Basle, by Hans Holbein, jun., of Pescara and of Charles V by Titian, of Lady Pembroke by Van Dyck, of Anne de Retz

(presumably, at least) by Jean Clouet, of a Prince of Urbino by Raphael ; there are, besides, pictures of Carlo Crivelli, Gossaert,

82. CECILIA GALERANI.
(In the Czartoryski Museum.)
(Lionardo da Vinci.)

(called Mabuse), Roger van der Weyden, Rembrandt, Ruysdael, Adrian van der Velde, Teniers, and many others (cf. illustrations 82–85).

In 1818 a school of painting was created in the University; its first teachers, Peszka (d. 1831), and Brodowski (d. 1853), were insignificant as artists, and did not contribute much to the

83. THE PRINCE OF URBINO.
(*In the Czartoryski Museum.*)
(*Raphael.*)

development of art. Only in 1835 there came from Rome a pupil of Vincentio Camucci, named Adalbert Stattler-Stanski (1800-1882), who reorganized the school by his activity as

84. LADY PEMBROKE.
(In the Czartoryski Museum.)
(Van Dyck.)

teacher and theoretician. Himself a follower of Overbeck—as his picture of the Maccabees proves, which won the prize at Paris in 1841—he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with a general devotion to great aims and noble models, and in stirring up their imagination and the desire for perfection. The efficiency of his teaching is proved by the names of his pupils, such as Luszczkiewicz, Grabowski, Gryglewski, Kotsis, Leopolski, Grottger, and Matejko. His colleagues in teaching were J. Glowacki, famous for his landscapes, a disciple of Gauermann and Steinfeld, then his

85. THE STORM.
(In the Czartoryski Museum.)
(Rembrandt.)

successor and imitator, A. Plonczynski, and J. Bizanski, a follower of the Vienna School.

There appear sometimes, in the history of art, powerful individualities, who, without any particular predecessors or followers, attain a great height, and leave us in amazement at their solitary grandeur. Such a God-gifted artist was Peter Michalowski (born at Cracow in 1800, d. 1855), who, with an eagle-like keenness of mind, clearly perceived his proper tasks and went to their execution with impulsive, spontaneous

inspiration. He learned painting in the school of Charlet at Paris, where also his best works are to be found ; he generally painted in water-colours ; the subjects of his incomparable creations are chiefly animal life and military scenes, being the two elements which he had become familiar with from his earliest childhood ; the nation's agricultural pursuits in peace, and its heroic struggles for independence in war—he had witnessed the insurrection of 1831—were the two fountains of his

86. A STUD.
(Julius Kossak.)

inspiration. In this, as in the general character of his art, he is most closely followed by Julius Kossak (1824-1899), who, by his talent for illustration, his productive vigour and ever-youthful enthusiasm, became the painter of Polish national life in its most characteristic aspects (illustration 86). This spirited and original painter, whose talent is most deeply rooted in the native soil, had a potent influence on the younger generation of artists, men like Grottger, Brandt, Gierymski, Falat,

Chelmonski. Henry Rodakowski (1823-1894), an eminent portrait-painter, who mostly lived abroad, obtained the first-class gold medal at Paris in 1852 for his portrait of General Dembinski (a leading figure both in the Polish national war of 1831, and in the Hungarian insurrection of 1849); besides the excellence of harmonious and subtle colouring, he had an effective way of bringing out the psychological expression of a face. After Ladislaus Luszczkiewicz, known both as painter and historian of art, the Mastership of the Cracow School of Arts passed into the hands of the illustrious JOHN MATEJKO (1838-1893), one of the greatest historical painters of modern Europe. In the Paris *Salon* of 1865 he first exhibited a picture called *The Sermon of Peter Skarga*,[1] which won for him the gold medal. In this his very first work the character of his genius is already made manifest; it is the pathetic proemium to the great historical epic of his nation's political existence, which he has left to posterity in the grand series of his paintings. Historiosopher and psychologist, he shows a truly Shakespearian power in plastically embodying the chief moments in the development of Polish civilization, such as the final union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569; the defeat of the German Knights of the Cross (the rising monarchy's most dangerous enemy) in 1410; the homage done by the Duke of Prussia to the King of Poland in the market-place at Cracow in 1525 (illustration 87), the surrender of the Austrian Pretender, Archduke Maximilian, to the Polish army under Zamoyski in 1588; the intrepid vindication of Poland's parliamentary freedom by Thaddæus Reytan on the Russian ambassador's forcing from the Diet a sanction of the first division of Poland in 1773 (*Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum*, Vienna); the proclamation of a Constitution based on social equality and abolishing serfdom, on May

[1] A famous Jesuit preacher of the seventeenth century (d. 1612), who, in his sermons before King Sigismund III and the Parliament, foretold the ruin of the Kingdom by the apathetic indifference and foul corruption of the nobility. It is such a moment of prophetic inspiration that Matejko's picture represents. —TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

87. HOMAGE OF ALBERT, DUKE OF PRUSSIA, TO THE KING OF POLAND, 1525.
(Jan Matejko.)

3, 1791; the victory of Kosciuszko's peasant army over the Russians at Raclawice, April 4, 1794 (being the first great triumph of modern Polish democracy). The deeply religious cast of Matejko's mind, in its sublime, almost medieval simplicity is manifested in his picture of Joan of Arc's triumphant entry into Rheims, and in his last, unfinished work, representing the Vows of King John Casimir Vasa, by which, having almost miraculously rescued his kingdom from the deluge of Swedish invasion, the king solemnly devoted himself and his people to the everlasting protection and patronage of the Queen of Heaven (1656). Most of these pictures of Matejko's—all of them canvasses of huge dimensions—are to be seen in the National Museum at Cracow.

But other domains of his art, outside great historical composition, were not foreign either to the genius of Matejko. Born and educated at Cracow, where also he spent the whole of his life, he became *par excellence* the painter of this town. There was certainly nobody who ever had a more thorough knowledge of the city's monuments, its customs, and its past. This knowledge of, and faithful love for his mother-city give an essentially local character to his pictures. He never underwent the influence of any foreign school, did not know even the great picture galleries abroad; yet we catch a tone in his work which resembles something in Rubens, in Buonarotti, and in the later Spanish Masters. It is most interesting and characteristic that, in his powerful grasp of the subjects, the same passionate vitality is manifested which we have noticed in the old Vitus Stoss, the great naturalist of late Gothicism. In spite, however, of these slight resemblances he remains one of the most distinct and powerful individualities in the history of painting. To his masterpieces Polish art is indebted for the recognition of its existence and importance in the field of international competition.

Besides historical painting, he also excelled in portraits, which are among the most perfect of their kind; so are the wall-paintings in St. Mary's Church, the splendid outcome of his penetrating, intuitive knowledge of medieval art. In the history

of the Cracow School of Arts his headmastership marks a period of brilliant revival. Besides his own personal influence, he was

88. PORTRAIT OF COUNT STANISLAS TARNOWSKI, RECTOR OF CRACOW UNIVERSITY, 1900. (*Jan Matejko.*)

successfully active in securing new teachers for it; such were Alexander Gryglewski, Leopold Loefler, Szynalewski, Cynk, and Unierzyski.

The importance of this school for the development of art at Cracow is equalled, if not surpassed, by the Society of Lovers of Art founded in 1854 as a new centre for spreading a taste for fine arts among the largest circles of the population. From this moment Cracow became, and has been ever since, a metropolis of Polish art, where all artists make a

89. ON THE EVE OF WAR.
(From the cycle "Lithuania.")
(Arthur Grottger.)

point of spending some shorter or longer time, and where each of them gets a fair opportunity for free display of his individual talents. We find among them the portraitist Grabowski (d. 1886) and Alexander Kotsis (d. 1877), whose landscapes from the Carpathian Mountains, and episodes from rural life, show Nature painted in her truth, but looked at from a poetical, idealizing point of view. Like Millet, though not with equal mastery,

he tells in his paintings the story of the village, of the peasants' weal and woe. Scenes from Cracow street life, painted in a similar spirit, are the favourite subject of Hippolytus Lipinski (d. 1884). At the same time with Kotsis, Witold Pruszkowski (d. 1896) turned to naturalism, preserving, however, a tendency for poetical idealisation. In Pruszkowski's pictures we frequently meet with psychological motives evidently repeated from the works of Arthur Grottger, who, in three famous series of drawings, entitled *Lithuania*, *Poland*, and *War*, had immortalized the terrible tragedy of the disastrous national insurrection in 1863 (illustration 89). Pruszkowski, who studied with assiduous devotion the effects of colours, reminds us by his refined way of harmonizing them, of his great affinity in the world of sounds —Chopin. He was our first "impressionist," like Manet in France. No more than the names can here be mentioned of the *genre* painters, Kozakiewicz, Koniuszko, M. Gottlieb; the landscape painters, Benedyktowicz, R. Kochanowski, A. Mroczkowski, A. Gramatyka; the battle painters, Z. Ajdukiewicz, W. Kossak, A. Piotrowski; the portraitists, K. Pochwalski, J. M. Krzesz, Machniewicz, Bryll, &c.; and the most popular illustrators, P. Stachiewicz and St. Tondos.

Besides the Cracow artists above mentioned, we find in the National Museum many works of others who did not live in Cracow at all, or only stayed here for a short time, but who have taken a high place in the history of Polish painting. Thus there is Henry Siemiradzki, a painter of antique life, a sort of Polish Alma Tadema, whose pictures are full of the golden sun and blue seas of the classic South. His curtain for Cracow Theatre (illustration 90), showing the spirits of Comedy to the right, Tragedy on the left, and Drama, uniting the genius of Comedy and Tragedy, in the middle, with Burlesque and Satire at its feet, is a perfect masterpiece of decorative symbolism. The National Museum has his *Torches of Nero* (burning of Christians), a picture of world-wide fame. In the same collection we find some works of Leopolski (d. 1892), a master of *chiaroscuro;* then there is one of Poland's best landscape painters,

Joseph Chelmonski, who is particularly remarkable for his masterly rendering of life in motion. The brothers Max and Alexander Gierymski, both masters of colour, the *plein-air* painters St. Witkiewicz (who is also an eminent critic), Wl. Tetmajer, an excellent painter of village life, married to a peasant's daughter at Bronowice, near Cracow, Zelechowski, and others, can only be mentioned here. About the middle of the nineteenth century a reaction against positivism set in,

90. CURTAIN OF CRACOW THEATRE.
(Henryk Siemiradzki.)

which, besides a new current in literature, produced new tendencies in painting too. The works of Arnold Boecklin, Puvis de Chavannes, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, all of them expressing universal emotions of the human mind, and playing on the tenderest chords of the nation's heart, succeeded in securing a recognized position for the new forms and ideas.

In 1895 Julian Falat, the painter of Northern landscape, of vast plains of snow glittering in the sun, and of impenetrable forest

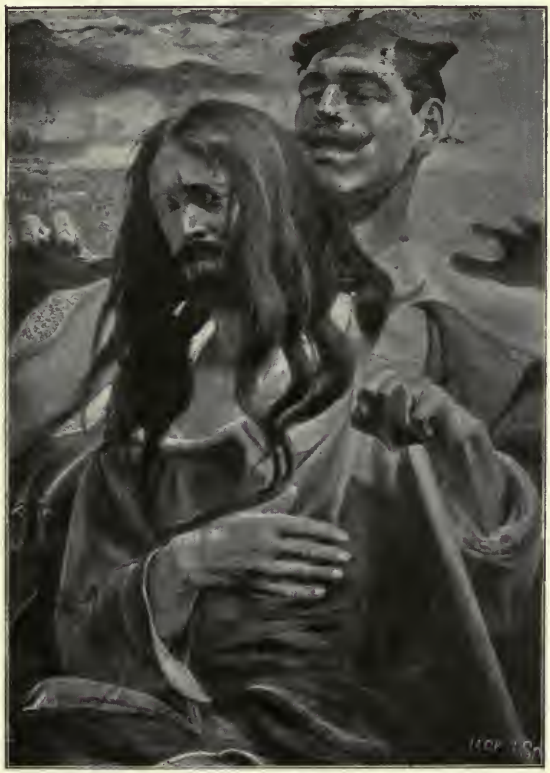
thickets, was appointed headmaster of the Cracow Academy of Arts. He had come from the older Cracow School, but later on he followed the latter-day tendencies in art, and became the leader of modern Polish impressionism. His appointment to the headmastership made it possible for him to engage new teachers, and thus by degrees to change the old School of Arts into a real Academy. His colleague there, Leon Wyczólkowski, who likewise treads the new paths, is chiefly distinguished by his symbolic pictures, subtly rendering various moods of mind, and by his portraits, which, by the excellent modelling of the bodies, give proof of his talent for observation of forms and colours in living shapes. The mystical motive of death, which we meet very often in Wyczólkowski's pictures, faces us again, but intensified to a high degree in the works of the poet and painter, STANISLAS WYSPIANSKI (d. 1907). With great originality and a spontaneous power sometimes approaching brutality, he combines archaic, nay even medieval, forms and designs. His symbolic conceptions—like most of his poetry—show him to be deeply influenced by the great romantic poet Slowacki (d. 1849), who, through the stages of Byronic melancholy and satire, Shakespearian tragi-comedy, and Calderonian religion, had passed, toward the end of his life, into a sort of patriotic mysticism, chiefly fostered by one Andrew Towianski, the founder of a sect temporarily including each of the greatest Polish poets (Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski), and called "Messianism," because proclaiming Poland "the Messiah of nations." With Wyspianski's poetry we are not directly concerned here; it follows Slowacki's in inspiration and diction—though distinctly protesting in one of the plays, "Deliverance," against the too exclusive domination of the nation's mind and actions by the ideals of the romantic poets, and attempting to form new elements of poetic style from the speech and song of the Polish peasants. Among Wyspianski's paintings, the stained windows in the Franciscan Church, with their gorgeous symbolism of colours and forms, alternating between the cold greenish paleness and stiffness of ascetic resignation and the wildly-curling

red flames of ecstatic love of God, deserve mention as a splendid manifestation of his intuitive understanding of medieval religious mysticism (aided by suggestions from Slowacki's poetry in his Calderonian period); so do his projects for windows in Wawel Cathedral, representing, with a grand sweep of outline, one, the figure of King Casimir the Great as discovered in his tomb, terrible in the majesty of death; the other, that of Henry the Pious as he fell fighting against the Mongolian invaders on Lignica field in 1246.

There can hardly be a greater contrast than that which prevails between the medieval visions of Wyspianski and the sunny, brightly smiling impressionist world of Professor Axentowicz's art; his female figures, dexterously outlined on canvas or paper, are so many fleeting types of the *Eternal-Feminine* in its capricious grace. Professor Stanislawski (d. 1908) was chiefly remarkable for bits of Polish rural scenery with all the peculiar spirit of the landscape in them, and later on for glaring patches of glorious Italian sun, sea, and shore. Joseph Mehofer, who won the gold medal at Paris in 1900, is equally excellent in realistic portraits and in magnificent cartoons for wall and window paintings, which show depth of thought united with wonderful technical skill, *e.g.*, his plans for the interior decoration of the Cathedral Treasury when restored. A society called *Sztuka* (Art), which was founded in 1896, unites a group of leading artists who profess the modern principles of art, for the purpose of common action, chiefly by means of exhibitions. The most eminent among them are the portraitists Olga Boznanska, Joseph Czajkowski, Edward Trojanowski, Adalbert Weiss, Charles Tichy, and several of the above-mentioned professors in the Academy.

Finally, there remains to be mentioned, among the painters living at Cracow, Professor Hyacinth Malczewski, who occupies a quite separate and distinct position. It is not merely his masterful correctness of design, his familiarity with the most recent tendencies in art, and his great susceptibility that deserve high praise; but above all this, his pictures, by the extraordinary

creative power of his mind, become a series of grand poems reflecting the very soul of the nation in fantastic allegorical symbols of its sufferings and meditations. It is either the whole people's mind and feelings he expresses in strange and uncouth shapes, or, at other times, the solitary struggles of a poor Polish artist with distress and dejection, being the fatal effects of the



91. CHRIST TEMPTED BY SATAN.
(*H. Malczewski.*)

hard conditions, both material and moral, which the oppressed nation is constantly labouring under. Like Dante, he makes us pass under his guidance through the long *Inferno* of the Polish nation's political martyrdom. Hope and despair, life and death, valiant strife and passive fortitude, combine to produce a majestic "Soul's Tragedy," striking cruel claws of bitter reality into the

spectator's heart and brain. His artistic talent is distinguished by a perfectly faultless moulding of forms. All his conceptions, however fascinating in their own allegorical intricacy, receive a separate and additional charm from being set in a most elaborate and thoroughly realistic background of landscape, which reminds one of the masterpieces of Japanese art. His immense variety of forms, always original, always fresh and brilliant, cannot fail to impress us with sincere admiration for the inventive genius of the artist (illustration 91).

Thus having finished our sketch of modern Polish painting as developed within the walls of Cracow, we turn to the history of APPLIED ART in the modern era. Here again, the Renascence proved a life-giving impulse, stirring up men's imaginations to the production of new forms. The applied art of the Renascence did not come to us, as painting did, through the medium of Germany, but direct from Italy, its original source. Before the actual advent, however, of Italian Renascence masters, some productions of the new style in applied art had already found their way from Italy to the royal court of Poland, through the channels of trade. There is, for instance, in the Czartoryski Museum a fine piece of enamelled Venetian plate, which dates from the reign of King Alexander Jagello (1501–1506). Polish craftsmen, especially goldsmiths, did not become used to the new forms at once, they only adopted them fragmentarily, and, in the mode of fashioning the whole, still adhered to the Gothic model. Examples of this are a fine reliquary in St. Mary's Church, the chalice of Bishop Padniewski, and other objects. Meantime, however, the royal court was paving the way for the new style; thus the King's donation of a magnificent golden reliquary (with relics of St. Sigismund) to the Treasury of the cathedral, was an important step in the promotion of Renascence fashions in art. Among the craftsmen artists who were attracted to the court by the favour it showed to the new style, the most eminent was Jacopo Caraglio (d. 1565). Like Cellini, he was excellent both as designer, engraver, goldsmith, enameller,

gem-cutter, medallion maker, nay, architect into the bargain. It was through the agency of the famous pamphleteer Pietro

92. CAMP ALTAR OF KING SIGISMUND THE OLD.
(Outward side.)

Aretino, who had a taste for art, that Caraglio came to enter the service of King Sigismund I in 1539. In the Treasury of Cracow cathedral there is a sword of King Sigismund Augustus

of 1540; it can hardly be doubted that this excellent piece of work came from the workshop of Caraglio.

The Sigismund Chapel, which appears like the first orient star in the heaven of the Polish Renasence, became the classic model of the new style. The magnificent Polish eagle, embossed in silver on the back of the marble throne (illustration 57), may well have been the first piece of goldsmith's work in the Renascence fashion. Besides this, we find two most valuable monuments of German Renascence in the Sigismund Chapel; one of these is the silver altar-piece with side-wings, Nuremberg work of 1538 (illustrations 92, 93), the reliefs representing scenes from the life of Christ after engravings of Dürer's. This was made by order of King Sigismund I., after his victory over the Tartars. Three German masters of repute in the field of German applied art combined to produce this work: Peter Flötner supplied the reliefs carved in wood, Pancratius Labenwolf the bronze foundings, and Melchior Bayr the embossed work. The other Renascence ornaments of the Sigismund Chapel are two silver candlesticks, elaborate work of 1536; they were also given by King Sigismund I. About this time, 1530-1534, and in 1538, a brother of Albrecht Dürer's, named Andrew, a goldsmith, stayed at Cracow and executed some large orders. Unable to enter into a detailed history of Cracow goldsmith's art, most interesting as it is, we should only like to accentuate the fact that it formed a highly important branch of artistic manufacture and well deserves a special treatment. The height of its development was reached in the reign of King Sigismund Augustus, whose collections of objects of art enjoyed a world-wide fame. He also favoured the art by his habit of distributing presents of its production; thus, a badge he presented to the Shooters' Guild at Cracow, still in possession of the present Rifle Association, and worn by the champion shot at the yearly festivals, is a fine relic of Renascence goldsmiths' art. The King's example was followed by his courtiers; thus, a Court official, Severinus Boner, presented to the salt-miners of Wieliczka, near Cracow, in 1534, a magnificent buffalo's horn

with embossed silver ornaments of a character pointing to Nuremberg manufacture, and perhaps influenced in some way by Andrew Dürer, then staying at the court.

93. CAMP ALTAR OF KING SIGISMUND THE OLD.
(In the Cathedral.)

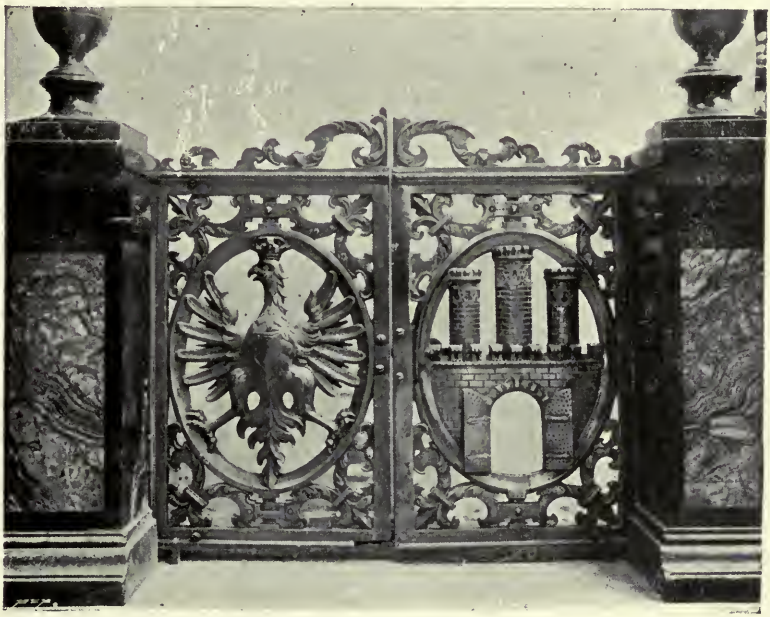
Another most remarkable branch of artistic production is the manufacture of the silver belts belonging to the Polish national costume; in the same form in which we see them in portraits

as early as the fourteenth century, they are being produced here to the present day.—Silver spoons of sixteenth-century manufacture are preserved in great numbers; they are all adorned with humorous posies both in Polish and Latin; Polish poets of the period—Nicholas Rey, for instance—were in the habit of supplying such verses to the goldsmiths.—From the latter half of the sixteenth century French influences begin to predominate, many French goldsmiths settling at Cracow, one Pierre Remy among them. This current of French influence lasts through the whole of the seventeenth century. Among the native goldsmiths of this period there are some distinguished craftsmen, *e.g.*, Samuel Piaskowski, who produced, in 1614, a badge for his guild in the shape of a large signet-ring with a relief.

The art of medallion-making makes a fine start in the Renascence period. The museums of Cracow all contain precious collections of medals of this time, the artists being for the most part Italians, such as Caraglio, Padovano, an anonymous one of 1527, and others. The Cracow Mint, under the administration of Justus Decius, was famous for the model coin that came from it. The copper and brass founders displayed a vigorous activity; but when the greatest bell in Poland was to be cast for Cracow cathedral, the task was entrusted to a German, John Behem of Nuremberg (d. 1533). His "Sigismund Bell," by its size and perfect shape as well as by the clear, deep, sonorous tone, is to be reckoned among the best that ever were cast. Another Nuremberg master, Sebaldus Singer, modelled the elaborate trellis door of the Sigismund Chapel, which was cast by Master Servats between 1525 and 1527. The great variety of such trellises in the several chapels, the considerable number of bronze baptismal fonts, and the ornamental guns of the period, all prove the excellence of Cracow founders and the generosity and good taste of those who gave orders for such work. For personalities, we may single out Oswald Baltner, brassfounder and gunsmith to the king; he had come from Nuremberg, and his work done at Cracow in the years 1559-1575 chiefly consists of guns noble in shape and adorned with reliefs (not unlike those in the arsenal at

Berlin) and of beautiful church-bells. Another brassfounder, of equal importance as an artist, and likewise employed by the king, Simon Bochwicz, was knighted for his fine work. Even in later times, there were still eminent brassfounders at Cracow; a fine balustrade in St. Mary's Church (illustration 94), and others of the kind, are specimens of their work.

Of other branches of metal manufacture, equally beautiful and important specimens are to be seen in the churches and the



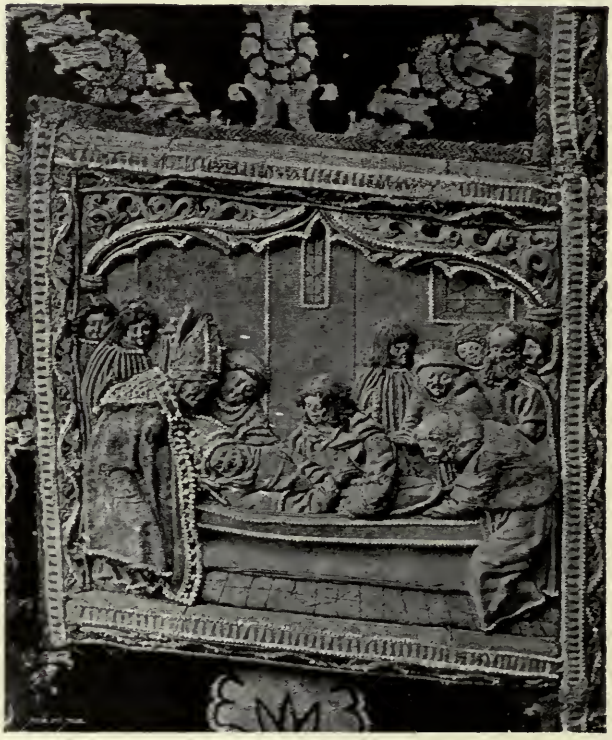
94. BRONZE RAILING OF THE HIGH ALTAR, ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

collections, all of them bearing eloquent witness to the glories of Cracow craftsmanship in this period. In the tombs of the kings, *e.g.*, we find splendid coffins of tin; that of Sigismund Augustus of 1574 is Danzig work and still exhibits pure Renascence forms; others, as that of Sigismund III or Ladislaus IV, are covered with scenes from the lives of the monarchs or other relief ornaments. Mention also must be made of the brass basins, the ornamental locks, and of the work of Cracow's armourers, illustrating the

95. THE KMITA CHASUBLE.
(Cathedral Treasury.)

peculiar features of Polish armour. This, until the middle of the sixteenth century, was modelled on German and Italian ; later on, there is a change in the breastplates, the so-called *caracenes* coming into use, which are cuirasses of movable metal scales. The arms of attack are always rich in ornament ; never more so, however, than they became after the victories of King John Sobieski over the Turks. The booty he won, particularly at Vienna in 1683, doubtless contributed by its artistic value to produce the preference for magnificent armour and weapons which we notice in the latter seventeenth century. The sword-cutlers and goldsmiths of Cracow learned the art of Oriental ornamentation of armour from the Armenians then living here, and practised it during the two centuries that followed. This Oriental style was not limited to arms of attack ; it was applied to all implements of war ; we observe it, *e.g.*, in the manufacture of Polish tents after the Turkish fashion, the tent-makers giving an artistic aspect to the cloths, which are richly embroidered on the inside. Examples of their work are found in the museums of Cracow. Embroidery generally reached, even in the early sixteenth century, a high stage of perfection at the hands of artizans called "silk hafters" ; it is easy to see that they were aided in their work by real artists. A chasuble in the cathedral Treasury, being a gift of the Crown Marshal Peter Kmita, of date 1504, is a fine specimen of embroidered work (illustration 95). Of King Sigismund Augustus it is reported, that twenty-four arrases were made at his order in Flanders, being reproductions of cartoons by Raphael (but done long after his death, in 1560), which cost him 100,000 ducats. They adorned the royal apartments in the Wawel, but were, in 1794, transported to Gatchina, near St. Petersburg, where they have been ever since. Their subject was *The Flood*, and they illustrated, in a series of scenes, all the events of the biblical narrative from the creation of Adam and Eve to the building of the Tower of Babel. This custom of covering the walls with arrases or *gobelins* remained in force down to the late eighteenth century. In the Cathedral there are some that were designed by Snyders, representing the story of Cain and Abel ;

others from cartoons of Rubens' disciples, with scenes from the Iliad ; others from Ruisdael's and Seghers's landscapes ; some after Crayer ; the story of Job the Patriarch done by Master Jakob van Zeunen, of Brussels ; finally, the gobelin chasubles from the Warsaw factory of F. Glaize, dated 1745 and 1748. From the same workshop came the precious altar-cloths (*antependia*) to be



96. FRAGMENT OF EMBROIDERY ON THE KMITA CHASUBLE : BURIAL OF ST. STANISLAS.

seen in the Czartoryski Museum. The ladies of the time were fond of art at home and produced works of exquisite taste, faithfully reflecting the change of fashions and styles. The embroideries of Queen Anne, at least, certainly deserve notice from this point of view. A bookbinding of 1582, or the altar-cloth of the Sigismund Chapel, may be mentioned as fine specimens of this kind of domestic industry.

Besides embroideries and carpets, the manufacture of silk belts, which were an essential feature of the nobleman's costume, forms a highly important branch of applied art. Here, again, the

97. EMBROIDERED BELT (PART OF THE NOBLEMAN'S DRESS).

Turkish conquests of John Sobieski may be taken as the starting-point for the fashion of wearing those soft silk belts, often embroidered with gold and silver, which are evidently of Oriental origin, and have been ever since an indispensable part of the

national dress. For a long time, these belts were imported from the Orient; Persian, Turkish, or Chinese belts of wool, silk, or brocade were used. The value of such a belt was between 50 and 500 ducats. But after some time, a clever, enterprising Armenian, John Madzarski, learned the art of weaving such belts in the Far East, and settled, in 1758, at Sluck in Lithuania. The workshop he established there became the model for numerous other belt factories all over the country. At Cracow such a factory was established rather late — only in 1787 — by one Francis Maslowski, who conducted the business himself till 1807. His belts are distinguished by glaring colours, large flower patterns, and a serpentine ornament along the border (illustration 97).

Maslowski's was soon followed by other factories—of Pucilowski, Trajanowski, Paschalis, Stummer, and, in 1796, by that of Chmielowski. After the third division of Poland, the new governors of the country being hostile to all manifestations of ancient Polish civilization, ordinances were even issued which forbade the use of Polish dress, and the belt manufacturers, after dragging on their existence for some time, were soon ruined.

Of Cracow cabinetwork only very few relics have been preserved, which is probably to be explained by the frequent conflagrations that visited the town. Still, we find in some churches, *e.g.*, in the cathedral, beautiful boxes, inlaid with parti-coloured wood; doors like the one preserved in the University Library, which is in perfect Renascence style; carved stalls like those in St. Mary's Church, of 1586, or those of the cathedral, or of Corpus Christi Church, which also possesses, in its huge high altar, a splendid masterpiece of cabinetmaker's art.

Finally, mention must be made of the magnificent bindings of Cracow MSS. and books; in the Renascence period, chiefly figure ornaments are used; they were stamped by means of punches into the leather of the binding.

Of late years, a *Society for promoting applied art* has been formed

which, instead of the slavish imitation of foreign models, looks to the village people's primitive art for suggestions towards developing a style that would be the most perfect expression of national character in its originality and independence.

98. DIETL STREET.

INDEX

INDEX

The numbers refer to pages, the bracketed ones [ ] to the illustrations. Abbreviations: (a) architect, (e) engraver, (g) goldsmith, (p) painter, (sc) sculptor.

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