

Main Market Square as a Stage in the Town Theatre. An Example of Medieval Kraków

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vol. 1, 2012, 1-2, pp. 48-56

In the following paper the history of the Kraków's Main Market Square as a stage in the theatre of the town is to be presented. Not only will the author discuss changes of the scenography (the transformation of the structure of the buildings) in the 13th – 15th centuries, but he will also focus on the characteristics of the spectacles played on that scene, in which the entire community of the town participated: meetings of the town councillors with the urban community, public executions, greetings and last tributes to the kings – homages and funeral ceremonies, Corpus Christi processions, the preaching activity of John of Capestrano in the years 1453 – 1454 and miraculous events connected with his visit.

Key words: Medieval Kraków. Main market square. Town council. Kraków's burgesses.

„All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances, and one man in his time plays many parts.”¹ These widely known words are uttered in the last scene of the second act of the comedy by William Shakespeare *As you like it*, written at the close of the 16th century, though published not until in the twenties of the next century. A concept expressed does not constitute an acquisition of the Elizabethan age, for Shakespeare clearly alluded (somewhat impossible to determine whether intentionally or not) to an assertion made at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC by Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera saying that „the world is a theatre, life is a play, you come, look, you come out.”² We need to concede the point to the historians of theatre, who unanimously accentuate that the comparison of life with theatre happens „virtually since the beginning of the existence of that art.”³

Following the above-mentioned reasoning it appears to be permissible to identify the institution of the town, perceived most often as the space separated from the world with a ring of walls, in which life was led in compliance with explicitly defined rules,⁴ with a huge theatre stage. Likewise, ancient Rome was many a time depicted in that manner in the literature on the subject. Its inhabitants were identified not only as spectators but also actors playing their roles in performances that both unified and separated that community.⁵ Romans-spectators marveled at the public theatre, fully expressed in the triumphant entrance of the victorious leaders to the town, take for instance the conquerors of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus

1 SHAKESPEARE, W. *As You Like It*. In *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories & Tragedies*. London 1623.

2 *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*. Ed. Diels, H. et al. Zürich 2005; KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru. Aktorzy i widzowie w antycznym Rzymie*. Wrocław 2005, 13.

3 KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 13; See also: EDWARDS, C. *Acting and Self-actualisation in Imperial Rome. Some Death Scenes*. In EASTERLING, P. et al. *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge 2002, 377-394, 377-381.

4 See: CLASSEN, A. *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social-Economic Investigations*. In CLASSEN, A. et al. *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*. Berlin; New York 2009, 1-145, 96-145; Comp. BARTNIK, C. S. *Polska teologia miasta*. In *Miasto i kultura polska doby przemysłowej. Wartości*. Ed. Imbs, H. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków 1993, 51-59.

5 DEBORD, G. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit 1970.

in 167 BC (that entrance changed into several days' manifestation of power of the Republic).⁶ Romans – actors participated, in turn, in the political theatre, in which a murderer of Caesar Brutus summoned to Forum Romanum on the day of his commission of crime an assembly of the Roman citizens so as to convince them to his arguments.⁷ Ergo the afore-mentioned oldest square of early Rome was not only a place of social meetings and exchange of information, but also a stage of the political and religious events of the immense significance.⁸

Identical functions were performed by the main square of the mediaeval town.⁹ It was the space of high prestige. The urban life concentrated there, people traded, met and discussed; there was a seat of local authorities as well, and finally, it was there that its regulations were introduced and a main town temple was located. In the west of Europe it was most often referred to as a place (German Platz) or a market (German Markt), while in Poland to a square.¹⁰ Indisputably, etymology of the word „square“ needs to be searched in a German word Ring (Polish pierścień, Latin circulus). Nevertheless, it is somewhat striking that the above-mentioned word did not appear in the topography of the German towns.¹¹

Urban planning arrangement of Kraków, located in accordance with the Magdeburg law in 1257,¹² whose focal point was represented by a place similar in shape to a square with a side almost 200 m long, is agreeably recognized as „the essence of the urban planning achievement of the towns located on the German law.“¹³ The breadth of that foundation, in turn, truthfully testifies to the ambition of its founder, a duke of Kraków and Sandomierz Boleslaus the Chaste, in the plans of whose Kraków was to assume a role in Lesser Poland parallel to the one Wrocław played in Silesia.¹⁴

The above-mentioned central square of Kraków of Great Location, covering the area of c. 40 000 square metres, marked most probably in 1257,¹⁵ for the whole period of the Middle

6 LANGHORNE, John. et al. *Plutarch's Lives*. Baltimor 1831, 187-202, 198-202; see also: BARZANÒ, A. Biografia pagana come agiografia. Il caso della vita plutarchea di Lucio Emilio Paolo. In *Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* (128) 1994, 403-424; KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 21-33 (Chapter 1.1: *Teatr uliczny*).

7 KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 39-44 (Chapter 1.3: *Teatr polityczny*), 47-49.

8 *Ibidem...*, 44-51 (Chapter 1.4: *Forum Romanum jako scena*); See also: WATKIN, D. *The Roman Forum*. London 2009.

9 STABEL, P. The Market-Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders. In BOONE, M. et al. *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*. Leuven – Apeldoorn 2000, 43-64, 50; See: Funkcje i formy placów miejskich w średniowiecznej Polsce. Konferencja komisji Historii Miast Komitetu Nauk Historycznych PAN. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej (KHKM)* (42) 1992, 273-381; CALABI, D. *The Market and the City. Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot 2004; orig. *Il mercato e la città. Piazze, strade, architetture d'Europa in eta moderna*. Venezia 1993; JAMES, M. Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late medieval English Town. In *Past & Present* (98) 1983, 3-29.

10 The oldest known usage of the word square in Polish is dated at 1400, see: *Słownik staropolski* 8. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk; Łódź 1977 – 1981, 64. (*Cso Potrasz Potraszowi dal rani, to mu ye dal, eze gi potkaw na rinku y dal mu naprzod rani*); See also: URBAŃCZYK, S. et al. Targ. In LABUDA, G. et al. *Lexicon antiquitarum Slavicarum*. Wratislaviae; Varsaviae; Cracoviae; Gedani 1977, 25-32.

11 TYSZKA, P. *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV – XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*. Lublin 2001, 71-73.

12 WYROZUMSKI, J. Eine Lokation oder mehrere Lokationen Krakaus nach dem deutschen Recht? In MUHLE, E. *Rechtstadtgründungen im mittelalterlichen Polen*. Köln; Weimar; Wien 2011, 245-274.

13 KRASNOWOLSKI, B. Rynek Główny w Krakowie – kompozycja i funkcja na tle regularnych układów urbanistycznych średniowiecznej Europy. In *Krzysztofor. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa (Krzysztofor)* (28) 2010, 53-74, 73.

14 KRZYŻANOWSKI, J. Polityka miejska Bolesława Wstydlwego. In *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*. Kraków 1938, 381-430.

15 There is every likelihood that that usage of the phrase was dictated by the fact that the oldest source note referring to the location of Kraków in 1257 – the entry in *Annalis capituli Cracoviensis* – was registered in that manuscript not until in 1266, see: KOZŁOWSKA-BUDKOWA, S. *Annales Cracovienses priores cum calendario*. In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*.

Ages was gradually built up.¹⁶ In its south-west part, at the exit of Vistula (platea Visle) and Jewish (platea Judeorum) Street (later St Ann's Street), assuredly at the beginning of the 14th century a Town Hall was erected, noted for the first time in 1316 in the written sources.¹⁷ Along with the beginning of the next century the height of the tower of the Town Hall nearly doubled to almost 40 metres, which henceforth became one of the dominant features in the architectonic landscape of the town. That monumental building, drawing by virtue of sculpture decorations to the royal foundations on the Wawel Hill, became not only a clear symbol of the position Kraków attained among other Polish towns, but also manifestation of the aspiration of the representatives of the local patriciate.¹⁸ Until the end of the 15th century a seat of the Kraków's local authority occupied almost half of the west part of the Main Square.

To the east of the Town Hall, in the centre of the square, merchant buildings were located, most probably in its original plan older than the Town Hall. They constituted a chain of cloth stalls, stalls and bread benches. At the end of the 14th century the Cloth Hall, a massive basilican building with the length of over one hundred metres, comprising thirty-four shops, in which cloth was merchandised, and two specialized workshops (cropping buildings) where the cloth was cropped before it was sold, was erected in that place. To the east side of the Cloth Hall, in place of the old 13th- and 14th-century stalls, at the same time a subsequent merchant building was erected, the so-called Rich Stalls a complex of sixty-four ground-floor stalls, in which minor articles, canvas and metal and haberdashery products, including articles of eastern origin, such as silk, pepper or spices, were traded. To the west side of the Cloth Hall a complex of the bread benches was placed.¹⁹

In the south and east part of the Main Market Square the biggest scales in Poland were located. In the Great Scale (Leaded) metal was weighed, while in the Small One (Waxen) wax, pepper, spices, as well as soap, tar, alum, sulphur and resin. On the first floor of that building Ferrier's House was located – a merchant room in which furs could be purchased. Functioning of the above-mentioned scales was linked to the strategic position Kraków held in the Middle Ages, not only in trading in metal, especially Hungarian copper and lead of Olkusz, but also in the Black Sea trading.²⁰

Series Nova. Warszawa 1978, 30-38, 86. (*MCCLVII Cracouiensis civitas iuri Theuitonico traditur et situs fori per advocatos et domorum et curiarum immutatur*).

16 Kraków's Main Market Square has an extensive monograph, in its assumption popular and scientific, nonetheless, based on thorough architectonic and historical studies, see: KOMOROWSKI, W. – SUDACKA, A. *Rynek Główny w Krakowie*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków 2008. The above-mentioned study complements it in detail. The newest findings over the elements of the building development of the Main Market Square referred to in this work as well as juxtaposition of the older literature on the subject are to be found in the studies quoted in footnotes 17-21.

17 KOMOROWSKI, W. Ratusze Krakowskie. In *Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska* (6) 2007, 23-48.

18 WALCZAK, M. Przyczynek do badań nad wieżą ratuszową w Krakowie. In *Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa* (12) 2009, 21-53.

19 DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Przemiany architektoniczne Kramów Bogatych i Kramów Boleslawowych. In *Krzysztofory* (28) 2010, 153-172; DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Sukiennice – fazy budowy. In *Krzysztofory...*, 173-198.

20 KOMOROWSKI, W. Krakowska Waga Wielka w średniowieczu. In *Rocznik Krakowski* (72) 2006, 33-44; SUDACKA, A. Budynek Małej Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim na podstawie źródeł historycznych. In *Krzysztofory...*, 45-56. See also: NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Wielka Waga na Rynku w Krakowie – interpretacja odkryć i próba rekonstrukcji. In *Krzysztofory* (28) 2010, 265-274; SCHEJBAL-DEREŃ, K. – DEREŃ, M. Wielka Waga na Krakowskim Rynku w świetle badań archeologicznych. In *Krzysztofory...*, 7-30; SCHEJBAL-DEREŃ, K. – GARBACZ-KEMPKA, A. Działalność Krakowskiej Wielkiej Wagi w kontekście badań metaloznawczych. *Ibidem...*, 31-50; GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Budynek Matej Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim – próba rekonstrukcji. *Ibidem...*, 51-65. On the issue of the role Kraków played in the trade in those metals, see: SROKA, S. A. – STARZYŃSKI, M. Handel und Politik. Die Karriere des Markus von Nürnberg in Ungarn an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert. In *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* (97) 2010, 40-42.

On the undeveloped parts of the Main Square specialized market places were operating. The biggest of them, a chicken market, recorded for the first time in 1437, occupied the space between the north end of the Cloth Hall and the Main Market Square's frontage. Salt and fish markets, which have been preserved in the sources of the years 1343 and 1375, were located on the west half of the Main Market Square, vis-à-vis the Town Hall. Cooper's (1435), potter's (1435), coal (1462) and lead (1500) markets were situated in the south part of the Main Market Square, near the building of the Great Scale. Bread (1396) and cereal (1440) markets adjoined the main parish church of the town, the church dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, occupying the north-east corner of the Main Market Square. Its high tower, surmounted in 1478 with a helmet in the shape of the crown, symbolically designated the ideological centre of the town.²¹

Bearing in mind the afore-mentioned description of the building development of the Main Market Square, it seems to be uncomplicated to arrive at a conclusion that in the Middle Ages the Kraków's Main Market Square was unquestionably a vibrant place, filled with the hubbub of those trading and their clientele. By way of illustration, „a crowd of people” (confluencia hominum) witnessed the events of 1369 when the governor Bodzęta of Kosowice, engaged then in a public dispute with the authorities of Kraków,²² appeared on the Main Square during the May fair and throw off a hat symbolizing trade freedom.²³ The echo of the atmosphere of Kraków to some extent may be conveyed by the content of the town statutes issued by the town council in January in 1430, in which an instance of divulging secrets of the clerks of the Town Hall was presented. An editor of that statute heavily emphasized that it was unacceptable that stallholders, various hecklers as well as town rabble debated over matters which were discussed in the seat of the authorities.²⁴ There is every likelihood that those discussions were held, above all, on the central square of the town, surrounded by the houses of the most affluent burghesses belonging to the so-called higher class (Oberschicht). Among them a town palace of the king Casimir the Great at the exit of Grodzka Street (platea Castris), whose front elevation in the 15th century was adorned with figures of the Polish monarchs placed in niches, must have attracted attention.²⁵ Evidently, with a considerable simplification, we may describe a decoration accompanying spectacles witnessed on the Main Square in the era of the Middle Ages.

Aside from the above-mentioned primary function of that place, performing the role of forum mercatorum, we need not overlook the fact that within its space a public sphere permanently permeated the sacral one. Decisions of the local authorities were announced

On the role Kraków played in the trade in the East, see: WYROZUMSKI, J. Handel Krakowa ze Wschodem w średniowieczu. In *Cracovia mediaevalis*. Kraków 2010, 335-353.

21 DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Rynek Krakowski po lokacji – główne kierunki rozwoju bloku śródmiejowego. In *Krzysztofory* (28) 2010, 99-112.

22 The above-mentioned dispute I discussed in detail in the article entitled Spór o miasto. Kraków w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego. In STARZYŃSKI, M. *Kazimierz – sławny i z czynów Wielki*. Kraków 2011, 85-95.

23 WYROZUMSKA, B. *Liber proscriptio et querelarum civitatis Cracoviensis 1360 – 1422*. (KP). Kraków 2001, 136.

24 PPEKOSIŃSKI, F. *Codex diplomaticus civitatis Cracoviensis*. (KDMK) Cracoviae 1882, 307. (*Und is ist unere und schande, das weyber und schrepir und trunkinbolde und allerley ungunner sullen eyns ratis heymelichkeit mawblewen und hadirwaschen und spotten*).

25 LUKACZ, M. Zabudowa pierzei Rynku Głównego w Krakowie w okresie średniowiecza. In *Krzysztofory* (28) 2010, 75-98; see: RAJMAN, J. *Kraków, zespół osadniczy, proces lokacyjny, mieszczanie do roku 1333*. Kraków 2004, 244-268; WALCZAK, M. Domniemany pałac królewski z drugiej połowy XIV wieku przy Rynku Głównym w Krakowie. In FEJTOVA, O. et al. *Život pražských paláců. Šlechtické paláce jako součást městského organismu od středověku na práh moderní doby*. Praha 2009, 355-370.

there, while penalties exacted. With reference to Kraków, since 1320 the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland, its central square commenced over time to function as *forum regale*. There, after all, every new monarch, inaugurating his own reign, was paid homage by his burgesses, there as well his subjects said goodbye to his king in the funeral ceremony. Once a year, on Thursday after Sunday Trinitatis, Kraków's Main Market Square changed into a great temple unifying all the inhabitants in the procession of Corpus Christi. Nonetheless, not many sources have been preserved of the 13th – 15th centuries that would illustrate those issues. Admittedly, a historian of Kraków has almost a complete resource of municipal judicial books of the time at his disposal, nevertheless, to a lesser extent, he is capable of reaching for the accounting books of the time, in which chancellery writers recorded in a sequence of numbers everyday life of the town.²⁶

At the Main Market Square in front of the Town Hall, Kraków's town councilors publicized the content of the subsequent town statutes issued, i.e. acts which regulated various aspects of life of the town. For this purpose in 1403 and 1408 burgesses were summoned with the ring of the bell hung in the Town Hall.²⁷ In turn, a town statute referring to the merchants arriving in Kraków, issued in 1432 in accordance with the order of the authorities was to be written on boards later displayed in the Cloth Hall.²⁸

The Main Market Square was also a public place of the execution of law, serving the role of a particularly significant instrument in charge of the municipal authorities, which, in turn, reminded the local community of the necessity for complying with the accepted norms. Since the corporal character was then assigned to evil, infliction of penalty in plain view of a numerously gathered audience constituted a symbolic act of purifying the municipal space. Therefore, *communitas* eliminated from its circle a person or persons that threatened its security.²⁹ In Kraków decapitation (beheading) was executed near the main entrance of St Mary's Church. There on Saturday 4th September 1406 a town councillor Andrew Wierzynek, one of the richest and most respected patricians, charged with stealing money from the municipal treasury, was caught in the act and sentenced to death the same day. That unprecedented event must have shocked the public opinion and most probably for several weeks was widely discussed. It appears to be justified to claim that Kraków's town councilors wished to communicate that no one was allowed to act against the municipal order, especially those who brought it.³⁰

At the Main Market Square the stake was as well burnt. In 1396 a woman who desecrated the host spitting it out from her mouth on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was burnt. From the municipal treasury eighteen groschen were paid to an executioner on wood, three on tar, and one on straw.³¹ Nine years later (1405) a Jew Fetter, charged with

26 The issue of the condition of the preserved mediaeval Kraków's archive materials is thoroughly discussed in the article entitled *Nad średniowiecznymi księgami rachunkowymi miasta Krakowa* In *Roczniki Historyczne* (74) 2008, 165-178.

27 PIEKOSINSKI, F. *Registra perceptorum et distributorum civitatis Cracoviensis annorum 1390 – 1393, 1395 – 1405, nec non 1407 – 1410.* (RK) In idem. et al. *Libri antiquissimi civitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1300 usque ad annum 1400.* Cracoviae 1877, 335; Archiwum Państwowe Kraków (APK), Ms. 1594, 27.

28 KDMK II..., 286. ; See also: STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten der Herrschaft im mittelalterlichen Krakau* (in print).

29 ZAREMSKA, H. *Miejsca kaźni w Krakowie w XIV – XVI wieku.* In *KHKM* (42) 1992, 306-312, 312; see also: SPIERENBURG, P. *The Spectacle of Suffering. Executions and the Evolutions of Repression from a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience.* Cambridge 1984.

30 APK, *Acta consularia Cracoviensia*, Ms. 427, 248-253, 255-259; STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten...*

31 *RK...*, 313 (*Nota, quod certa mulier die Assumpcionis Marie, suscepto Corpore Domini in os, emisit id in pavimentum et pretendebat sacrilegium facere. Item pro cremacione cuiusdam mulieris primo III grossos pro pino. Item pro lignis XVIII grossos et I grossum pro straminibus.*)

forging coins, died in that way as well. Before he had been executed, he was showed around the Kraków's streets decorated with counterfeit coins.³² Those sentenced to banishment (those proscribed) were flogged with rods and taken around the Main Market Square before their exile, as it took place in 1383, when the proscribed Hannus Rosinhayn was accused of polygamy.³³

A principal role Kraków assumed at the beginning of the 14th century, when it became a place of the coronation of the Polish monarchs, a main residential centre and finally a capital of the country, exerted a marked influence on the fact that it was there that subsequent rulers of the Kingdom of Poland a day after the ceremony of coronation received homage from the town councilors and numerous burgesses assisting them. Thus, naturally in the symbolic sphere, the reception of a new monarch by the people was held. For many it was a sole occasion to look at the majesty of the ruler at least from a distance. John Długosz, an author of the greatest historiographical work which originated in 15th-century Europe, recorded that already Ladislaus the Elbow-high in 1320 was paid tribute by the Krakówians.³⁴ Unfortunately, no contemporary source confirms that. There is every likelihood that the chronicler transferred a custom he knew from experience to the realities of the 14th century. Nevertheless, it is known that in the years 1434 and 1447 he was an eye-witness of two tributary ceremonies cancelled at the last moment, owing to the arguments dukes of Mazovia provoked, when newly crowned monarchs were already present at the Main Market Square.³⁵ In the oldest municipal copybook a rich-in-details description of the oath of allegiance to the Jagiellon dynasty which the Krakówians paid to Ladislaus the Jagiellon and his newly born son Ladislaus in February 1425 has been preserved. A Royal pledge confirming the existing rights and privileges of the town was announced to those assembled sub utraque lingua, i.e. most probably in Polish and German. Town councilors gave a pledge on the golden cross carried by the Kraków's bishop Sbigneus Oleśnicki, while representatives of *communitas* rendered it by virtue of raising their fingers. Subsequently, Jagiello shook hands with every town councillor.³⁶ Similarly to

32 Ibidem..., 341 (*Item l grossum pro straminibus, quando Judeus fuit crematus, Vettir Judeus*); ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina Krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, 463-464; Długosz incorrectly dated that event at 1406, see: *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae (Annales)*. lib. X – XI. Varsaviae 1997, 15.

33 KP..., 63, 611. (*Item Hannus Rosinhayn, verberatus virgis cum voce preconum per totum circulum et mox de civitate prohibitus propter adulteraciones*).

34 *Annales...*, lib. IX. Varsaviae 1978, 108. (*In crastino vero coronacionis Wladislaus rex fasciis regiis vestitus, in urbem Cracoviensem ad thronum sibi preparatum cum prelati et baronibus descendens, girata prius urbe, a civibus Cracoviensibus ultro illud prestantibus accepit omagium et fidelitatis iuramentum*).

35 *Annales...*, lib. XI – XII. Varsaviae 2001, 137 (*In preparatum autem sibi circa eodem pretorii non descendit thalamum, ubi consulum et civium Cracoviensium suscepturus erat subieccionis, obediencie et fidelitatis iuramentum, propter litem, que inter pontifices et Masovie duces, latus regium ambientes, de superioritate et prioritate loci fuerat subsecuta utrisque adnitentibus se ad dexteram regis, dum ad thalamum ex equo descenderet, consessuros et pluribus rationibus, his pontificalem, illis vero ducalem prestare ducentibus dignitatem*); *Annales...*, lib. XII. Cracoviae 2003, p. 47. (*Altera coronacionis die rex Casimirus in apparatu regio in equo ivit in circulum [...] Et dum esset prope thronum, sibi iuxta pretorium preparatum, duces Masovie Wladislaus et Boleslaus tenere dextram partem lateris regis conati ac per hoc habere locum supra pontifices alcioem sortiri, novum scisma introducunt, pontificibus id non ferentibus sed in continenti factis per prius variis tractatibus a rege in domos suas discedentibus. Rex molestissime eorum discessum ferens nec thronum sibi preparatum ascendit nec homagium a civibus cepit sed girato circulo ad castrum tristis rediit*); see also: ROKOSZ, M. *Ceremonia hołdu pokoronacyjnego na Rynku Krakowskim*. In: SMOLUCHA, J. et al. *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*. Kraków 2008, 537-552.

36 ESTREICHER, S. *Antiquum registrum privilegiorum et statutorum civitatis Cracoviensis*. Kraków 1936, 16-17. (*Anno Domini mcccxxxv feria tertia post dominicam Invocavit cum serenissimus princeps dominus noster gloriosissimus rex Wladislaus baptisare fecisset filium suum inclitum Wladislaum, qui eo anno natus est ei, venit ipse cum consilio suo et pocioribus dominis huius Regni in locum ante pretorium civitatis Cracovie. [...] Et fecit hanc promissionem clamari ad populum circumfusum sub utraque lingua. Propter quod placuit omni congregacioni communitatis fieri hommagium et*

the events of the 16th century, the monarch stood on the platform built by the Town Hall at the exit of Bracka Street, in place which in the topography of Kraków's Main Market Square was defined as *na goldzie*.

The central square of the town also assumed the role of the scene of the funeral ceremonies of the late monarch. For the first time it took place on 19th November 1370 when a ceremonial procession marched across the Kraków's Main Market Square, in which Casimir the Great, deceased several days earlier on the Wawel Hill, was symbolized by a horseman clad in golden royal robes, while money was scattered among the crowd epitomizing generosity of the monarch departing his people. During subsequent funeral ceremonies, since 1434 on, a funeral cortège with the coffin of the earthly remains of the monarch marched across the Main Square, which constituted apart of the so-called Royal route (*via regia*), leading from St Florian's Gate to the castle hill.³⁷ Ergo the space of the Kraków's Main Market Square became in an anthropological dimension the space of the beginning and end – opening and closure of the reign under people's very eyes.

The Main Market Square was also a sacral space, over which towers of the parish church dominated. In the years 1453 – 1454 the Krakówians assembled there to hear sermons of the charismatic Italian monk, John of Capestrano, who called for conversion and change of the customs; who as well completed numerous healing processes.³⁸ Conrad of Freystadt, who accompanied him in his missionary journey around East-Central Europe, recollected that in winter when Capestrano moved from the church dedicated to St Adalbert to St Mary's church, people froze to death for they could not get inside the temple.³⁹ At least since the 1380s on the day of Corpus Christi, with the sound of the trumpets, the procession wound its way around the Kraków's Main Market Square, turning it into the great temple filled with the crowds of the faithful. The priest leaving the walls of the main parish church with the monstrance of the Holy Sacrament signified the change of the character of that feast. For it exhibited signs of guild organizations. The sequence of the proceedings in the procession directly reflected the position individual participants took in the social structure of the town. Hence it mirrored an image of the town „in its legal, professional and financial diversification.”⁴⁰

The last quote needs to be regarded as a brief, though, apt recapitulation of the aforementioned deliberation on the function of the Kraków's Main Market Square in the era of the Middle Ages, in which the town was mirrored in its legal, professional and financial diversification.

iurare. [...] Tunc ergo totus consulatus super ipsas promissiones domini nostri et iussionem dominorum ad crucem auream in manibus episcopi Cracouiensis prestitit iuramentum [...] Post hoc iuravit et tota communitas digitis sublevatis sub eiusdem verbis, ut iam dictum est. Hiis igitur expletis recepti rex stipulationem a consulibus modernis et senioribus, dans manum singulis eorum); see also: STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten...* (in print).

37 BORKOWSKA, U. The Funeral Ceremonies of the Polish Kings from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries. In *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (36) 1985, 513-534; STARZYŃSKI, M. Last Tribute to the King. Funeral Ceremony of the Polish King Casimir the Jagiellon (1492) in the Light of an Unknown Description (in print); see also: CHROŚCICKI, J. A. CHROŚCICKI, Juliusz. A. Przeszczenie ceremonialna w nowożytnym mieście. In *KHKM* (43) 1993, 213-224.

38 The above-mentioned stay I thoroughly discussed in the article entitled *Il re, il vescovo ed il predicatore. Giovanni da Capestrano a Cracovia 1453 – 1454. Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (104) 2011, 485-518.

39 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. NAL 1763, f. 189v (*Anno Domini 1453 tali intensissimi frigoris hiems erat, quod etiam homines in plateis morte oppressit, quorum ego frater Conradus de Libera Civitate Minorum indignus, horum preclarissimorum miraculorum divitus operatarum, insufficiens collector et scriptor vidi hoc fore factum ante porticum ecclesie Virginis Gloriose Cracouie diversimode, que alios plurimos invadendo suo flatu frigidum lesit*).

40 ZAREMSKA, H. Procesje Bożego Ciała w Krakowie w XIV – XVI wieku. In GEREMEK, B. *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk 1978, 25-40, 39; MORAWSKI, Z. Funkcje religijne placów miejskich w średniowiecznej Polsce. In *KHKM* (42) 1992, 295-303.

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