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## Tormented and Glorified Body – The Example of St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus

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The two medieval patron saints of Poland, St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus, both suffered martyrdom, which was the primary ground for their canonisation.<sup>1</sup> This is why descriptions of their martyrdom were given high prominence in countless hagiographical, historiographical, and liturgical sources. Extensive accounts of the events focused, on the one hand, on various forms of bodily torment resulting in martyrdom and, on the other hand, on the signs indicating the sanctification of the bodies through martyrdom. This is how Adam Świnka of Zielona, who authored numerous liturgical texts on these saints in the first half of the fifteenth century, put it in a sequence devoted to St. Adalbert:

Corpus tuum benedictum, laceratum et afflictum ob felicem exitum.

Per mucronis nempic ictum cor confessum sic invictum Deo reddit spiritum.<sup>2</sup>

An analysis of texts describing the martyrdom of the two patron saints of Poland makes it possible to determine what means were employed to convey this thought and what religious views were expressed through the body-related symbolism found in such accounts. The store of relevant texts is quite extensive. For the purposes of this study, we consider hagiographies of the two saints, sequences

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Andrzej Dubina for translating this paper into English.

<sup>2</sup> *Cantica medii aevi polono-latina*, Vol. 1: *Sequentiae*, ed. Henricus [Henryk] Kowalewicz, Bibliotheca Latina Medii et recentioris aevi, Vol. 14, Iss. 37 (Varsoviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964), 55–56.

and hymns dedicated to them, as well as chronicle accounts dating from up to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Sermons, however, are not covered due to their large number and due to the fact that they have not as yet been adequately researched, which does not facilitate their analysis. Furthermore, due to the large number and diverse nature of the source texts we have taken into consideration, it is not possible to conduct a detailed analysis of the cross-borrowing between individual texts.

Although the traditions of both saints were shaped by the same kinds of sources, there are some significant differences in how they developed. The earliest hagiographies of St. Adalbert were written shortly after his death in 997 and originated from the circles of those that had been close to him. Importantly, the hagiographies were partly based on eyewitness accounts.<sup>3</sup> Due to the international publicity given to the martyrdom of the Apostle of Prussia, the capture in 1038 or 1039 of his relics by Břetislav I, Duke of Bohemia, their burial in the Prague Cathedral, and the occupation by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the territories where he died, St. Adalbert was venerated not only in Poland but also in Bohemia and Prussia, and echoes of these events also reached Germany, Italy, and Aquitaine. The tradition about his martyrdom was thus developed in different locations and over several centuries, as new elements continued to be introduced throughout the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries.

By contrast, the tradition about the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus arose from the chronicle of Bishop Vincent Kadłubek at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,<sup>4</sup> about 130 years after St. Stanislaus' death and some 200 years later than the beginning of the tradition of St. Adalbert. Right from the start, the tradition of St. Stanislaus had a fully developed form as a mature and highly artistic literary text. The original tradition was sealed by its inclusion in the Bull of Canonisation of St. Stanislaus of 1253<sup>5</sup> and in *Vita minor* and *Vita maior* written by Vincent

<sup>3</sup> Miłosz Sosnowski, *Studia nad wczesnymi żywotami św. Wojciecha – tradycja rękopiśmienna i polemika środowisk* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2013), 25–83; *S. Adalberti pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior* [Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy], ed. Hedvigis [Jadwiga] Karwasińska, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova*, Vol. 4, fasc. 1 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962); *S. Adalberti pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi* [Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Querfurtu], ed. Hedvigis [Jadwiga] Karwasińska, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova*, Vol. 4, fasc. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum* [Mistrz Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika polska], ed. Marianus [Marian] Plezia, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova*, Vol. 11 (Kraków: Secesja, 1994), 57–58. The latest research about this chronicle is presented in *Onus Athlanteum. Studia and Kroniką biskupa Wincentego*, ed. Andrzej Dąbrówka, Witold Wojtowicz (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Stowarzyszenie “Pro Cultura Litteraria”; Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> “Innocentego pp. IV bulla kanonizacyjna świętego Stanisława oraz bulla delegacyjna dla Jakuba z Velletri,” ed. Roman Zawadzki, *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 34–36.

Dominican of Kielcza or Kielce around the time of the canonisation.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the same plot, sometimes with omissions, was repeated by subsequent authors until the end of the fifteenth century, when some new elements were introduced. Despite significant differences in the development of the two traditions, it is worthwhile to compare their constituent elements and the symbolism of these elements.

Martyrdom involves three active subjects or groups of subjects: the martyr, his killers, and God, who by means of signs on the martyr's body indicates that his soul has attained glory. The tradition of St. Adalbert variously describes the gestures he performed just before his death. According to the oldest sources, *Vita prior*<sup>7</sup> and Adalbert's biography written by Bruno of Querfurt<sup>8</sup> and its redaction written at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>9</sup> as well as some late medieval sources (e.g. the fifteenth-century *Vita* of St. Romuald by Hieronymus, a Camaldolese monk from Prague,<sup>10</sup> and the *Life of St. Adalbert* published in Venice in 1512),<sup>11</sup> St. Adalbert was martyred while standing or falling with his arms outstretched so that his body formed a cross. As described in *Passio* from Tegernsee, written in the first quarter of the eleventh century perhaps on the initiative of Gaudentius, St. Adalbert's brother, at the moment when the bishop was attacked by his killers, he was raising his arms to put on his stole before reciting vigils for the dead.<sup>12</sup> A new motif appears in the hagiographic text *Tempore illo*, written in the second half of the twelfth century or the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup> There is no mention of any gestures made by the saint before his death, but he is said to have celebrated Mass immediately before the onslaught of the pagans. It is also reported that, after St. Adalbert was martyred, his severed head was hung on the very tree under which he had celebrated Mass.<sup>14</sup> This motif is repeated in a number of sources that came after *Tempore illo*: the thirteenth-century

<sup>6</sup> "Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis. (Vita minor)," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 4 (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1884), 280–282; "Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis. (Vita maior)," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 4, 387–389; Teresa Michałowska, *Literatura polskiego średniowiecza* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011), 878–879.

<sup>7</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 84.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 39, 68.

<sup>9</sup> Miłosz Sosnowski, "Legenda *Adelbertus alto sanguine*. Komentarz, miejsce w tradycji Nascitur (BHL 38), wydanie," *Roczniki Historyczne* 86 (2020): 38.

<sup>10</sup> "Alia vita sive sermo de vita S. Romualdi auctore Hieronymo Eremita Camald" in *Acta sanctorum Februarii*, Vol. 2 (5) (Parisiis et Romae: Victor Palmé, 1864), 134.

<sup>11</sup> *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae* (Venetiis, 1512), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Miłosz Sosnowski, "Anonimowa *Passio s. Adalberti martiris* (BHL 1471b) – komentarz, edycja, przekład," *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 32 (2012): 38–42, 66; Roman Michałowski, "Pasja z Tegernsee: misja u pogan, liturgia i kreacja hagiograficzna," *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 58 (2020): 13, 29–30.

<sup>13</sup> Michałowska, *Literatura*, 175–176.

<sup>14</sup> "De sancto Adalberto episcopo," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 4, 218–219.

*Miracula sancti Adalberti*,<sup>15</sup> *Annales* by John Długosz,<sup>16</sup> a catalogue of the Bishops of Kraków,<sup>17</sup> and in *Chronica Polonorum* by Matthias of Miechów, written in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> There is also an iconographic confirmation of the presence of this motif in St. Adalbert's tradition. One of the scenes on the Gniezno Doors, manufactured around the 1180s, depicts St. Adalbert celebrating the Holy Mass on the morning of his death.<sup>19</sup>

The tradition about the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus is much more uniform in this respect. All the accounts, beginning with that of Vincent Kadłubek, report that the bishop was killed at the altar while celebrating Mass. There is no detailed description of any gestures he would be making, but they must have been in accordance with the requirements of the liturgy.<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that

<sup>15</sup> "Miracula sancti Adalberti," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 4, 232–233.

<sup>16</sup> Joannes Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, eds. Ioannes Dąbrowski, Vanda Semkowicz-Zaremba, Christina Pieradzka, Bożena Modelska-Strzelecka (Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964), 217.

<sup>17</sup> "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," ed. Josephus [Józef] Szymański in *Catalogi episcoporum cracoviensium*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, Vol. 10, part 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 80.

<sup>18</sup> Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum* (Cracouiae, 1521), reprint (Kraków: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1986), XXXII.

<sup>19</sup> Michał Janocha, *Missa in arte polona. Ikonografia mszy świętej w średniowiecznej i nowożytnej sztuce polskiej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1998), 18–21; Jadwiga Karwasińska, "Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie a rozwój legendy o świętym Wojciechu" in *eadem*, *Święty Wojciech. Wybór pism*, ed. Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1996), 64–65; Ryszard Grzesik, "Literackie wzorce ikonografii Drzwi Gnieźnieńskich," *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 36 (1997): 4–5; Lech Kalinowski, "Treści ideowe i artystyczne Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie" in *idem*, *Speculum artis. Treści dzieła sztuki średniowiecza i renesansu* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989), 261–262.

<sup>20</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57; "Innocentego pp. IV bulla": 34; "Vita... minor," 280; "Vita... maior," 387; *Cantica medii aevi*, 17, 62, 91; "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," ed. Sophia Kozłowska-Budka, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, Vol. 5 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), 51; "Kronika polska," ed. Ludwik Œwikliński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 3 (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878), 624; "Vita s. Stanisłai" [so called "Vita Tradunt"] in *Martini Galli chronicon*, ed. Joannes Vincentius Bandtkie (Varsaviae: Collegium Varsaviense Scholarium Piarum, 1824), 352; *Chronica Poloniae maioris* [Kronika wielkopolska], ed. Brygida Kürbis, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, Vol. 8 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 23; *Kronika książąt polskich*, ed. Zygmunt Węclewski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 3, 448; *Annales S. Crucis* [Rocznik świętokrzyski], ed. Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, Vol. 12 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1996), 17–18, 105; Joannes Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanisłai cracoviensis episcopi," eds. Ignatius Polkowski, Żegota Pauli in *idem*, *Opera omnia*, ed. Alexander Przeździecki, Vol. 1 (Cracouiae: Typographia Ephemeredum "Czas," 1887), 64–66; Joannes Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, eds. Danuta Turkowska, Christina Pieradzka, Maria Kowalczyk, Marian Plezia (Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 134–135; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja III" in *Catalogi episcoporum cracoviensium*, 44–45; "Katalog Długosza" in *ibidem*, 146; Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*

the motif of Holy Mass having been celebrated just before martyrdom enters St. Adalbert's tradition in the second half of the twelfth century, i.e. roughly at the same time that the same motif is registered in the chronicle written by Vincent Kadłubek at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which included a hagiography of St. Stanislaus.

The sources we have analysed report on two types of actions undertaken by the martyrs' tormentors: the murder itself, and the subsequent attempt to desecrate the corpse. According to most accounts, St. Adalbert was first attacked with spears or projectiles (according to Ademar of Chabannes)<sup>21</sup> and then decapitated.<sup>22</sup> A significant number of both the oldest texts and the late medieval ones specify that exactly seven wounds were inflicted on the martyr with a spear.<sup>23</sup> Many of the accounts do not make it clear<sup>24</sup> whether St. Adalbert died as a result of spear wounds and whether the decapitation and subsequent impalement of

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(Nuremberg, 1493), Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Inc. 121 V, <https://tiny.pl/dl1jc>, scan nr 579, accessed on 26 March 2023; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; *Cronica Petri comitis Poloniae wraz z tzw. Carmen Mauri*, ed. Marian Plezia, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova, Vol. 3 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1951), 5; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX.

<sup>21</sup> *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, ed. Pascale Bougrain in *Ademari Cabannensis opera omnia*, pars 1: *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Vol. 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 152.

<sup>22</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 66, 84; *S. Adalberti... vita altera*, 40, 69; [Thietmar of Merseburg], *Kronika Thietmara*, ed. Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1953), 183; "Verše o utrpení sv. Vojtěcha, biskupa a mučeníka" [so called "Quattuor immensi"], ed. Josef Emler in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 1 (Praha: Musei Království Českého, 1873), 334; "Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus," ed. Georg Weitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, Vol. 14 (Hannoverae: impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883), 131; "Annalista Saxo," ed. Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, Vol. 6 (Hannoverae: impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1844), 641; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert aus polnischen und böhmischen Chroniken," nr 3 [the first version of the chronicle of Přibík Pulkava], nr 5, ed. Max Töppen in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1863), 422, 423; "Sancti Adalberti vita", Monumenta historica Boemiae, ed. Gelasius Dobner (Pragae 1768), 55–56; "Alia vita," 134; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 80; *Cantica mediae aevi*, 95; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII; "Rocznik Krasieńskich do r. 1351," ed. August Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Vol. 3, 129; see Grzesik, "Literackie wzorce": 4.

<sup>23</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 66; *S. Adalbert... vita altera*, 37–38, 68; "Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus," 131; Sosnowski, "Legenda Adelbertus": 38; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 3, 422; "Alia vita," 134; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII.

<sup>24</sup> Unclear: "Verše o utrpení," 334; "Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus," 131, "De sancto Adalberto," 219; "E codicibus varsaviensisbus," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Vol. 5 (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888), 997; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 5, 423; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2; "Rocznik Krasieńskich," 129.

the head served only to dishonour the corpse<sup>25</sup> or was killed by decapitation.<sup>26</sup> Some accounts only mention the saint's decapitation, which would indicate that this is how he died.<sup>27</sup>

Accounts of the murder of St. Stanislaus unanimously report that the Bishop of Cracow died as a result of being struck on the head with a sword by King Bolesław II the Bold.<sup>28</sup>

The accounts of actions aimed at the desecration of the martyrs' dead bodies are much more varied. According to accounts on the martyrdom of St. Adalbert, his severed head and the rest of his body were handled separately. Many of the accounts speak of the martyr's head being impaled on a stake.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the authors explicitly state that the purpose of this act was to mock or defile the head,<sup>30</sup> to make it into a spectacle – *flebile spectaculum*, as it is put in a fifteenth-century sequence authored by Adam Świnka of Zielona<sup>31</sup> – or so that it could be eaten by birds or wild animals.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The death as a result of spear wounds: *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 66; *S. Adalberti... vita altera*, 39–40, 67–69; *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, 152; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 3, 422; "Sancti Adalberti vita," 55; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 80; *Cantica medii aevi*, 95; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII.

<sup>26</sup> The death as a result of decapitation: *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, *Redactio cassinensis*, 84; [Thietmar of Merseburg], *Kronika*, 183; "Annalista Saxo," 641; "Alia vita," 134.

<sup>27</sup> Only the decapitation mentioned without the spear wounds: Sosnowski, "Anonimowa Passio": 66; "De sancto Adalberto," 219; "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 233; "Annales Silesiaci compilati 965–1279," ed. Mieczysław Błazowski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 3, 671; Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Legenda pruska o świętym Wojciechu* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 1997), 37; see Grzesik, "Literackie wzorce": 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57; "Innocentego pp. IV bulla": 34–36; "Vita... minor," 280–281; "Vita... maior," 387; "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," 51; *Annales S. Crucis*, 17–18, 105; "Kronika polska," 624; *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 23; *Cantica medii aevi*, 17, 59–60, 91, 99–100, 171; "Vita s. Stanisłai" [so called "Vita Tradunt"], 352–354; *Kronika książąt polskich*, 448; Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanisłai," 63–66; Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 135–137; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja III," 44; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja IV świętokrzyska [XV w.]," ed. Josephus Szymański in *Catalogi episcoporum cracoviensium*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, Vol. 10, part 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe: 1974), 55; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 85; Krzysztof Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest poezji humanistycznej w Polsce," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 18 (1986): 447–448; Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, scan nr 579; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; *Cronica Petri comitis*, 5; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX.

<sup>29</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 47, 67, 84; "Verše o utrpeni," 334; Sosnowski, "Anonimowa Passio": 66; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 3, 422; "Sancti Adalberti vita," 55; *Cantica medii aevi*, 66; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII; "Rocznik Krasieński," 129; see Grzesik, "Literackie wzorce": 4–5.

<sup>30</sup> [Thietmar of Merseburg], *Kronika*, 183; "Annalista Saxo," 641; "Alia vita," 134; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217.

<sup>31</sup> "De sancto Adalberto," 219; "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 233; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 80; *Cantica medii aevi*, 55.

<sup>32</sup> "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 5, 423.

Sources also describe various forms of defilement inflicted by the killers on the rest of St. Adalbert's body. Two early redactions of *Vita prior* speak of his body being left at the scene of the crime,<sup>33</sup> while the Monte Cassino version clarifies that it was done in order for the corpse to be devoured by wild animals.<sup>34</sup> Ademar of Chabannes claims that the same thing happened to the saint's head, namely, that it was abandoned in the field rather than impaled on a stake.<sup>35</sup> A Czech hagiography from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reports that one of the saint's fingers was snatched by a vulture.<sup>36</sup> Some sources – primarily those from the eleventh century – claim that the body was desecrated by being thrown into water (sea, lake, stream).<sup>37</sup> This motif is repeated in a fourteenth-century text about the alleged ransoming of St. Adalbert's body by Emperor Otto the III.<sup>38</sup> A possible reflection of this motif is also contained in a sequence by Adam Świnka of Zielona, when he talks of sea waves being illuminated with light miraculously emanating from St Adalbert's body.<sup>39</sup> In its turn, the *Tempore illo* hagiography, written in the second half of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century, introduces the report that the Prussians chopped up Adalbert's body into small pieces and scattered them around.<sup>40</sup> This motif is later repeated in some sources written in the thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> All but one piece of the saint's remains were scattered on the ground, and not in the water, and were later collected by his Prussian host. This tradition was very popular in the late Middle Ages.

The only part of the saint's body that could not be collected from the ground was said to be a finger that had fallen into the water, was swallowed by a fish and discovered thanks to a supernatural light emanating from its entrails. This is what one can read in the sources written in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>42</sup>

Detailed accounts of the desecration of St. Stanislaus' dead body also feature prominently in the hagiography of this saint. From the chronicle of Vincent

<sup>33</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 47, 66.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, 84.

<sup>35</sup> *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, 152.

<sup>36</sup> "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 5, 423.

<sup>37</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 84 (30 days after the martyrdom); [Thietmar of Merseburg], *Kronika*, 183; Sosnowski, "Anonimowa Passio": 66; *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, 152; "Annalista Saxo," 641.

<sup>38</sup> "E codicibus varsaviensisbus," 996.

<sup>39</sup> *Cantica medii aevi*, 55.

<sup>40</sup> "De sancto Adalberto," 219.

<sup>41</sup> "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 233–234; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 80; Wyzumski, *Legenda pruska*, 37; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII; "Rocznik Krasińskich," 129.

<sup>42</sup> "De sancto Adalberto," 219–220; "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 226, 233–234; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 3, 422; nr 5, 423; "Santi Adalberti vita," 55; *Cantica medii aevi*, 95; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2.

Kadłubek to the chronicle of Matthias of Miechów, sources relate with indignation that the King's servants or the King himself chopped up the murdered bishop's body into small pieces and scattered them around,<sup>43</sup> allegedly with the intention that the remains be devoured by wild animals.<sup>44</sup> The only divergence from this pattern is seen in the account contained in the *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, according to which the bishop's remains were thrown into a pond.<sup>45</sup> In the fifteenth century, the tradition of St. Stanislaus' martyrdom is enriched with new elements. In his extensive biography of St. Stanislaus, John Długosz singles out those parts of the martyr's body that suffered particular dishonour. The King is said to have personally cut off the dead man's nostrils and lips in revenge for a similar mutilation by the bishop of his favourite mare, with whom the King had committed acts of sodomy.<sup>46</sup> This motif was taken up in the Renaissance poem by Filippo Buonaccorsi called Callimachus.<sup>47</sup> In addition, according to Długosz's Life, the King cut off the bishop's right hand and scalped the tonsure.<sup>48</sup> Again, one of the martyr's fingers was supposed to have fallen into a pond, where it was swallowed by a fish and later discovered thanks to a supernatural light.<sup>49</sup> The same author, in his *Annales*, states that St. Stanislaus' body was chopped into exactly 72 pieces (rather than an uncountable number).<sup>50</sup> Similar accounts can be found in sev-

<sup>43</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57; "Innocentego pp. IV bulla": 34, 36; *Chronica Dzirsvae*, ed. Christophorus [Krzysztof] Pawłowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova, Vol. 15 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2013), 29–30; *Annales S. Crucis*, 105; *Cantica medii aevi*, 91; *Cronica Petri comitis*, 5.

<sup>44</sup> "Vita... minor," 281; "Vita... maior," 387–388; "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," ed. Sophia [Zofia] Kozłowska-Budka, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova, Vol. 5 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), 51; *Cantica medii aevi*, 16, 17, 57, 59, 62, 177; "Vita s. Stanislai" [so called "Vita Tradunt"], 355; Henryk Kowalewicz, "Tworczość liryczna Stanisława Ciołka," *Eos* 65 (1977): 159; Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 137; "Katalog Długosza," 146; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja III," 44–45; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja IV świętokrzyska," 55; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 85; Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest": 447; Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, scan nr 579; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 23.

<sup>46</sup> Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanislai," 60–61, 66. About the tradition of kings sodomy: Jacek Banaszkiwicz, "Czarna i biała legenda Bolesława Śmiałego," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88 (1981): 360–368.

<sup>47</sup> Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest": 447.

<sup>48</sup> Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanislai," 66–67.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, 68; Maria Starnawska, "Przygoda służącej z Kazimierza czyli o świętej mocy sadzawki pod Skalką krakowską" in *Wojsko i kultura w dziejach Polski i Europy. Księga jubileuszowa profesora Piotra Matusaka w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, eds. Rafał Dmowski, Janusz Gmitruk, Grażyna Korneć, Wojciech Włodarkiewicz (Warszawa–Siedlce: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego w Warszawie, Ludowe Towarzystwo Naukowo-Kulturalne, Instytut Historii Akademii Podlaskiej w Siedlcach, 2006), 72–79.

<sup>50</sup> Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 139.



eral redactions of the Catalogues of the Bishops of Cracow, and in the chronicle by Matthias of Miechów.<sup>51</sup>

It is worth noting that, starting from the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, similar elements appeared also in the tradition about the desecration of the two martyrs' dead bodies by their murderers. In the account of the martyrdom of St. Adalbert, the previously absent motif appeared of the killers chopping up his body into small pieces, just as it was supposed to have happened to the body of St. Stanislaus.

Contrary to the intentions of the killers, their victims were exalted by God, and visible signs of this were revealed already during the martyrdom or shortly thereafter. The accounts discussed herein report of numerous signs of that nature. One particular sign, which was only possible in the case of St. Adalbert, martyred by beheading, was cephalophory. Following decapitation, the saint reportedly walked towards his chosen burial place carrying his own severed head in his hands.<sup>52</sup> The legend of St. Adalbert's cephalophory originated in the *Passio* from Tegernsee, which contained only a few elements of this topos.<sup>53</sup> It was primarily developed in sources from outside Poland (the chronicles of Ademar of Chabannes and Pulkava, a Czech biography from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the account by Hieronymus of Prague, the Prussian legend of St. Adalbert).<sup>54</sup> Images of St. Adalbert as a cephalophore also appeared in the iconography of this saint from the mid-fourteenth century (Czech breviary from 1342,<sup>55</sup> a seal of archbishop of Gniezno Zbigniew Oleśnicki (died 1493),<sup>56</sup> plaques on the reliquaries of St. Adalbert's head in Gniezno from 1494<sup>57</sup> and of the mar-

<sup>51</sup> "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja III," 44; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja IV świętokrzyska," 55; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 85; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja lubelska," ed. Josephus Szymański in *Catalogi episcoporum cracoviensium*, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova, Vol. 10, part 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 110; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX.

<sup>52</sup> About cephalophory: P.[ierre] Saintyves, "Les saints céphalophores. Etude de folklore hagiographique," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 49 (1929): 158–231.

<sup>53</sup> Sosnowski, "Anonimowa Passio": 66.

<sup>54</sup> *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, 152; "Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert," nr 3, 422; nr 5, 423; "Alia vita," 134; Wyrozumski, *Legenda pruska*, 37.

<sup>55</sup> Miłosz Sosnowski, "Nowe świadectwa rękopiśmienne Żywota drugiego św. Wojciecha w benedyktyńskim klasztorze w Rajhradzie na Morawach," *Studia Źródloznawcze. Commentationes* 55 (2017): 81, 86–87; Masza Sitek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement of St. Adalbert's Head," *Mediaevistik* 29 (2016): 146–148, 155; Masza Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja – «manewry» wokół głowy św. Wojciecha u schyłku XV wieku" in *Historycyzm, tradycjonalizm, archaizacja – studia z dziejów świadomości historycznej w średniowieczu i okresie nowożytnym*, ed. Marek Walczak (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego "Societas Vistulana," 2015), 166.

<sup>56</sup> Sitek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement": 148, 170; Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 170.

<sup>57</sup> Sitek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement": 148, 157; Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 154, 160–161; Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, "Wyobrażenia św. Wojciecha w sztuce polskiej XII–XX wieku. Warianty ujęć ikonograficznych" in *Tropami świętego Wojciecha*, ed. Zofia Kurnatowska (Poznań:

tyr's arm in Trzemeszno from 1507,<sup>58</sup> paintings on the altars in Wrocław and Kwieciszewo in Pomerania,<sup>59</sup> and a statue in Elbląg from the beginning of the sixteenth century).<sup>60</sup> By contrast, *Miracula sancti Adalberti*, written in Poland in the thirteenth century, contains an alternative plot, where a traveller undertakes to bring the bishop's head to Gniezno but, against the saint's instructions, fails to maintain purity in the course of his journey and loses the relic.<sup>61</sup> The legend of St. Adalbert's cephalophory was at variance with the tradition according to which Adalbert's remains were ransomed by Bolesław I the Brave. Since this tradition was of great significance for the Polish identity, the competing cephalophory legend could not have originated in Poland.<sup>62</sup>

Another tradition, which persisted throughout the Middle Ages, says that St. Adalbert's body (the Monte Cassino redaction of *Vita prior*)<sup>63</sup> or head (*Passio* from Tegernsee, chronicle of the Braunweiler monastery, *Annales* by John Długosz, chronicle by Matthias of Miechów) was guarded from wild animals by an eagle for 3 or even 30 days.<sup>64</sup> According to the Monte Cassino redaction of *Vita prior* and a fourteenth-century account of the alleged redemption of the martyr's body by Otto III, a luminous column was supposed to float above his body after it had been thrown into the sea.<sup>65</sup> A reference to this miracle is also contained in a fifteenth-century sequence written by Adam Świnka of Zielona.<sup>66</sup> According

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Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999), 361; Ryszard Knapiński, "Rozwój ikonografii świętego Wojciecha w sztuce polskiej" in *Kanonizacja św. Wojciecha i dziedzictwo jego kultu*, eds. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Czesław Pest, Wojciech Polak (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2001), 127–128; Ryszard Knapiński, "Św. Wojciech w sztuce polskiej" in *Dziedzictwo kultu świętego Wojciecha. Ogólnopolska sesja z okazji jubileuszu 1000-lecia męczeństwa św. Wojciecha KUL – 22 IX 1997*, ed. Ryszard Knapiński (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictwa Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998), 182; Joanna Sikorska, *Relikwiarze puszkowe w Polsce* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 96–97; Eugeniusz Iwanoyko, Stanisław Wiliński, "Św. Wojciech w malarstwie i rzeźbie" in *Święty Wojciech 997–1947. Księga pamiątkowa*, eds. Zbigniew Bernacki, Feliks Jordan, Kirił Sosnowski, Mieczysław Suchocki (Gniezno: Wydawnictwo Kurii Metropolitalnej, 1947), 182–184.

<sup>58</sup> Siltek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement": 148–149, 159; Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 172.

<sup>59</sup> Siltek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement": 149, 160; Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 172–174; Karłowska-Kamzowa, "Wyobrażenia św. Wojciecha," 361; Knapiński, "Rozwój ikonografii świętego Wojciecha," 128; Knapiński, "Św. Wojciech," 182.

<sup>60</sup> Siltek [Sitek], "The Threefold Movement": 149, 161; Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 173–174; Karłowska-Kamzowa, "Wyobrażenia św. Wojciecha," 361.

<sup>61</sup> "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 226–228.

<sup>62</sup> Maria Starnawska, "Kefaloforia św. Wojciecha" in *Podróżnicy – Fundatorzy – Święci*, ed. Tomasz Ratajczak (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2008), 215–220; see also Sitek, "Retrospekcja i aktualizacja," 164–174.

<sup>63</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior, Redactio cassinensis*, 84.

<sup>64</sup> Sosnowski, "Anonimowa Passio": 68, 70; "Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus," 131; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII.

<sup>65</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior, Redactio cassinensis*, 84; "E codicibus varsaviensisbus," 996.

<sup>66</sup> *Cantica medii aevi*, 55.

to the Prussian Legend from the end of the fifteenth century, a luminous column preceded St. Wojciech walking as a cefalophore.<sup>67</sup>

The tradition saying that St. Adalbert's body was chopped up into small pieces appeared at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was accompanied by the belief that the saint's body was miraculously joined back together after its pieces had been collected by a Prussian well-wisher after a finger found in the entrails of a fish was matched to the body; the fish was illuminated by supernatural light. This plot is related in the *Tempore illo* Life,<sup>68</sup> *Miracula sancti Adalberti*,<sup>69</sup> the Prussian Legend from the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>70</sup> *Annales* by John Długosz,<sup>71</sup> the Catalogue of the Bishops of Cracow,<sup>72</sup> and the chronicle of Matthias of Miechów.<sup>73</sup> Another reported supernatural sign was the glowing of a finger in the entrails of a voracious fish.<sup>74</sup>

St. Stanislaus' tradition includes accounts of similar – yet usually much more strongly accentuated – signs. The martyr's body is guarded by not one but four eagles;<sup>75</sup> the supernatural light is not just a column floating above the remains – instead, the entire body is illuminated.<sup>76</sup> The scattered pieces of his body join back together on their own, there is no need to engage a well-wisher to collect them.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Wyrozumski, *Legenda pruska*, 37.

<sup>68</sup> “De sancto Adalberto,” 219–220.

<sup>69</sup> “Miracula sancti Adalberti,” 233–234.

<sup>70</sup> Wyrozumski, *Legenda pruska*, 37.

<sup>71</sup> Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217.

<sup>72</sup> “Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska,” 80–81.

<sup>73</sup> Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XXXII.

<sup>74</sup> “De sancto Adalberto,” 219–220; *Miracula sancti Adalberti*, 226; “Legenden über den heiligen Adalbert,” nr 3, 422; nr 5, 423; *Cantica medii aevi*, 95; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57; “Vita... minor,” 281; “Vita... maior,” 369, 388; “Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej,” 51; Henryk Kowalewicz, “Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki liturgicznej o św. Stanisławie”. *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 229; “Vita s. Stanisłai” [so called “Vita Tradunt”], 355; Długosz, “Vita sanctissimi Stanisłai,” 72; Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 137; “Katalog Długosza,” 147; Pawłowski, “Pierwszy manifest”: 448; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX; information about eagles in the plural, not necessarily four: “Innocentego pp. IV bulla”: 34; *Cantica medii aevi*, 16, 17, 31, 57, 59, 62, 91, 100; Kowalewicz, “Tworczość liryczna”: 159; “Hymny polskie,” eds. Henryk Kowalewicz, Jerzy Morawski, *Musica Medii Aevi* 8 (1991): 115–116; *The Missal od bishop Matthias Drzewicki*, Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library), III. 3305, microfilm 38244, charter 135; Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, scan nr 579.

<sup>76</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57; “Innocentego pp. IV bulla”: 36; “Vita... minor,” 281–282; “Vita... maior,” 359, 388; “Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej,” 51; Kowalewicz, “Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki”: 229; *Cantica medii aevi*, 16, 17, 31, 57, 59, 62, 91, 100; “Vita s. Stanisłai” [so called “Vita Tradunt”], 355–356; “Hymny polskie”: 114; Długosz, “Vita sanctissimi Stanisłai,” 72; Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 137; “Katalog Długosza,” 147; Pawłowski, “Pierwszy manifest”: 448; *The Missal od bishop Matthias Drzewicki*, III. 3305, microfilm 38244, charter 135; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX.

<sup>77</sup> *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica*, 57–58; “Innocentego pp. IV bulla”: 36; “Vita... minor,” 282; “Vita... maior,” 388; “Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej,” 51; *Annales S. Crucis*, 105–106;

Besides, according to the sources from the second half of the fifteenth century, the reintegration of the saint's remains is accompanied by a lovely fragrance released by his body.<sup>78</sup> The tradition about a lost finger being swallowed by a voracious fish in a pond is identical.

Also in this group of motifs, the emergence of similar themes should be noted. At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there appeared a motif of the reunion of the martyrs' chopped-up bodies. Although the motif was present in both traditions, it was considerably more pronounced in the tradition about St. Stanislaus. Another motif that emerged in both traditions was the story of a cut-off finger swallowed by a fish and later discovered thanks to miraculous signs. Considering that, in the tradition about St. Stanislaus, this motif appeared much later, not sooner than the fifteenth century, one can assume that it happened under the influence of the tradition about St. Adalbert.

All the elements of the traditions discussed herein are meant to emphasise the martyrdom of the two bishops, the glory they achieved, and the ambiguous nature of the actions of the killers, who, contrary to their intentions, caused their victims to be exalted instead of desecrated. The earthly vale of life, abandoned by the martyrs, was not at all where they longed to be. Some accounts speak of the body as fetters or a prison of the soul (various versions of *Vita prior*,<sup>79</sup> Life by Bruno of Querfurt,<sup>80</sup> a fourteenth-century Czech biography of St. Adalbert,<sup>81</sup> *Annales* by John Długosz in the relation about the martyrdom of St. Adalbert,<sup>82</sup> and an office for St. Stanislaus by Vincent Dominican).<sup>83</sup> As Georgius Libanus, the author of St. Stanislaus' vespers from the beginning of the sixteenth century, put it, St. Stanislaus was

Laureatus in sanguine  
Christo litatur hostia<sup>84</sup>

"Hymny polskie": 114; *Chronica Dzirsvae*, 29; *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 23; *Cantica medii aevi*, 16, 17, 31, 57, 59, 62, 91, 100; "Vita s. Stanislai" [so called "Vita Tradunt"], 355; Kowalewicz, "Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki": 229; "Hymny polskie": 115; Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanislai," 72–73; Długosz, *Annales*, liber tertius, Vol. 2, 138, 141; "Katalog Długosza," 147; *The Missal od bishop Matthias Drzewicki*, charter 135; Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest": 448; Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, scan nr 579; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 7; Matthias of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, XLIX–L.

<sup>78</sup> Długosz, "Vita sanctissimi Stanislai," 73; Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest": 448; Anna Adam-ska, "Zapach dobra i odór zła. Z zagadnień wyobraźni religijnej w średniowieczu," *Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego* 39 (1996): 36.

<sup>79</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 66–67.

<sup>80</sup> *S. Adalberti... vita altera*, 67.

<sup>81</sup> "Sancti Adalberti vita," 55.

<sup>82</sup> Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217.

<sup>83</sup> Kowalewicz, "Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki": 229.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, 234.

This view was also supported by the rich symbolism of the saints' hagiographies. The exaltation of a head on a stake and cephalophory were the reverse of the rituals used in pagan Europe to dishonour the enemy. The trophy that was the head of a slain enemy became the trophy that a martyr presented to God as proof of his martyrdom.<sup>85</sup> The impaling of St Adalbert's head can also be seen as a reference to the Crucifixion,<sup>86</sup> especially since he had spread his arms before his death<sup>87</sup> and, according to other accounts, had celebrated Mass.<sup>88</sup> This is a clear allusion to the Last Supper preceding the Passion of Christ.<sup>89</sup> The standing posture of the martyr with arms outstretched also resembles the Crucifixion of Christ.<sup>90</sup>

An important role is also played by the numerical symbolism. Number seven, corresponding to the number of wounds suffered by St. Adalbert, symbolises perfection<sup>91</sup> or the seven gifts of Christ or the Holy Spirit.<sup>92</sup> Number three is also highly significant as a reference to the Holy Trinity.<sup>93</sup> The 72 pieces into which St. Stanislaus' body was cut (and which were miraculously recombined) stand for 72 hours, or three days. Three days, of course, is the time that Christ spent in his tomb before resurrection.<sup>94</sup> The reunification of the pieces of St. Stanislaus' body can be seen therefore as a foretoken of the future resurrection.<sup>95</sup> The motif of the martyrs' fingers being swallowed by a fish and then recovered is reminiscent of the Biblical story of the prophet Jonah, whose three-day stay in the belly of a fish

<sup>85</sup> Saintyves, "Les saints céphalophores": 170–171; Adele Simonetti, "Santi cefalofori altomedievali," *Studi Medievali* 28 (1987): 76, 88–89.

<sup>86</sup> S. *Adalberti... vita prior*, 46, 66, 84; "Sancti Adalberti vita," 55; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2; Janusz St. Pasierb, "Próba syntezy treści ideowych Drzwi Gnieźnieńskich," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 30 (1968): 241; Adam Łapiński, "Wystawienie zwłok św. Wojciecha" w Drzwiach Gnieźnieńskich, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 40 (1978): 100–102.

<sup>87</sup> S. *Adalberti... vita prior*, 46–47, 66, 84; S. *Adalberti... vita altera*, 39, 68; "Sancti Adalberti vita," 55; "Alia vita," 134; *Legenda sanctorum regni Hungariae*, 2.

<sup>88</sup> "De sancto Adalberto," 219; "Miracula sancti Adalberti," 233; Długosz, *Annales*, liber secundus, Vol. 1, 217; "Katalog biskupów krakowskich, redakcja V dominikańska," 80.

<sup>89</sup> Pasierb, "Próba syntezy": 241.

<sup>90</sup> Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Gest w średniowiecznej Europie* (Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2006), 308.

<sup>91</sup> Dorothea Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1990), 46–48; Barbara Kowalska, *W poszukiwaniu symboliki Długoszowych Roczników* (Częstochowa: Akademia im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, 2017), 284–288, 299.

<sup>92</sup> S. *Adalberti... vita altera*, 38; Antoni Bazieli, "Dary Ducha Świętego" in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Vol. 3, eds. Romuald Łukaszyk, Ludomir Bienkowski, Feliks Gryglewicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego), 1034–1035.

<sup>93</sup> Forstner, *Świat symboliki*, 44.

<sup>94</sup> Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter. Methode und Gebrauch* (München: W. Fink, 1975), 168; Tadeusz Dobrzeński, "Św. Stanisław – biskup męczennik i patron Polski," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 559–560.

<sup>95</sup> Maria Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, Akademia Podlaska, 2008), 604.

foreshadows Christ's resurrection.<sup>96</sup> The supernatural light and fragrance emitted by the saints' bodies constitute a testimony to the glory they have attained.<sup>97</sup>

As we have demonstrated, medieval authors used descriptions of the fate of martyrs' bodies during and after the martyrdom as a means to convey rich theological content.

#### SUMMARY

The two medieval patron saints of Poland, St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus, both suffered martyrdom. The tradition of the life and the martyrdom of St. Adalbert developed from the end of the tenth century until the late Middle Ages. On the contrary, the tradition of St. Stanislaus's martyrdom arose at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and had a fully developed form. Information about the details of the martyrdom of both saints are contained in various types of sources: hagiographical, historical and liturgical poetry. In the accounts of martyrdom there are mentions of gestures made by three subjects: the martyr, the killers and God. As a result of these acts, the body is martyred and destroyed, but the soul of the martyr is glorified. Numerous marks on the martyr's body visible during martyrdom confirm the glory achieved by his soul.

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<sup>96</sup> Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 92–96.

<sup>97</sup> Jolanta Tomoń, "Symbolika światła w poezji liturgicznej polskiego średniowiecza" in *Wyobraźnia średniowieczna*, ed. Teresa Michałowska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, 1996), 322–332; Stanisław Kobiela, "Światło i biel w tradycji wyobrażania chwały eschatologicznej zbawionych. Wczesne chrześcijaństwo – średniowiecze," *Communio. Międzynarodowy Przegląd Teologiczny* 11 (1991): 124–131; Adamska, "Zapach dobra": 32; Jean-Pierre Albert, *Odeurs de sainteté. La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1990), 37–242.