The portrait miniature of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki on a Letter of Indulgence issued in 1449 for the Church of All Saints in Cracow

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Illuminations in medieval documents have never been a subject of extensive research, because only a small number of them survived, and they are generally of poor artistic quality. For the same reason almost unknown are portrait miniatures in such carrier. The relatively greatest attention of researchers has been focussed on indulgence documents[1], which had had a broad sphere of influence, owing to their wide dissemination among large audiences of the faithful.[2] In Poland, a particularly interesting example is a document granting indulgences to all who would visit the parish church of All Saints in Cracow on the major feasts of the liturgical year, issued by the Cracow Bishop, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1423–1450) in 1449 [Figs 1, 2].[3] A piece of parchment of substantial size (75 × 44 cm) is adorned with a

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[1] Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, vol. III: *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923, pt. VII: *Abläße von Bischöfen, Kardinälen und Legaten*, 226ff.; P. Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Les lettres d'indulgence collectives', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 44, 1926, 343–379; ibidem, 45, 1927, 93–123, 324–344; ibidem, 46, 1928, 149–157, 287–343; see also Nikolaus Paulus, *Der Ablaß im Mittelalter als Kulturfaktor*, Köln: Bachem, 1920, passim (Görres-Gesellschaft Vereinschriften); the decorations of such documents have been dealt with by e.g. by: Pierre François Fournier, 'Affiches d'indulgence manuscrites et imprimées des XIVᵉ, XVᵉ et XVIᵉ siècles', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 84, 1923, 116–160; Josef Rest, 'Illuminierte Ablaßurkunden aus Rom und Avignon aus der Zeit von 1282–1364', in: *Festgabe für Heinrich Finke*, Münster im W.: Aschendorff, 1925, 147–168; Leo Santifaller, 'Illuminierte Urkunden', *Der Schlern*, 16, 1935, 113–125; Idem, 'Über illuminierte Urkunden', in: Hans Tintelnot, ed., *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien, Dagobert Frey zum 23. April 1943 von seinen Kollegen, Mitarbeitern und Schülern*, Breslau: Gauverlag, 1943, 218–233; s.v. 'Ablaß' (by Otto Schmitt), in: Otto Schmitt, ed., *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1937, cols. 78–81; Otto Homburger, Christoph von Steiger, 'Zwei illuminierte Avignoneser Ablaßbriefe in Bern', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 17, 3–4, 1957, 134–158; Kurt Holter, 'Verzierte Ablaßbriefe des 14. Jhs. aus Avignon in Oberösterreich', *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereins*, 508, 1963, 171–181; Dénes Radocsay, 'Illuminierte Renaissance-Urkunden', *Acta Historiae Artium*, 13, 1967, 213–225; s.v. 'Ablaß' (by Ludwig Hödl), 'Ablaßbild' (by Joachim M. Plotzek) and 'Ablaßbriefe' (by Heinz Walter), in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. I, München-Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1980, cols. 43–46.

[2] This broad sphere of influence resulted (among others) from the fact that there was a custom of nailing such documents near church entrances; Homburger, von Steiger, 'Zwei illuminierte Avignoneser Ablaßbriefe' 135.

[3] Maria Koczerska, 'Miniatura na dokumencie odpustowym kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego z r. 1449', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 45, 1983, no. 2, 163–174; Jerzy Gadomski, 'Wątki włoskie w tryptyku Koronacji Matki Boskiej w Łopusznej', in: Stanisław Cynarski,

Figure 1 Letter of Indulgence issued by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki in 1449, Archive of the Cracow Metropolitan Chapter (AKK, inv. no. 430)

Figure 2 Letter of Indulgence issued by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki in 1449 (detail), Archive of the Cracow Metropolitan Chapter (AKK, inv. no. 430)

Adam Małkiewicz, eds, *Studia z historii i historii sztuki* (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 886, *Prace Historyczne*, 89, 1989), 110; Marek Walczak, 'Działalność fundacyjna biskupa krakowskiego, kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 28, 1992, 64; Idem, 'Działalność fundacyjna biskupa krakowskiego, kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego', pt. II, *Folia Historiae Artium*, 30, 1994, 81–82, fig. 21; Piotr Rabiej, 'Herb kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego, biskupa krakowskiego i jego funkcje', *Historia. Pismo Młodych Historyków*, 1, 1993, 80, 108, fig. 30; Barbara Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320–1540*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PAN, 1993, 41, 139, 140, 146, fig. 147, 159. Marek Walczak, '*Ikonografia miniatury na dokumencie odpustowym kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego z roku 1449 w świetle papieskiej i soborowej propagandy w średniowieczu*', in: *Magistro et amico amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2002, 481-504; Wiktor Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Kraków: Historia Jagiellonica, 2011, 27, 426.

sizeable miniature (27 × 18.5 cm) and reveals traces of multiple folding, as well as of having been displayed by hanging (as is testified by holes in the corners where it was fastened with nails). The miniature is composed of two juxtaposed fields, of which the upper one shows Christ with St Peter on His right, surrounded by the community of saints; the bottom field depicts the Pope seated between St Jerome and Cardinal Oleśnicki. This hierarch had been raised to the purple no fewer than three times. For the first time, Pope Eugene IV granted him this dignity with the accompanying title of St Prisca, on 18 December 1439, but Oleśnicki did not accept it. Then Antipope Felix V, elected by the Council of Basle, elevated Oleśnicki to the cardinalate (with the title of St Anastasia) probably on a secret consistory, on 12 October 1440. The Cracow prelate likely did not accept the cardinal's hat again and did not use the title, abiding by the orders of King Ladislaus the Jagiellon who was reluctant towards the Council. It was only in 1447 that Oleśnicki had relinquished the camp of the Council's supporters, regarded by Rome as schismatics, and endorsed the rightful pope, Nicholas V. Oleśnicki received the cardinal's hat sent from Rome in Cracow Cathedral, on 1 October 1449, thereby becoming the first rightful cardinal in the history of Polish Church.[4]

The portrait composition on the Cracow miniature is complex and combining a few iconographic solutions popular in the late Middle Ages. Of particular significance seem to be the representation of the pope enthroned, the *Traditio legis* and *Traditio clavium*, as well as the juxtaposition of ecclesiastical hierarchy with the heavenly one. Depictions of pope seated on the throne had appeared already in the first millennium, but it was only starting from the twelfth century that their gradual development could be observed. It consisted in the introduction of additional attributes of power, particularly the throne, white and red robes, the pallium decorated with crosses, the keys, the Ring of the Fisherman (since the times of Martin V, decorated with the image of *St Peter in a Boat*), and finally, the tiara.[5] While analysing the miniature under discussion, the symbolic value of the robes and tiara must be emphasised. The symbolic meaning of the white-and-red robes was explained by Guillaume Durand (*c*. 1286), according to whom: 'the pope always appears enrobed in a red cloak, whereas underneath he is wearing clothes in the colour of white. It is so because the white stands for purity and love, while the red of the external cloak symbolises the co-suffering […], because the pope represents him who stained his clothes with red for our sake'.[6] The tiara, which over several hundred years of its development has undergone only slight

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[4] Tomasz Graff, 'Wokół sprawy kardynalatu biskupa krakowskiego Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, *Prace Historyczne*, 129, 2002, 19–50.

[5] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara. Immagini e simboli del papato medievale*, Roma: Viella, 1998 (La corte dei papi, ed. by A. Paravicini Bagliani, vol. 3). See also: Gerhard B. Ladner, *Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, vol. III, Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1984, 265–310 (Monumenti di antichità cristiana publicati dal Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, II serie, IV).

[6] William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. III, cap. XIX, 18 (after Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 48).

transformations, shortly after 1300 acquired an element of crucial importance for its symbolic meaning, namely, three crowns of gold.[7] They signify the doctrine of the *triregnum*, formulated in the times of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), which promulgated the fullness of the threefold authority of the pope: as a priest, emperor and king.[8] In Boniface VIII's times all the above attributes of power had been used simultaneously, and the works of art that originated in that period (e.g. the statues of the pope from the Apostolic Palace in Vatican, Florence Cathedral, and the Museo Civico in Bologna, as well as his tomb in St Peter's Basilica in Vatican) are groundbreaking and should be considered as a sort of archetypes.[9] They were inspired by the ceremonial theatre developed by Boniface VIII, as is testified by the account of his meeting with Albert I of Habsburg, a candidate for the imperial throne, that took place in Rieti in 1298. The pope was seated on the throne wearing a tiara, with keys held in one hand and a sword in the other, and welcomed Albert with the words: "ego sum caesar, ego sum imperator".[10] The stone statue of Martin V (1417–1431) in Milan Cathedral (Jacopino da Tradate, *c.* 1421) [Fig. 3] is a fifteenth-century counterpart to the effigies of Boniface VIII. The statue, commissioned by Filippo Visconti, commemorates the pope's passing through the city on his way back from the Council of Constance.[11] As far as the painted representations are concerned, a mention should be made of a series of depictions of enthroned popes in the manuscripts of *Vaticinia sive prophetiae et imagines Summorum Pontificum*, containing prophetic texts ascribed to Joachim of Fiore and Anselm, Bishop of Marsico. The Cracow miniature originated almost exactly contemporaneously with one of the most excellent manuscripts with prophecies, decorated by Vecchietta (Lorenzo di Pietro of Castiglione, d. 1480), in a private collection in Italy (after 1445).[12] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, also the

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[7] The tiara presumably stems from pointed head coverings that were popular in Asia Minor in late antiquity. The term *tiara* derives from the Persian adjective *tigra* – 'pointed'; Ladner, *Papstbildnisse*, 270–307; Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 67; see also Robert Suckale, *Die Hofkunst Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern*, München: Hirmer, 1993, 90–91.

[8] Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 69–70.

[9] Papal sculpture commissions were usually directed to the workshop of Arnolfo di Cambio; see e.g. Angiola Maria Romanini, *Arnolfo di Cambio e lo "stil nuovo" del gotico italiano*, Firenze: Sansoni, 1980, passim, figs. 78, 95–104; Gerhard B. Ladner, *Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1970, vol. III, 285–340; more recently: Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets. Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400*, New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1995, 106; Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, figs. 50–52.

[10] Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 70.

[11] Rossana Bossaglia, 'Scultura', in: *Il Duomo di Milano*, vol. II, Milano: Cassa di Risparmio Delle Provincie Lombarde, 1973, 86, fig. 16; Ernesto Brivio, *Der Mäilander Dom*, Milano: Die Mailänder Dombauhütte, 1976, 70–71, 73.

[12] Originally in the Paravicini collection; see *In Retrospect. A Catalogue of 100 Outstanding Manuscripts sold in the last four decades*, ed. by H. P. Kraus, New York: Kraus, 1972, no. 60; H. P. Kraus, *Monumenta Codicum Manu Scriptorum*, New York: Kraus, 1974, no. 37; the popularity of such illustrations is attested by numerous other manuscripts; see: Leonie von Wilckens, 'Die Prophetien über die Päpste in deutschen Handschriften und Illustrationen aus der Pariser Handschrift Lat. 10834 und aus anderen Manuskripten der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 28, 1975, 171ff.

Figure 3 Jacopino da Tradate, stone statue of Martin V (1417–1431), *c.* 1421, Milan Cathedral

representations of St Peter with papal attributes gained in popularity, as for example in a statute at the entrance to the chancel of Regensburg Cathedral (*c.* 1320),which shows the Prince of the Apostles wearing a tiara and cope (as a sign of his sacerdotal function), and with a key and book held in his hands.[13] A wider currency was also gained by the *Cathedra Petri* iconographic type, that is, a depiction of St Peter enthroned and dressed in papal vestments[14], based on the bronze statue by Arnolfo di Cambio in the Vatican basilica, of *c.* 1300.[15]

The scenes of *Traditio legis* and *Traditio clavium* had co-existed side by side in Early Christian and Early Medieval art.[16] In Carolingian times, *Traditio clavium*

[13] Achim Hubel, Peter Kurmann, *Der Regensburger Dom. Architektur, Plastik, Ausstattung, Glasfenster*, München-Zürich: Schnell & Steiner, 1989, 41–46 (Grosse Kunstführer, 165). See also: Suckale, *Die Hofkunst*, 89–93, fig. 70; in the same cathedral, the *trumeau* of the main portal represents a figure of St Peter of *c.* 1400, wearing a tiara and holding keys in his hands; see Friedrich Fuchs, *Das Hauptportal des Regensburger Domes. Portal*, *Vorhalle, Skulptur* (Kunstsammlungen des Bistums Regensburg, Diözesanmuseum Regensburg, Kataloge und Schriften), München-Zürich: Schnell & Steiner, 1990, 51–52, fig. 71.

[14] It was already Werner Hager (*Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, Leipzig: Poeschel & Trepte, 1929, 11 [Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 7]), who had noted a close relationship between the representations of enthroned pope with the Vatican statue of St Peter, especially in the times of Boniface VIII.

[15] Romanini, *Arnolfo di Cambio*, 181, 188, figs. 206–209.

[16] See, for example: Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992, 33–39, 129–130.

started to be used in the papal propaganda, for example in the antependium of Leo III (795–816) in St Peter's basilica, where it was situated next to the *Martyrdoms of Sts Peter and Paul*.[17] Since the pontificate of Victor II (1055–1057), the composition had regularly appeared on papal seals, accompanied by an appropriate legend which underscored the fact of the passing of power.[18] In such representations St Peter was sometimes shown in papal dress, as was the case in an early fifteenth-century miniature in the *Matutinale* and *Vesperale* in the Karlové canonry of the Canons Regular of St Augustine in Prague.[19] Yet, of particular interest are *Traditio* representations in which contemporary personages were portrayed. The first such instance occurred in the mosaics in the *Triclinium* of the Lateran Apostolic Palace, commissioned by Leo III. Its apse was decorated with the scene of the *Dispatching of the Apostles*, with St Peter shown to Christ's right and distinguished with a cross.[20] To the viewer's right was the scene of *St Peter Granting the Pallium to Leo III and a Standard to Charlemagne* [Fig. 4], which suggested the passing of the authority, given by Christ to the apostles, and particularly to St Peter, to the successors of the latter.[21]

Figure 4 *Triclinium* of Leo III at the Lateran Palace, Rome, a 17th-c. copy of a Carolingian mosaic

Decoration of a liturgical comb from the end of the tenth century in the Treasury of Osnabrück Cathedral shows enthroned St Peter giving two codices to

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[17] It is known from a description in Louis Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 2, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955, 2, 130.

[18] In the case of the seal of Victor II, the legend reads as follows: '+ TU P[RO] ME NAVEM LOQ[U]ISTI, SUSCIPE CLAVEM'; Julius Albert Georg von Pflugk-Harttung, *Specimina selecta chartarum Pontificium Romanorum. Pars tertia: Sigilla*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlkammer, 1887, table VII.3; Idem, *Die Bullen der Päpste bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1901, 175; Ingo Herklotz, 'Zur Ikonographie der Papstsiegel im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', in: Hans-Rudolf Meier, Carola Jäggi, Philippe Büttner, eds, *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn. Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Berlin: Reimer, 1995, 116–130, for the mentioned seal see 117, fig. 42.

[19] Josef Krása, *České iluminované rukopisy 13–16 století*, Praha: Odeon 1990, fig. 140.

[20] Until the sixteenth century, below the apse scene there had been a fragment of an inscription reading: 'EUNTES, DOCETE OMNES [...]'; Christopher Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 20, 1970, 159.

[21] Ibidem, p. 175.

kneeling nimbed bishops.[22] As observed by Cynthia Hahn, 'this image extends the significance of the iconography to the level of the bishop' and 'we can deduce a hierarchy of power implied by images such as the comb and the typical 'Traditio Legis' scene, that is: Christ – Peter / Pope – Bishops'. According to this scholar, the iconography of the ceremony of episcopal ordination, widely disseminated at that time, forms a 'liturgical typological equivalent of the 'Traditio Legis'' (one of the earliest examples being a miniature in the manuscript with the lives of Sts Kilian and Margaret of Antioch in Hanover, Stadtbibliothek, Ms 189, *c*. 965–1000).[23] Of considerable significance is a painting in the former Benedictine church at Prüfening near Regensburg, from the second quarter of the twelfth century, depicting a female personification of the papacy (flanked by the inscriptions: 'S. PET[RUS ET S. PA]ULUS') offering two swords to the representatives of the spiritual and temporal powers. Yet, it was not St Peter, or any other specific pope, but a 'metaphorical and almost a universal prefiguration of the papacy' that has been shown here.[24] The tomb of Pope Urban VI (d. 1389) under St Peter's Vatican basilica may serve as a most instructive later example.[25] Initially, the body of this pope was laid to rest in St Andrew's Chapel, adjacent to the Constantinian basilica, 'non mausoleo sed communi sepulchro'. Later, however, it was moved, in order to be located 'in

[22] Tilmann Buddensieg, 'Zur ottonischen Buchmalerei und Elfenbeinskulptur in Sachsen', in: Frieda Dettweiler, Karl Hermann Usener, eds, *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, Marburg an der Lahn: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Marburg, 1967, 93–111; Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, Orationes; Stadtbibliothek Hannover, Ms. 189*, Kommentarband, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988, 48–49, fig. 8.

[23] Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, 48–49.

[24] Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, vol. I, Roma: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1975, 35–36 (Studia Gratiana XVI). Walter Cahn ('The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32, 1969, 66) erroneously considered this personification of the papacy to be a figure of St Peter; on the Prüfening wall paintings see also: Anton Legner, *Deutsche Kunst der Romanik*, München: Hirmer, 1982, no. 127; Heidrun Stein, *Die Romanische Wandmalereien in der Klosterkirche Prüfening*, Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- Und Verlags-Gesellschaft mbH, 1987 (Studien und Quellen zur Kunsgeschichte Regensburgs, I).

[25] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Päpste. Marksteine der Geschichte des Papsttums*, 3rd ed., Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1911, 43, fig. 22; Horace Kinder Mann, *Tombs and Portraits of the Popes of the Middle Ages*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1928, 18, 62–63, fig. 20; Jeanne Vielliard, 'Les tombeaux des papes du Moyen Age a Rome et en Italie', *Le Moyen Age*, 39, 1929, 213ff.; Renzo Umberto Montini, *Le tombe dei papi*, Roma: Angelo Belardetti, 1957, 260–263, no. 203, figs. 94, 95; Anton Haidacher, *Geschichte der Päpste in Bildern.* Mit einem geschichtlichen Überblick von J. Vodka. Eine Dokumentation zur Papstgeschichte von L. Freiherr von Pastor, Heidelberg, 1965, 88ff.; Michael Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation. Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, 257–258 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 95); Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 125, fig. 147.

ecclesiam sancti Petri', where it was honored by a 'honorificienciori sepulchro'.[26] The presence of the representation of *Traditio clavium* on the front slab of the papal tomb-chest has been explained as a reference to the schism of the Church and an intention to underscore the legitimacy of the election of Urban VI.[27] According to Michael Borgolte, the historical circumstances are of paramount importance for the proper understanding of the iconography of this tomb, as the translation of the earthly remains of a pope to the vicinity of St Peter's tomb had a propagandistic dimension and should be associated with a broader phenomenon known as 'imitatio sancti Petri'.[28] Several dozen years later the same image appeared on the tomb of Eugene IV (d. 1447).[29] The same pope, between 1433 and 1445, commissioned Filarete to execute huge bronze door to St Peter's basilica in Vatican, which in the central panel featured the *Prince of the Apostles* offering the keys to his – at that time, incumbent – successor.[30] Mention can also be made of a painting by Rocco Marconi (d. 1529) in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice as of one of late examples illustrating the subject under discussion. This composition depicts the *Traditio* scene with St Peter shown to the right of Christ, accompanied by St Andrew. Julian Gardner considered the above painting to be a reference to early Christian iconography, while he associated the portrayal of St Peter on Christ's right with the propaganda of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. On altarpieces in mendicant churches St Peter was shown on Christ's right, a fact that has been interpreted in relation to the dependence of these orders on the papacy.[31] And in truth, numerous representations of the *Traditio* usually show St Peter on Christ's left and St Paul on

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[26] We owe this information to the German historian Gobelinus Person who had been member of the Apostolic Camera of Urban V in his youth. On a plan of the basilica in Alpharanus' work, the pope's tomb is marked on the south side of the external aisle; Tiberius Alpharanus, Michele Cerrati, eds, *De basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, Roma: Tip. poligl. Vaticana, 1914, 76 (Studi e testi, 26); Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge*, 257, fig. 7, no. 63.

[27] Michael Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des Großen Abendländischen Schismas. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik insbesondere der Spanischen Staaten und zu den geistigen Kämpfen der Zeit*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1940, VIIff.

[28] Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge*, 257–258; for more on the 'imitatio sancti Petri' phenomenon in the form of papal burials being introduced closer to the tomb of the 'Prince of the Apostles', see Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge*, 49ff.

[29] Haidacher, *Geschichte der Päpste*, 124ff.; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge*, 257, n. 24.

[30] Ursula Nilgen, 'Filaretes Bronzetür von St. Peter. Zur Interpretation von Bild und Rahmen', in *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte, 1973*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1978, vol. III, 569–585; Richard Cocke, 'Filarete at St Peter's, Fra Angelico in the Vatican: Art and a Sense of 'Decorum' in the Service of the Church', in: Francis Ames-Lewis, Anka Bednarek, eds, *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art. Papers delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians, London, April 1991*, London, 1992, 44–51, fig. 7.

[31] Julian Gardner, 'Altars, Altarpieces and Art History: Legislation and Usage', in: Eve Borsook, Fiorella Superbi, eds, *Italian Altarpieces 1250–1550*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 5–39, esp. 17; Idem, 'Frühchristliche Einflüsse im venezianischen Cinquecento: Eine dominikanische Altartafel von Rocco Marconi in Santi Giovanni e Paolo', in: Meier, Jäggi, Büttner, *Für irdischen Ruhm*, 280–286, figs. 112–114.

the his right. Peter Damian (d. 1072), in his letter to the abbot Desiderius and the monks of Monte Cassino on the symbolism of animals, wrote that he had been contemplating writing that letter for a long time, and that originally he had intended to devote it to the considerations on why St Peter would have been represented on the left-hand side and St Paul on the right-hand side.[32] During the works carried out in the Vatican basilica in connection with the arrival in the church of the relics of St Andrew's head, in 1462, a controversy arose as to the planned location of the statue of St Peter in relation to the entrance. Pius II thought it should be put on the left-hand side, because, as the church represents the human figure with outstretched arms, St Peter should stand on the dexter side.[33] In some of these comments one can see attempts at belittling St Peter to the advantage of St Paul. This formula has had a long tradition, especially if one realises that already St Jerome in his discussion with Jovinian maintained that Peter's standing in the hierarchy of the apostles was lower than that of St John the Evangelist, because of the former's marriage. In the eyes of the Father of the Church, the fact that St Peter had been married put him on a lower position than that of St John who was celibate.[34]

The representations described above became models for more extensive compositions. Of particular importance are miniatures showing the divine origin of the law, which decorated the manuscripts of Decretals.[35] Among the earliest examples is a decoration of a Tuscan manuscript of *c.* 1200, depicting Christ presenting banderoles to Peter and Paul who stand underneath, according to the classical *Traditio legis* formula.[36] In the fourteenth-century Italy there originated a large group of representations with two-part composition, featuring the heaven with Christ as the source of law in the upper part and earth with the representatives of the administration of justice in the lower one. Miniatures from the workshop of Nicolo di Giacomo da Bologna, from around the mid-fourteenth century, may serve as further examples. The first of them, in the collection of the Vatican Library (Ms. Urb. lat. 161, f. 1), shows Christ enthroned with saints against a patterned background, and angels passing the tiara to a pope and a crown to a king below [Fig. 5].[37] In the second miniature, kept in Berlin (Staatliche Museen Preußischer

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[32] Jean Leclercq, *Miłość nauki a pragnienie Boga*, trans. by Małgorzata Borkowska, Kraków, 1997, 79.

[33] Ruth Rubinstein, 'Pius II's Piazza di S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head', in Douglas Frazer, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine, eds, *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London: Phaidon, 1967, 27.

[34] For this and other symptoms of the nascent ideal of virginity, see Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography. Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages*, New York-Oxford: Oxfrod University Press 1988, 247.

[35] Although part I of Gratian's *Decretals* is divided into 101 *distinctiones*, usually only the beginning of the work (*Distinctio I*), starting with the words: 'Humanum genus…' was illustrated; the text deals with the derivation of the rules of human law from the natural law; Melnikas, *The Corpus*, 23ff.

[36] Ibidem, 26–27, fig. 13.

[37] Ibidem, 48, fig. 46.

Figure 5 Nicolo di Giacomo da Bologna, *Decretals*, *c.* mid-14th c., Vatican Library (Ms. Urb. lat. 161), fol. 1

Figure 6 Nicolo di Giacomo da Bologna, *Decretals*, *c.* mid-14th c., Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4215

Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett), the papal judicial authority is shown as deriving directly from Christ [Fig. 6]. The pope, as the head of the Church, was illustrated administering justice to heretics (among others) below a depiction of Christ in the scene of the *Last Judgement*.[38] These works are so impressive in their large scale and monumentality of composition that they can be likened to panel or wall paintings.[39] The same remarks are equally valid for a miniature in the *Glossa super decretum*

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[38] Both this and other examples have been gathered in: Wolfgang Pleister, Wolfgang Schild, eds, *Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Spiegel der europäischen Kunst*, Köln: DuMont 1988, 71–72, figs. 105–106.

[39] Melnikas, *The Corpus*, 42, 50.

manuscript executed by Vaclav Skřítek in Bohemia in the mid-fifteenth century
(Library of the Metropolitan St Vitus Chapter in Prague) [Fig. 7]. [40]

Figure 7 Vaclav Skřítek, *Glossa super decretum*, Prague, mid-15th c., Prague, Library of the Metropolitan St Vitus
Chapter

As far as indulgence documents are concerned, the most common elements
of their decoration were: a depiction of the patron saint of the indulgenced church,
and a supplicant kneeling in adoration.[41] Less frequent were portrayals of the
grantor and recipient of the indulgence. A letter of indulgence, issued by the Bishop
of Liège Adolphe de la Marck, on 23 May 1315, for the relics of the Eleven Thousand
Virgins owned by the Florentine merchant Donato, has been decorated with the
depiction of the enthroned bishop and kneeling merchant, and an inscription
reading: 'SUPPLICAT DONATUS A VOBIS, DOMINE EPISCOPE LEODIENSIS'.[42]
Similar solutions occurred in secular documents, in which the grantor was shown as
benefactor, in contrast to the beneficiary kneeling in a humble pose. As examples
may serve the documents issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV the Bavarian

[40] *Topographie der Historischen und Kunst-Denkmäle in Königreiche Böhmen*, vol. II, 2, Prag:
Verlag der Archaeologischen Commission bie der Böhmischen Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Akademie
für Wissenschaften, 1904, fig. 222; Barbara Miodońska, *Rex Regum i Rex Poloniae w dekoracji
malarskiej Graduału Jana Olbrachta i Pontyfikału Erazma Ciołka. Z zagadnień ikonografii władzy
królewskiej w sztuce polskiej wieku XVI*, Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1979, 80,
fig. 61.
[41] See, e.g. Santifaller, 'Über illuminierte Urkunden', figs. 6, 7, 9; Holter, 'Verzierte
Ablaßbriefe', figs. 2, 4–8.
[42] Armand Grundzweig, 'Une lettre d'indulgence enluminée d'Adolphe de la Marck, éveque
de Liège –1315', *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge a Rome*, 10, 1930, 141–153.

at the beginning of the fourteenth century, whose decorations Robert Suckale considers to consciously imitate those of papal documents.[43] An indulgence document by Bishop of Brixen/Bressanone of 1334 (Vipiteno, Archivio Civico) and an Avignon indulgence for the abbey of Schildesche near Bielefeld of 1333 (Münster, Staatsarchiv) both show *Christ between Sts Peter and Paul*, an image possibly influenced by the *Traditio legis* compositions.[44] And a papal document issued for the Abbey of St Gall (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv) shows Sts Gall and Othmar, the patron saints of the abbey, receiving banderoles from the hands of Christ.[45] Regardless of the tradition of illuminating letters of indulgence described above, the most likely models for the Cracow miniature should be looked for rather in legal manuscripts. They offer repeated instances of images showing an enthroned pope as well as the heavenly and earthly hierarchies depicted side by side and combined with the passing of power motif. The uniqueness of the decoration of the Cracow indulgence document can be explained by the circumstances of its issuance: the time (a transitional period between the great councils of the first half of the fifteenth century and the restoration of the papal authority in Rome), the place (Cracow was among the most important centres of ecclesiastical and political thought in fifteenth-century Europe), and the person of its grantor (an outstanding statesman of broad horizons, who knew how to make use of the works of art to promote his ideas).

The iconographic solutions discussed above served to glorify various aspects of papal authority which, thanks to the subsequent enquiries into theological and legal arguments, was gradually strengthened. Pope Symmachus (498–514) is credited with giving currency to the term 'papa' which, according to John Moorhead, may be considered part of the Roman Church's unusual background activity in that period, which produced documents that led to the creation of a legend of the so-called Donation of Constantine, and formulated a premise, important in canon law, stipulating that 'prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam', and finally, developed the cult of St Peter, with the first edition of *Liber Pontificalis* following shortly thereafter.[46] W. D. McCready stated that, 'One of the most significant political doctrines developed in the later Middle Ages was the papal hierocratic theory of government, which attributed to the pope a plenitude of power in both spiritual and temporal affairs'.[47] The theory of 'two keys', signifying this fullness of power, had been for the first time explicitly formulated by St Bernard of Clairvaux in his letter to Pope Eugene III of *c.* 1149.[48] Yet, the idea itself was of

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[43] Suckale, *Die Hofkunst*, 36–39, figs. 22–25.

[44] Santifaller, 'Über illuminierte Urkunden', no. 2, fig. 5; Homburger, von Steiger, 'Zwei illuminierte Avignoneser Ablaßbriefe', 152, fig. 17.

[45] Homburger, von Steiger, 'Zwei illuminierte Avignoneser Ablaßbriefe', 152, fig. 15.

[46] John Moorhead, 'Papa as *Bishop of Rome*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36, 1985, no. 3, 337–350, here, 349–350.

[47] William D. McCready, 'Papal *Plenitudo Potestatis* and the Source of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory', *Speculum*', 48, 1973, no. 4, 654–674, quotation on 654.

[48] Jean Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, vol. CLXXXII, cols. 463–464; Jean Leclercq, ed., *De Consideratione*, IV, 3 (St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera Omnia*, H. M. Rochais, vol. III), Romae:

slightly older date. It was probably Peter Damian who had compared the two swords of the Gospels to *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.[49] As noted by Beryl Smalley, a formulation similar to that of Bernard of Clairvaux appeared in the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, from *c*. 1081–1083, by John of Mantua, a cleric from the circle of Matilda, countess of Tuscany, and was used in the interest of the Gregorian reform. According to this text, the pope, as St Peter's vicar, possesses two swords and must approve of the use of the temporal sword by secular rulers. The legal use of this sword indicated its use in the interest of St Peter. According to Smalley, John of Mantua could not have conceived this concept himself, so it must have been common knowledge at that time, which passed from mouth to mouth or was recorded in the now lost writings, and it was from there that also St Bernard had adopted it.[50] In the twelfth century, along with the development of the canon law, the terms 'Roman Church' and 'Apostolic Church' started to be used interchangeably. As a result, the idea of the papal *plenitudo potestatis* became associated with the notion of *ecclesiae primitivae*. According to the anonymous text of the so-called *Quaestiones Stuttgardienses* (*c*. 1145–1179), already in the primitive Church of the first centuries the Roman pope had the full right to 'bind' and 'unbind'.[51] In the second half of the twelfth century a change to the title given to the pope occurred, from *vicarius Petri* to *vicarius Christi*, which reflected the transformations that had taken place in the practices of the Roman curia (earlier every prelate had been entitled to the *vicarius Christi* title).[52] Another indication of a nascent sort of 'cult' of the pope was the visit *ad limina Apostolorum*. This religious act, whose original function was to pay homage to the principal apostles at their tombs on the day of their feast, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries became an act of reverence towards the pope in office. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, thanks to some canonists, e.g. Uguccione da Pisa (Huguccio, or Hugh, of Pisa), the term *ad limina Apostolorum* had become identical with the current dwelling of the pope[53], which gave rise to a lapidary phrase formulated by Henry de Susa (called Hostiensis, d. 1270): 'Ubi papa ibi Roma' and 'ubi papa est, ibi et Apostoli esse

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Editiones Cistercienses, 1963, 454; Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools. A Study of Intellectuals in Politics*, Totowa-New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973, 27.

[49] Hartmut Hoffman, 'Die beiden Schwerter im hohen Mittelalter', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. XX, 1964, 79; Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 27.

[50] Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 27–28; at the same time, Henry IV reproached Gregory that he: 'Regnum et sacerdotium Deo nesciente sibi usurpavit. In quo piam Dei ordinationem contempsit, quae non in uno sed in duobus duo, id est regnum et sacerdotium, principaliter consistere voluit, sicut ipse dominus Salvator in passione sua de duorum gladiorum sufficientia triplice intelligi innuit', 'Encyclica ad episcopos de conventu Wormatiae habendo (1076)', in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Leges*, IV, *Constitut.* I, 112–113; see Henri De Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, vol. 4, Paris: Aubier, 1964, 380, n. 4.

[51] Glenn Olsen, 'The Idea of the Ecclesia Primitiva in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists', *Traditio*, 25, 1969, 76.

[52] Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*, 134.

[53] Michele Maccarrone, 'Ubi est papa, ibi est Roma', in: Hubert Mordek, ed., *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum*, Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1983, 371–382.

intelliguntur'.[54] Between 1150 and 1250 the canonists had also established some premises that with time became the basis for proclaiming the dogma of papal infallibility.[55] All these actions, which culminated during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, had led to the creation of an intricate and multi-layered doctrine of papal authority.[56]

All canonists who had analysed the concept of papal authority until (and inclusive of) the fourteenth century, maintained that the primacy of the Bishop of Rome is a matter of doctrine revealed in the New Testament which had only been confirmed and interpreted by the teachings of the councils. Marsilius of Padua (*c.* 1275 – *c.* 1343) was the first to advance an assertion that papal authority derived exclusively from the tradition of the Church.[57] Among the opponents of papal absolutism, there originated a conviction that it was Christ, and not the pope, who was the proper subject of the *plenitudo potestatis* in the Church.[58] Simultaneously, since the creation of the *Decretum Gratiani*, conciliar thoughts had started to turn up in the canonist tradition.[59] Very often, scholars made a distinction between the early conciliarism, drawing mainly on the writings of Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, and its later phase, dominated by the orthodox theology and ecclesiology. The conciliarists of the beginning of the fifteenth century, such as Francis Zabarella, Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly, often distanced themselves from the secular element typical of the earlier period, analysing the entire problem on the theological ground.[60] Among the theses of John Hus, condemned by th Council of Constance and then by Martin V's bulls: *Inter cunctas* and *Inter eminentis*, of 22 February 1418, was one maintaning that St Peter was not the head of the Church and that the authority of the pope derived from the emperor. Henry Hembuche (Hainbuch) of Langenstein in Hessen (a vice-chancellor and professor of the University of Paris) had defined the corporeality of the Church as: 'Universitas episcoporum fidelium', which functioned as the universal Council. The metaphor of the *corpus* frequently appeared also in the conciliarist writings, and it was always the council that was

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[54] Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), already slightly earlier, declared: 'Apostolorum autem limites [sic!] ibi esse intelliguntur, ubi papa est'; Maccarrone, 'Ubi est papa', 379–380.

[55] Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350. A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages*, Leiden: Brill, 1972 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 6).

[56] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa*, Torino: Einaudi, 1994.

[57] Tierney, *Origins*, 21–22.

[58] Jan Hus declared that 'papa non est caput ecclesiae, sed vicarius Christi'; see Stefan Swieżawski, *Eklezjologia późnośredniowieczna na rozdrożu*, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1990 (Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, I), 57.

[59] Ibidem, 87.

[60] Antony J. Black, 'What was Conciliarism? Conciliar Theory in Historical Perspective', in: Brian Tierney, Peter Linehan, eds, *Authority and Power. Studies on Medieval Law and Government presented to Walter Ullmann on His Seventieth Birthday*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, 219–224, esp. p. 216.

defined as the above-mentioned body of the Church.[61] Polish ecclesiastical and political thought developed in the circle of the University of Cracow at the turn of the fifteenth century, with the three major works as its fundaments: *De praxi Romanae curiae* by Matthew of Cracow, *De monarchia mundi* by Johannes Falkenberg, and *Speculum Aureum* by Piotr Wysz of Radolin.[62] The first of these works gave rise to strong criticism and provoked the Dominican Johannes Falkenberg to write a polemic, while the third one had won a special recognition of the councils for the Cracow academic circles, and had cemented conciliarist attitudes among the Cracow professors for many years to come. The extensive commentary on the Gospels of St Matthew, *Lectura super Evangelium Matthaei* by Benedict Hesse, became a creative continuation of the above texts. As far as the professors of the University of Cracow are concerned, a special mention should also be made of John Elgot who defended the notion of the Roman Church understood as the pope and cardinals acting as representatives of the council. According to Elgot and Benedict Hesse, the universal Church was threefold: triumphant, militant, and representative – consisting of the pope, the council and the college of cardinals.[63] In his *Commentary on the Gospels of St Matthew*, Hesse expressed an opinion that pope might be called the head of the Church understood as *corpus politicum*. However, when the Church is meant as a mystical body, the pope cannot be called its head, but only *vicarius et minister capitis*.[64]

The ideas described above found their visual expression in the bull of the Council of Basle, which issued documents in its own name and under its own seal [Fig. 8]. Documents entitled: 'SACROSANCTA GENERALIS SYNODUS BASILENSIS, IN SPIRITU SANCTO LEGITIME CONGREGATA, UNIVERSALEM ECCLESIAM REPRESENTANS', were accompanied by a representation of the congregation of the hierarchs of the Church.[65] Among them figured the pope wearing a tiara, yet shown not in the centre, but on the side, as one of the council's ordinary participants. The depiction of Christ with a cruciform halo and the dove of

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[61] Hasso Hoffman, 'Der Spätmittelalterliche Rechtsbegriff der Repräsentation im Reich und Kirche', in: Hedda Ragotzky, Horst Wenzel, eds, *Höfische Repräsentation. Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, Tübingen, 1990, 29–32.

[62] Mateusz z Krakowa [Matthew of Cracow], *O praktykach kurii rzymskiej oraz 2 kazania synodalne o naprawie obyczajów kleru*, published by Władysław Seńko, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970 (Biblioteka klasyków filozofii. Pisarze polscy); Władysław Seńko, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina (ok. 1354–1414) i jego dzieło 'Speculum Aureum'*, Warszawa: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1995 (Studia Przeglądu Tomistycznego, 2, ed. by Kazimierz Marciniak); see also: Zenon Kałuża, 'Eklezjologia Mateusza z Krakowa (Uwagi o *De praxi romanae curiae*)', *Studia Mediewistyczne*, 18, 1977, no. 1, 51–174.

[63] Marian Rechowicz, *Benedykt Hesse i św. Jan Kanty w świetle krakowskiej kompilacji teologicznej z XV wieku. Studia nad Komentarzem do św. Mateusza*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1958, 169, 172.

[64] Ibidem, 186.

[65] Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1986, 81–82 (Thomas Frenz, Peter Johannes Schuler, eds, Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellung, vol. II). The bull of the Council of Basle, just like papal bulls, was composed of text and image; Erich Kittel, *Siegel*, Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1970, 167–168 (Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitäten Freunde, vol. XI).

the Holy Ghost, which in pro-papal imagery used to be placed above the pope's head, here appeared above the heads of the entire assembly.[66]

Figure 8 Bull of the Council of Basle from 1437; anonymous 17th-c. copperplate, Warsaw, National Library (G. 25.444)

In the mid-fifteenth century, with the conclusion of the Council of Florence and the return of Nicholas V to Rome, the papal hierocracy started to triumph again. Conciliarism, on the contrary, became more and more often called a heresy. An iconographic propaganda was developed on a large scale in Rome, and the Sistine Chapel frescoes may be considered its superb summing up. These paintings have been variously interpreted.[67] However, since the research of L. D. Ettlinger, the scholars have agreed that the basis of the programme of the first scheme of the Sistine Chapel frescoes was formed by the juxtaposition of scenes from the lives of

[66] For instance, on a medal of Eugene IV, struck on the occasion of the canonisation of St Nicholas of Tolentino, the pope, shown reading the canonisation decree by the altar, is surrounded by cardinals, while the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above him; *Numismata romanorum pontificum. praestantiora a Martino V. ad Benedictum XIV. Per Rudolphinum Venturi cortonensem aucta, ac illustrata*, Romae 1744 ex Typographia Johannis Baptistae Bernabi et Josephi Lazzarini, no. III, fig. on p. 6; *Serie dei coni di medaglie pontificie da Martino V fino a tutto il pontificato della san. mem. Di Pio VII esistenti nella pontificia zecca di Roma*, Rome, 1824, p. 3. Similarly, on medals issued on the occasion of the election of Martin V and Eugene IV, the pope was shown being crowned by two cardinals, with the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending upon him; *Serie dei coni di medaglie*, 1–2.

[67] Johannes Wilde ('The Decoration of the Sistine Chapel', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 44, 1958, 67) recognized an illustration of the three aspects of papal authority – as a priest, teacher and ruler – in the paintings; D. Reding de Campos ('I tituli degli affreschi del Quattrocento nella Cappella Sistina', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 42, 1969–1970, 229–314) published the previously unknown Latin *tituli* of the painted scenes. He suggested that both programmes (the pictorial and the literary one) were not exactly parallel, but intertwined, resulting in a richer and more complicated symbolic content of the entire decoration. Rona Goffen ('Friar Sixtus IV and the Sistine Chapel', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39, 1986, no. 2, 218–262) analysed the Sistine frescoes from the point of view of Franciscan theology. According to her, the compositions referring to Moses and Christ can also be interpreted as alluding to St Francis (thus we would get a typically Franciscan 'typological axis': Moses – Christ – St Francis). Yet, since neither the paintings nor the *tituli* bear any references to St Francis, this interpretation seems to be a misconception and is misguided from the methodological point of view.

Moses and Christ, understood as biblical types of various aspects of papal authority.[68] This concept was further developed by J. Shearman who noticed a special connection between the first and the fifth painting on each wall.[69] In the part dealing with the Old Testament, these scenes depict the division of the temporal and spiritual power (*Principatus* and *Pontificatus*) between Moses and Aaron. This division was annulled by Peter and his successors, as shown in the fifth painting on the New Testament side, the *Traditio clavium*, which alludes to the *Healing of the Leper* illustrated in the first bay. This unusual association can be justified by a medieval exegesis which claimed that the most significant part of Peter's 'power of the keys' was *potestas ordinis*, that is, the ability to distinguish between the sinners and the faithful (and leprosy has been used here as a metaphor of sin).[70] The meaning of the paintings was best summed up by Ettlinger, who wrote that they expressed opposition towards the propaganda present in the numerous concilliar tracts and celebrated the victory of papal monarchism over the conciliar heresy.[71] The Cracow miniature – *mutatis mutandis* – must have played a similar role within the Cracow University and Church. Anyway, it fitted perfectly in the then current problem of papal hierocracy, discussed anew in the mid-fifteenth century. Commissioned shortly after Oleśnicki had pledged obedience to Nicholas V and had received his cardinal's hat, it is a public declaration by the former conciliarist of his new attitude. In the reality of 'communis sanctorum' showed in the upper part of the composition, Christ keeps repeating his blessing of St Peter, seated on his right, and gives him the power of the keys. The bottom part of the miniature testifies to the fact that the power had been given to the pope not 'ministerialiter', as conciliarists would have it, but in full.

While analysing the question of the availability of the supposed models of the Cracow portrait miniature, it should be remembered that in the period of great councils of the first half of the fifteenth century, there was an increased exchange of manuscripts, and especially of legal and council-related works. Eusebius Manz, contemporary with the Council of Basle, noted that 'ad concilium ex Augiensi bibliotheca ultra sex mille librorum manuscriptorum tractatus omni eruditione ad

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[68] Leopold David Ettlinger *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo. Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, passim (Oxford–Warburg Studies).

[69] John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London: Phaidon, 1972, passim, esp. 48–49, n. 19.

[70] Carol F. Lewine saw the source of the arrangement of the Sistine Chapel frescoes in the Roman liturgy of the weeks, of the period between Advent and Whitsunday. She explained the large number of Roman buildings portrayed in the episodes that actually took place in the Holy Land by the fact that since Petrarch's time, Rome had been regarded as *Sancta Latina Hierusalem*, in opposition to Avignon, which was considered as 'the second Babylon'. The Sistine Chapel frescoes, then, could have been intended to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the return of papacy from the 'Babylonian Captivity' to the rightful capital; Carol F. Lewine, *The Sistine Chapel Walls and the Roman Liturgy*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993, passim.

[71] Ettlinger *The Sistine Chapel*, 10, 118–119.

concilium necessaria completi advecti sunt'.[72] On Polish ground, the research of
Marian Zwiercan has revealed an interesting personality of Piotr Wolfram who had
acquired a substantial library during his studies in Bologna and while attending the
Council in Constance.[73] The libraries of the professors of the University of Cracow in
the fifteenth century often included conciliar publications[74], and Oleśnicki himself
made sure that a codex with the decrees of the Council of Basle found its way to the
library of the Cracow Chapter.[75] The interest of the Cracow Church in the current
developments taking place in the universal Church is testified by several surviving
works of art. Pope-related themes did not appear in Polish medieval art very often.
Of great interest, then, is a painting at Czchów, which depicts the *Apotheosis of Pope
Urban V*, with the pope holding a reliquary of Sts Peter and Paul in his hands. This
painting most likely commemorated a pilgrimage of its founder to Rome.[76] Mention
should also be made of papal coats of arms appearing here and there during their
pontificates, which evidently testified to the political orientation of people who
commissioned them. The coat of arms of Martin V decorating the boss of the vault in
the church of Gosławice reflects the political ambitions of the Bishop of Poznań
Andrzej Łaskarz, a patron of the church, who attended the Council of Constance.[77]
Oleśnicki had many of the works he commissioned decorated with the papal keys,
which should probably be considered as a sort of pledging obedience to Nicholas V.
Particularly interesting is a monumental painting which depicts St Peter in papal
robes, in the *Cathedra Petri* type, decorating the cloister of the Austin Friary in the
Kazimierz district of Cracow, of *c.* 1430 [Fig. 9].[78] As was demonstrated by Dorothee

[72] Paul Lehmann, 'Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte während der grossen
Kirchenversammlungen', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, 4,
1921, 7–8.

[73] Marian Zwiercan, 'Piotr Wolfram z Krakowa', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXVI,
Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk
1981, 405–406; Idem, 'Zainteresowania historyczne społeczności Uniwersytetu
Krakowskiego w XV wieku', in: Teresa Michałowska, ed., *Literatura i kultura późnego
średniowiecza w Polsce*, Warsszawa: IBL, 1993, 42.

[74] Wacława Szelińska, *Biblioteki profesorów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI
wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966, 41–43, 47, 48,
50, 54 (Zakład Historii Nauki i Techniki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Monografie z dziejów
nauki i techniki, XXXIII).

[75] Maria Hornowska, Halina Zdzitowiecka-Jasieńska, *Zbiory rękopiśmienne w Polsce
średniowiecznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1947, 143, n. 3. It has
survived in the Library of the National Museum in Prague.

[76] Jerzy Gadomski, 'Malowidła ścienne z XIV wieku w Czchowie', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 2,
1965, 34–38; Jerzy Domasłowski, Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, Marian Kornecki, Helena
Małkiewiczówna, *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce*, Poznań: UAM, 1984, 72 (Uniwersytet
Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Seria Historia Sztuki, 17).

[77] Jerzy Łojko, *Średniowieczne herby polskie*, Poznań: K.A.W, 1985, 124–130.

[78] *Zabytki dawnego budownictwa w krakowskiem*, pt. I, collected, explained and published by
Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Kraków, 1864, table: *Klasztor Augustianów u św. Katarzyny na
Kazimierzu w Krakowie*; idem, *Kościół Św. Katarzyny z klasztorem OO. Augustianów*, Kraków,
1898, 75 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 8); Helena Małkiewiczówna, 'O późnośredniowiecznej

Figure 9 *Cathedra Petri*, wall painting in the cloisters of the Austin Friary in Cracow, *c*. 1430 (?)

Hansen, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the order of Augustinian Eremites developed a highly interesting visual propaganda. It was generally related to the intellectual traditions of the order and employed references to St Augustine. Among the most common representations were allegories of wisdom, the triumph of the order's saint founding father or his passing the rule to his successors. In all instances the centre of the composition showed the enthroned St Augustine with an open book or a scroll.[79] Fragments of a likely similar programme can be distinguished in the cloister of the Kazimierz friary, and the *Cathedra Petri* scene could have been its essential and important part. In Cracow this composition appeared also on the seals of Piotr Wolfram (impression of 1424)[80] and Mikołaj Spicimir, the cantor of Cracow

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ikonografii i kulcie św. Zofii z trzema córkami w Małopolsce', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 26, 1990, 29–30, fig. 2.

[79] Dorothee Hansen, *Das Bild des Ordenslehrers und die Allegorie des Wissens. Ein gemaltes Programm der Augustiner*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995, passim (Acta Humaniora. Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft und Philosphie). A more extensive treatment of the popularity of the images of the saint founders of religious orders in the cloisters is given by Leon Pressouyre, 'St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloisters', *Gesta*, 12, 1973, 71–92.

[80] Izabela Rejduch-Samkowa, Jan Samek, eds, *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, IV: *Miasto Kraków*, IV: *Kazimierz i Stradom. Kościoły i klasztory*, 1, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo artystyczne i filmowe, 1987, 90, fig. 904.

Cathedral (impression of 1454) [Fig. 10].[81] In the altarpiece in the parish church of Łopuszna, a work contemporary with the miniature under consideration, the figure of Pope Gregory the Great has been specially emphasised, and, according to Jerzy Gadomski, this saint may have been intended to represent the then incumbent Pope Nicholas V.[82]

Figure 10 Seal of Mikołaj Spicimir, the cantor of Cracow Cathedral, impression of 1459; Warsaw, Central Archives of Historical Records (DP 602

        In conclusion, another important question should be addressed. As observed by P. Rabiej, with relation to the indulgence under discussion: 'the fact that this document was issued only a few weeks after Oleśnicki had received from Rome [...] his cardinal's insignia, [...] is a proof that its aim was consciously propagandist [...] and was intended to manifest the elevation of the Bishop of Cracow in the hierarchy of the medieval Church'.[83] In the same year Oleśnicki entered a row with the Primate of Poland. Having arrived on 6 December 1449 in the full splendour of his

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[81] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], Warsaw, inv. DP 602, see Brobisław Geremek, ed., *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV–XV w.*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1997, fig. 276.
[82] Gadomski, 'Wątki włoskie', 110; according to Gadomski, 'the subject matter depicted in the Łopuszna triptych and the message it carried were related to Zbigniew Oleśnicki's religious and political programme of the last period of his life'.
[83] Rabiej, 'Herb kardynała', 80.

new office to Piotrków, to participate in the assembly of the Sejm, he openly demanded principal place in the council.[84] The quarrel was over precedence. Which office should rank highest: that of the archbishop, who was a primate, or of the bishop, who was a cardinal? Additional role in the row was played by the deeply offended pride of the bishop of Cracow, a capital which in the fifteenth century was generally believed to have once had a metropolitan status in the Church. At the beginning of the second millennium, the institution of the College of Cardinals had started its development from an archaic formation that reflected the primitive customs of the Roman Church and merely served an honorary function for an elect group of the most privileged.[85] Since the twelfth century the pope had titled the cardinals as his 'brothers'. Around 1230–1236 William of Auvergne wrote his treatise *De Universo*, an attempt at unifying all metaphysical and cosmological concepts current at that time into one coherent system.[86] In this work, William understood the *Universum* as a triad, made up of structurally combined hierarchies, reflecting not only one another, but also the entire system, in their identical structural divisions into triads of hierarchies. In each of these triads, every sub-hierarchy corresponded in substance with an analogous hierarchy in every other triad. In this system, the dignity of cardinal was higher than that of primate.

Henry Suso called the College of Cardinals part of the papal body: 'sunt enim cardinales pars corporis domini papae qui super omnes est hec ab aliis indicetur'.[87] What is more, only they in the entire Church bore the title of legates *de latere*, because they were derived *de latere papae*.[88] In the period of the great councils of the fifteenth century, the opponents of the councils were of the opinion that the *plenitudo potestatis* rested on the entire Church, which was called *corpus mysticum* or

[84] Maria Koczerska, 'Oleśnicki Zbigniew', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIII, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1978, 781; on the importance of Cracow bishops within the medieval Polish Church, see Bolesław Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. I, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Św. Stanisława BM Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1998, 485–491.

[85] Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Przestrzeń i polityka. Studium rezydencji władcy wcześniejszego średniowiecza. Przykład czeskiego Wyszehradu*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000, 159–164.

[86] Berthold Vallentin, 'Der Engelstaat: Zur mittelalterlichen Anschauung vom Staate (bis auf Thomas von Aquino)', in: *Grundrisse und Bausteine zur Staats- und zur Geschichtslehre*, Berlin: Bondi, 1908, 41–120; for an example of employing this work in art-historical research, see Walter Horn, 'Survival, Revival, Transformation. The Dialectic of Development in Architecture and other Arts', in: Robert Louis Benson, Giles Constable, eds, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford: Harvard University Press, 1982, 711–727.

[87] Hostiensis' works seem to give a dual interpretation of this problem: in one place he writes that the pope holds full power, and the cardinals serve as advisors, and in another, that the pope and cardinals together form the 'head of the Church'; John A. Watt, 'Hostiensis on *per venerabilem*: the Role of the College of Cardinals', in: Tierney, Linehan, eds, *Authority and Power*, 106.

[88] Joseph Lecler, 'Pars corporis papae... Le sacré college dans l'ecclésiologie médiévale', in: *L'homme devant Dieu*. Mélanges offerts au Pére Henri de Lubac, vol. II: *Du Moyen âge au siécle des lumiéres*, Paris: Aubier, 1964, 186.

compositum ecclesiasticum, with the pope as its head and cardinals as its members.[89] Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambray and one of the Council's fathers, asserted that the apostles were in the first place cardinals, and only then bishops. Pope Eugene IV, in his letter *Non mediocri* of 1439 to the Bishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele, reminded (with reference to contemporary canon law) that cardinals ranked higher than bishops, archbishops and patriarchs. The reason for this superiority lay in the fact that 'The Holy College represents the Apostolic College in its primitive stage, when it was gathered around Christ, whereas the bishops stand for nothing else but the apostles scattered around the world'.[90] The tombs that originated in the circle of the Avignon curia provide examples of visual interpretations of these problems. The tomb-chests of antipope Clement VII (d. 1394) and the cardinals: Philippe de Cabassole (d. 1372), William II d'Aigrefeuille (d. 1401), Jean de la Grange (d. 1402), Martino Salva (d. 1403) and Nicholas de Brancas (d. 1412) were decorated with sculpted representations of Christ surrounded by the Apostolic College. This iconographic formula, quite unusual in medieval tombs, has been explained as an attempt at likening the members of the College of Cardinals to the Apostolic College and at symbolically equating the cardinals to the 'columns' supporting the Church.[91] And it is beyond doubt that Oleśnicki must have been aware of such interpretations. The miniature shows him not only as a loyal servant of the pope, abiding by his authority which was derived straight from Christ, but also as a 'column' of the Church, a legate *de latere papae*, and a true successor to the apostles gathered around their Master; in sum, a prelate who occupied the highest position in the hierarchy of Polish Church.

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[89] Ibidem, 183, 189.

[90] This idea was first formulated by the great canonist of the turn of the fourteenth century Agostino Trionfo (d. 1328); Lecler, 'Pars corporis papae...', 186, 188.

[91] Francois Baron, 'Colleges apostoliques et Couronnement de la Vierge dans la sculpture avignonnaise des XIVe et XVe siècles', *Revue du Louvre*, 3, 1979, 169–186; Anne McGee Morgenstern, 'The La Grange Tomb and Choir: A Monument of the Great Schism of the West', *Speculum*, 48/1, 1973, 52–69, esp. 61.

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