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The Bishop Piotr Tomicki Chapel in the Cracow Cathedral, and Its Altarpiece Depicting »The Adoration of the Magi«*

Some scholars have noted that Renaissance art in Poland resulted from an interplay of Polish patronage and foreign artists¹. Among the numerous non-Polish names, those of such Polish painters and sculptors as Stanisław Samostrzelnik and Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów are seldom found. Excellent cases in point are those of the two earliest Renaissance funerary chapels erected in the Cathedral of Cracow (the Wawel Cathedral). Both the Sigismund Chapel (1517–1533) and the

Bishop Piotr Tomicki Chapel (1524–1535) were built by Bartolomeo Berrecci and were embellished with various art objects produced largely by artists from Nuremberg.

Unlike the iconographic programme of the Royal Chapel, that of the Tomicki Chapel has not yet been studied². Its centrepiece is the altarpiece depicting »Adoration of the Magi«, which has been referred to until now only in passing (figs. 1, 2)³. As has been confirmed in written sources, that chapel was officially dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury⁴. However, due to the subject of the painting, it is sometimes referred to as The Chapel of the Magi⁵.

The primary purpose of this paper is to investigate preliminarily the significance of the above altarpiece, in the context of

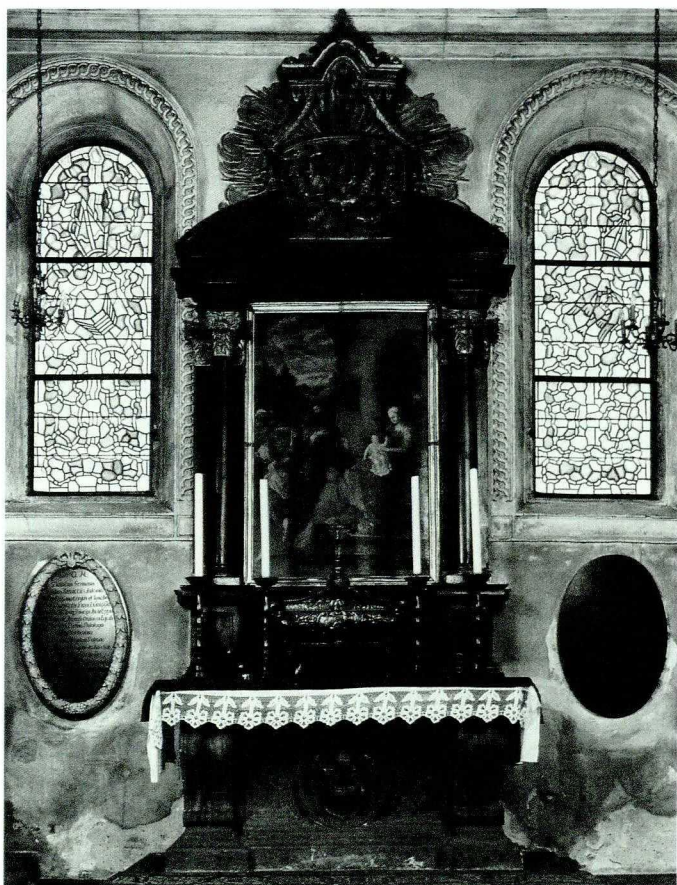


Fig. 1 Altarpiece in the Chapel of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, Cracow Cathedral



Fig. 2 and pl. VIII The Adoration of the Magi in the altarpiece of the Bishop Piotr Tomicki Chapel

the tomb of the Bishop and the chapel's other furnishings, most of which are known only through archival sources⁶.

Bishop Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535), one of the most distinguished humanists and statesmen of 16th-century Poland, was educated in Leipzig, Cracow and Bologna⁷. He studied at the University of Bologna from 1494, and received his doctorate in canon law there in June 1500⁸. Subsequently, he spent approximately six months at the papal chancellery in Rome.

Following his return to Cracow, Tomicki joined first the chancellery of Cardinal Fryderyk the Jagiellonian and then, in 1506, became a secretary of King Sigismund I. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom (from 1515), Bishop of Poznań (from 1520), then Bishop of Cracow from 1523 until his death in 1535. From 1523, Bishop Tomicki was also Chancellor of the University of Cracow and founder of a chair of Roman Law. It was there that he encouraged the teaching of Greek

and Hebrew. Due to his fluent Italian, as well as his habits and his interest in Italian culture, the Bishop was called by his contemporaries »The Italian« (»Italus«)⁹.

Until the end of his life, he maintained strong links with Italy, ordering books and various art objects from there. He amassed a library of at least five hundred volumes, purchasing them systematically through a number of agents. A considerable number of these books have been preserved and are currently housed in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow¹⁰. At his own court in Cracow, Tomicki created a centre for the advancement of patristic studies¹¹. He strived to attract to Cracow the most distinguished luminaries, among them Erasmus of Rotterdam with whom he corresponded from 1527 until his death¹². In 1529, the great Dutchman dedicated to Tomicki his second edition of Seneca's writings.

Bishop Tomicki was second only to King Sigismund I as a patron of the arts¹³. In the 1520s, he commissioned for the Poznań Cathedral a tomb for Bishop Jan Lubrański and a ciborium, now lost. In 1533, he ordered another tabernacle for the host, for the Wawel Cathedral. Fashioned of Hungarian red marble by Giammaria Mosca, known as »Il Padovano«, it was installed in the cathedral's »in cornu Evangelii« in 1536, a year after the Bishop's death¹⁴. Fragments of that veritable masterpiece of the Polish Renaissance dismantled in the 17th century, including a pair of adorning angels, a relief depicting the Trinity and half of a »tempietto«, are still preserved in Cracow (in the National Museum and the Tomicki Chapel), and in the parish church at Modlnica (fig. 3).

Tomicki was also a patron of the Polish painter Stanisław Samostrzelnik who, among other artists in the 1530s, adorned with miniatures the »Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium et Vitae Episcoporum Cracoviensium«¹⁵. In the last years of his life, the Bishop commissioned a number of votive wax figures for the Wawel Cathedral and the church in Częstochowa¹⁶. The ordering of these items strongly suggests that during his long sojourn in Italy¹⁷ he also visited Florence.

The construction of the Tomicki Chapel, situated behind the ambulatory in the southeast corner of the Wawel Cathedral, had been completed by 1530, but its furnishing continued until the Bishop's death in 1535¹⁸. With no drum or sculpted decoration, it is a simplified version of the Royal Chapel. In place of such ornamentation, it has a beautifully-designed eastern wall with two arched windows flanking the altarpiece and the round window above it. The tomb, fashioned of Hungarian red marble and sandstone by Berrecci's workshop, was ready by 1532 (fig. 4). Apart from his effigy, the Bishop is shown a second time at the back of the sepulchral niche, adoring the half-length »Madonna and Child«. From various written sources it is known that, among the now lost furnishings of the Tomicki Chapel executed between 1530 and 1535, there were numerous brasses and a bronze grille with a scene of the »Annunciation«, commissioned in Nuremberg¹⁹, and stained

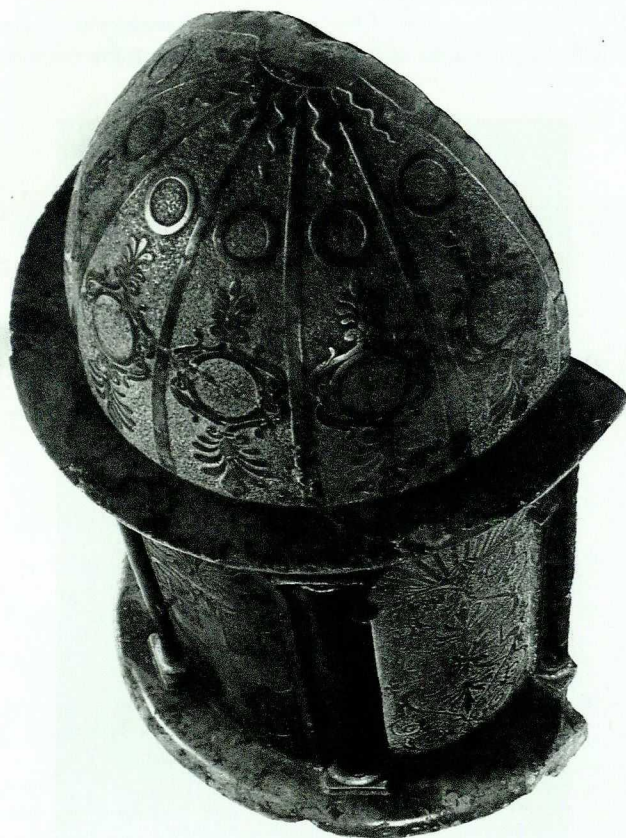


Fig. 3 Giammaria Mosca called Padovano, Tempietto deriving from the tabernacle commissioned by Bishop Piotr Tomicki. Presently in the parish church in Modlnica near Cracow

glass produced in The Netherlands²⁰. No longer extant (or covered with »intonaco«) were also the murals by Stanisław Samostrzelnik that adorned the chapel's walls and cupola, a tapestry depicting »The Assumption of the Virgin«²¹ and two paintings²². One of the latter depicted Saints Peter and Thomas, while the other portrayed »The Crucifixion«. Both were used to cover the altar painting during Advent and Lent respectively. Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, in his »Vita Petri Tomicii« written some fifteen years after the Bishop's death, records that in the entire kingdom the chapel's beauty was comparable only to that of the Royal Chapel²³.

Today, the chapel's superb artistic level is attested to by the Bishop's magnificent tomb (fig. 4), the iron doors leading to the sacristy, some fine marble slabs that once framed the crypt's entrance (and which, at present, are fixed onto one of the chapel walls) and, to some extent, the altar with the painting depicting »The Adoration of the Magi« (figs. 1, 2). As for the altar itself, only its »mensa« bearing Tomicki's coat of arms made of sandstone and the painting date from the time of the chapel's completion²⁴. The two columns and the entablature fashioned of black marble are of a much later date. The original columns were sculpted, and thus were similar to those on the Bishop's tomb. This is confirmed by the »Acta visitationis« of Bishop Maciejowski of 1602, which also mentions the painting. One passage in the »Acta« reads: »in capella versus solis sita ... est altare unicum lapideum cum mensa integra consecratum imaginem habens pictam artificiose historiam Epiphaniae Domini referentem inter columnas celatas duas positam«²⁵. Above the altar is a relief showing The Trinity surrounded by the heads of winged angels. It was first mentioned as being in the chapel in 1731. In all probability, the latter came from the previously-mentioned Tomicki tabernacle for the host, commissioned in 1533²⁶.

The canvas »The Adoration of the Magi« (measuring 170 x 115 cm) appears to have been partially repainted (fig. 2). There is no record of its cleaning or conservation during the 20th century. The scene is situated in a building having a large semi-circular arcade through which a landscape with trees and some buildings may be seen. The Holy Family is shown to the right, on the stairs, while the Magi are approaching from the left. In front of Mary, who is seated on a stone bench with the Child, kneels an old, semi-bald King presenting a small casket filled with gold coins. The Child is dipping his right hand into the casket, while in his left hand he holds one of the coins. Of the remaining two Magi, one, still wearing his crown, is shown frontally, pointing with his right hand to the beautiful chalice-like container held in his left hand. The youngest of the Magi, shown from the back and with his characteristic sabre, is black²⁷. At one side of the painting is St. Joseph, standing behind Mary. On the opposite side is a servant of the Magi, pointing to a star that emits three long rays. Neither the Bishop's abundant correspondence concerning the

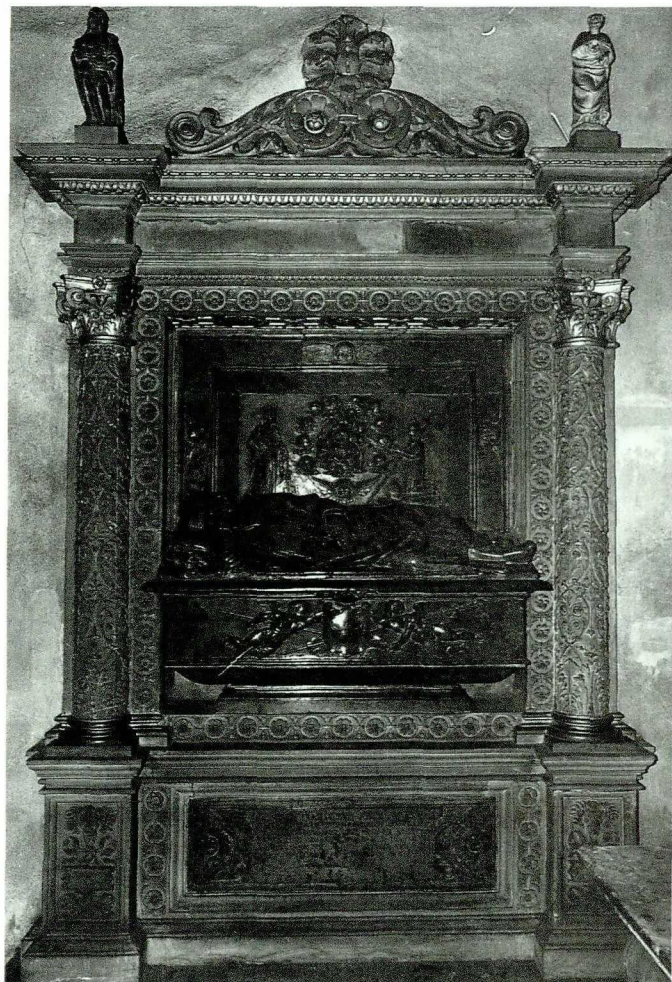


Fig. 4 Tomb of Bishop Piotr Tomicki in his funerary chapel. Cracow Cathedral

furnishment of the chapel (to be found in the »Acta Tomicianna«) nor other 16th-century written sources mention the subject of the altar's painting. As stated above, it was first mentioned in 1602.

Upon closer examination, this picture appears to be a version of the only partially preserved panel painting of »The Adoration of the Magi« by Georg Pencz, dating from about 1530²⁸. That panel's three remaining fragments, housed in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, depict the Black King, St. Joseph and one more witness of »The Epiphany«. Fortunately, Pencz's painting is also known through a »sehr gute Kopie aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts«, as Hans Georg Gmelin put it (fig. 5)²⁹. Until 1944, it was kept among the Lubomirski collection in Lvov. It is now housed in a private collection in Switzerland. Its



Fig. 5 Copy of Georg Pencz's panel with *The Adoration of the Magi*. Today in a private collection in Switzerland, formerly in the Lubomirski Collection in L'viv

measurements are 200 x 160 cm, whereas the height of the original panel is 181 cm. Thus the painting in the Tomicki Chapel is smaller than both Pencz's panel and the copy of it dating from the second half of the 16th century. Its artistic quality is also considerably inferior. Nor is it executed on a panel, but rather on much cheaper canvas³⁰, which – from the second quarter of the 16th century – was used quite often in Northern European painting³¹. The Wawel painting is a much modified and simplified version of Pencz's composition in which the painter omitted not only the upper part of the original composition, but also depicted only one of the kings' servants, instead of three. The star seen here through the arcade of the building is no longer a shining globe, but a true star emanating three long rays and thus to some degree reminiscent of a comet. More-

over, the painting in the Tomicki Chapel differs from the Pencz original and its copy in terms of the colours of the Magi's clothing and the representation of St. Joseph, who is not kneeling to the left of Mary, but is standing behind her.

Who was the painter of »The Adoration of the Magi« in the Tomicki Chapel? Even if Georg Pencz did paint the wings of the altarpiece for the Sigismund Chapel dating from the 1530s, it is hardly possible to attribute to him the Tomicki canvas³², for it lacks the depth and the grace of the Pencz panel. A certain provincialism in the Wawel painting is especially evident in the treatment of the architecture, which is flat and simplified. Most probably what we are considering here is a version of Pencz's composition, produced by an artist active in Cracow. In this connection, two painters may be taken into consideration. One of them is the already-mentioned Stanisław Samostrzelnik³³, Bishop Tomicki's favourite painter. The

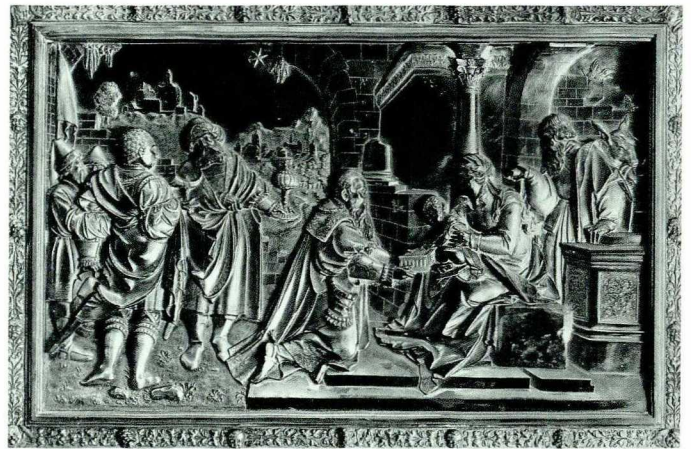


Fig. 6 *The Adoration of the Magi*, one of the scenes in the silver altarpiece in the Sigismund Chapel. Cracow Cathedral

other is Hans Dürer, one of the younger brothers of Albrecht, whose activity in Cracow from 1527 until his death in 1534 awaits further investigation³⁴.

In the last years of Tomicki's life, when the furnishing of his funerary chapel was close to completion, Samostrzelnik adorned with miniatures the previously-mentioned »Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium et Vitae Episcoporum Cracoviensium«. The scenes inspired by the New Testament which are depicted in the »Catalogus« portray »The Annunciation, The Adoration of the Magi and The Vision of St. John on Patmos« (the vision of »Mulier amicta sole«)³⁵. This choice is quite similar to the iconographic programme in the chapel incorporating »The Annunciation« (on the grille), »The Epiphany« (on the altar) and the scene of the adoration, by the Bishop, of the



Fig. 7 Albrecht Dürer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, woodcut

Madonna and Child (at the back of the tomb). As will be shown below, like »The Vision of St. John« the latter scene refers to the symbolism of light. However, it is not difficult to see that the style of the canvas in the Tomicki Chapel differs considerably from that of Samostrzelnik, since it is characterized by decorativeness and a lack of depth.

It would seem that it might very well have been Hans Dürer who executed the painting in question. His late style, employed when he was serving in Cracow as »pictor regius« after 1527, is still little known. However, it was he who, in 1531, did the project of the altarpiece for the Sigismund Chapel, which was afterwards executed in Nuremberg³⁶. One of the scenes of that altarpiece depicts »The Adoration of the Magi« (fig. 6) which, in addition to its horizontal rather than vertical composition, reveals striking similarities with the Wawel painting³⁷. The analogies include not only the poses and gestures of the Kings and the depiction of the Holy Family, but also the

architecture, and even the star seen through the arcade. Particularly characteristic in both representations are the Black King shown from the back and St. Joseph standing behind Mary and the Child. While the former may have been inspired by Ludwig Krug's woodcut of »The Adoration of the Magi« dating from 1516³⁸, the latter seems to have been derived from Albrecht Dürer's well-known woodcut of that same subject, done in 1503 (fig. 7)³⁹.

It should be mentioned at this point that, in the collegiate church of Sandomierz in Little Poland, there is a fine, slightly modified copy of »The Adoration of the Magi« by another German artist, Hans Suess von Kulmbach⁴⁰. Unfortunately, its original destination remains unknown.

The Tomicki Chapel is most probably the first funerary chapel in Cracow to have had an altarpiece depicting »The Adoration of the Magi«. Why was this subject displayed in the chapel and what is its significance? Judging from the Bishop's letters, the content of his library and the glosses in his preserved books, he was apparently greatly interested in astrology and the symbolism of light⁴¹. Most probably he was also familiar with some Italian funerary chapels having altars or frescoes depicting »The Adoration of the Magi«. It would seem that although the Bishop, like the King, favoured both German and Italian artists, he wished to be buried all'italiana. In fact, he was referred to by his contemporaries »Italus«.

As has already been pointed out, one of the miniatures in the »Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium et Vitae Episcoporum Cracoviensium« dating from the 1530s depicts »The Adoration of the Magi« (fig. 8). Of even greater significance for this present investigation is the fact that this same subject was intended to adorn a »pluviale« commissioned by Tomicki in Rome just a year before his death. In a letter to Stanisław of Rzeszyca, his agent in Rome, dated October 3, 1534, the Bishop wrote: »We request of you that you order on our behalf an embroidered image for a »pluviale«. Let it be that the embroiderer produce a portrayal of the holy three Magi in accordance with a more beautiful pattern instead of the example on the hood [from an old »pluviale«] which we are sending you«⁴². Thus it seems that Tomicki not only commissioned a »pluviale« embroidered with »The Three Magi« (in which he possibly wished to be buried), but that even earlier he had worn a hood adorned with this subject. Worth stressing is the fact that in his letter, the Bishop refers to the Magi as »saints«.

The relics of the Three Kings who had read from the stars of the birth of Jesus and who had brought him gold, frankincense and myrrh (interpreted as gifts for Christ as King, God and Man, the myrrh being considered connected with his death) were kept, after 1200, in Cologne. Yet during the Late Medieval and Renaissance periods, it was in Italy that the Three Kings were most venerated⁴³. In some cities there existed »Compagnie dei Magi« which, at the beginning of each New Year organized solemn processions⁴⁴. Numerous tombs and



Fig. 8 Stanisław Samoźrzelnik, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Miniature in the *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium et Vitae Episcoporum Cracoviensium*. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa

funerary chapels in Venice, Padua, Bologna and Florence were adorned with depictions of »The Adoration of the Magi« and of the star shining in the heavens, which sometimes had the form of a comet⁴⁵. Since the Early Christian period, due to their symbolism of light and myrrh, scenes of »The Adoration of the Magi« and »The Epiphany« were linked with sepulchral art⁴⁶. Some of the funerary chapels (such as that of the Bolognini family at San Petronio in Bologna) depict not only scenes of »The Adoration«, but also the journey of the Magi and their following of the star⁴⁷.

From the two Florentine funerary chapels, neither of which was consecrated to the Three Kings (the Magi were not de facto saints, although they were commonly seen as such)⁴⁸, there derive two famous altarpieces depicting »The Epiphany«. The first, by Gentile da Fabriano, is from the Strozzi Chapel at Santa Trinità⁴⁹; the second, by Botticelli, is from the no longer extant Chapel of Guaspare dal Lama at Santa Maria Novella⁵⁰. Tomicki was undoubtedly very well acquainted with the Bolognini Chapel in one of the most outstanding churches in Florence, the city where he had spent six years. If he revisited Florence, which he almost certainly did, he may have seen, among other chapels, those at Santa Maria Novella and Santa Trinità.

It would suffice to look through the preserved books from the Bishop's private library – among them, writings by Ficino and other Neo-Platonists, as well as Durandus' »Rationale divinarum officiorum« – to understand that he must have been highly versed in the sophisticated thinking expressed in the Medieval and Renaissance writings on the »stella magorum« and the symbolism of light⁵¹. In the chapel, »in ortu solis sita«, this symbolism is clearly expressed not only in the scene of »The Epiphany«, placed between the three windows that originally were adorned with stained glass – »multum lucidum et transparentis«, as Tomicki himself put it⁵², but it is also to be found on the tomb of the Bishop. At the back of the sepulchral niche there is a half-length Madonna and Child, adorned with a standing St. Peter and a kneeling Tomicki – appearing very much like one of the Magi. The Madonna's halo comprises



Fig. 9 *The Madonna and the Child*, relief at the rear of the sepulchral niche of the tomb of Bishop Piotr Tomicki

meandering sunbeams (fig. 9) which are not to be found elsewhere in Polish images of the Madonna⁵³. However, they may be seen at the crown of the cupola on the tempietto of the tabernacle commissioned by Tomicki, in 1533, for his cathedral (fig. 3)⁵⁴. It is hardly possible that this important element of the decoration of both the sacrarium and the tomb could have been introduced without the Bishop's influence.

Mention has already been made of Tomicki's interest in patristic studies and his friendship with Erasmus of Rotterdam⁵⁵. We may now cite Prudentius' »Hymn on Jesus' Epiphany« and Erasmus' Commentary on that hymn. It is possible that from these writings, as well as from those of Ficino, the programme of the Tomicki chapel may have emerged⁵⁶. In his hymn, Prudentius says:

»The gold and Saba's frankincense
Proclaim you king and God;
The powder of the myrrh foretells
The sepulchre of death [...].
This is the sepulchre where God
Allowed his corpse to die,
And raised it up from burial
And broke the chains of death [...].
All people now, come praise your prince,
The blessed and the lost,
The live, the sick, the dead also –
For henceforth none are dead«⁵⁷.

In turn, Erasmus's commentary reads: »... the Magi were enthusiastic astrologers, and so he [Christ] attracted them by the sign of the star that shone with its own peculiar light ... For as he [Christ] was a guiding light, calling us back from the darkness of sin and opening our way to the homeland of eternal light. He came down to us to lead us to heaven. ... Let him who dies praise his praise, since he is being transferred to a happier life. But that way which will lead straight to eternal life should no longer be called »death«, now that Jesus has opened the kingdom of heaven. For those who die in Christ do not die but merely sleep, in bodies that will awake at the voice of the angel«⁵⁸.

It would be difficult to find a more suitable subject for the altar of the funerary chapel of a Bishop educated in Italy and interested in astrology and comets, in »prisca theologia«, as well as in the symbolism of light, than the »Adoration of the Magi«⁵⁹.

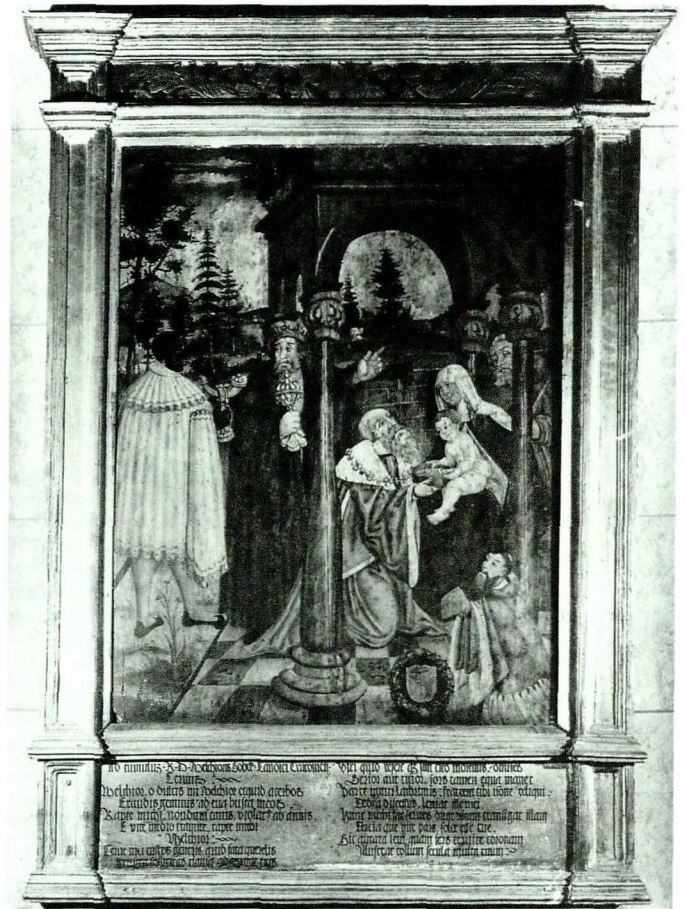


Fig. 10 The Adoration of the Magi, Epitaph of Canon Melchior Sobek, originally in the Cracow Cathedral

The »Adoration of the Magi« in the Tomicki Chapel was echoed as early as 1542 in the epitaph of Melchior Sobek, one of the canons of the Wawel Cathedral (fig. 10)⁶⁰. Not only was this artistically modest panel patterned on the canvas in question, but its meaning, referring to eternal life, is also identical. The painter, an anonymous artist, repeated almost exactly the composition of the Tomicki alterpiece, the only difference being that it is one of the Magi, and not their servant, who points to the star shining in the sky – thus closely resembling that detail in the miniature by Stanisław Samostrzelnik (fig. 8).

Notes

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1 See, among others, Jan Białostocki: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*. Oxford 1976, p. 23. – Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann: *Court, Cloisters and City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*. London 1995, p. 57.

2 For iconography and symbolism in the Sigismund Chapel, see J. Białostocki (note 1), pp. 39–43. – Lech Kalinowski: *Die Sigismundkapelle im Waweldom zu Krakau*. In: *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*. Exhib. Cat. Schallaburg 1986, pp. 131–136. – Stanisław Mossakowski: *Bartolomeo Berrecci à Cracovie; la chapelle Sigismond*. In: *Revue de l'art*, Vol. 101, 1993, pp. 67–85.

3 *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Miasto Kraków [Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland. The City of Cracow]*, Vol. 4, Part I: Wawel. Ed. by Jerzy Szablowski. Warsaw 1965, p. 92. – Jerzy Łoziński: *Grobowe kaplice kopułowe w Polsce 1520–1620 [Central Funerary Chapels in Poland 1520–1620]*. Warsaw 1973, p. 47. – Kazimierz Kuczman: *Wawel Hill. Guide-Book*. Cracow 1990, p. 101. – Jerzy Miziołek: *Opus egregium ac spectandum. Il tabernacolo eucaristico di Gianmaria Mosca, detto il Padovano per la Cattedrale di Cracovia*. In: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Vol. 36, 1993, pp. 303–336, esp. 326, fig. 15.

4 *Inwentarz Katedry Wawelskiej z roku 1563 [Inventory of the Wawel Cathedral from 1563]*. Ed. by Adam Bochnak. Cracow 1979, p. 188.

5 Jerzy Kieszkowski: *Przyczynek do kulturalnej działalności Piotra Tomickiego [Remarks on the Cultural Endeavours of Piotr Tomicki]*. In: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, Vol. 7/1–2, 1902, col. CCLXXVI. – Feliks Koperka: *Jan Maria Padovano*. In: *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 7/2, 1938, p. 234.

6 »Acta Tomiciana« ranks among the most significant such sources, as it contains documents and the diplomatic correspondence of Tomicki and his contemporaries, see: *Acta Tomiciana*. Ed. by Władysław Pocięcha et al., Vol. I–XVII, Poznań 1852–1966.

7 Stanisław Hozjusz: *Vita Petri Tomicii*. In: *Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, Vol. IV: *S. Hosii Epistolae*, Vol. 1. Ed. by Franciscus Hipler, Vincentius Zakrzewski. Cracow 1879, coll. CLII–CLXIX. – Leszek Hajdukiewicz: *Księgozbiór i zainteresowania bibliofilskie Piotra Tomickiego na tle jego działalności kulturalnej [The Book Collection and Bibliophilic Interests of Piotr Tomicki within the Context of His Cultural Activities]*. Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1961. – Maria Cytowska: *Piotr Tomicki*. In: *The Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Bibliographical Register of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, Vol. 3. Ed. by P.G. Bietenholz. Toronto–Buffalo–London 1987, pp. 327–329. – Claude Backvis: *Comment les Polonais du XVI^e siècle voyaient l'Italie et les Italiens*. In: *Literary Studies in Poland*, Vol. XIX, 1988, pp. 7–39.

8 Joannes Fijatek: *Dominus Bartolus de Saxoferrato eiusque permagna in Polonos auctoritas*. Cracow 1914, pp. 74–75.

9 *Vita Petri Tomicii* (note 7), p. CLV. – See also: C. Backvis (note 7), p. 34.

10 L. Hajdukiewicz (note 7).

11 M. Cytowska (note 7), p. 328. – L. Hajdukiewicz (note 7), pp. 114–116.

12 Claude Backvis: *La fortune d'Erasmus en Pologne*. In: *Actes du Colloque*

Internationale réuni à Mons du 26 au 29 octobre 1967 à l'occasion du 500^e centenaire de la naissance d'Erasmus. Mons 1968, pp. 173–202. – M. Cytowska (note 7), pp. 327–329.

13 J. Kieszkowski (note 5). – J. Miziołek (note 3).

14 J. Miziołek (note 3), pp. 303–336. – Anne Markham Schulz: *Giammaria Mosca called Padovano: a Renaissance Sculptor in Italy and Poland*. University Park 1998, pp. 97–98, 271–274.

15 Barbara Miodońska: *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika [Miniatures of Stanislas Samostrzelnik]*. Warsaw 1983, pp. 96–117.

16 Marian Sokołowski: *Wota woskowe florenckie jako objaśnienie wotów Tomickiego [Florentine Votive Wax Figures as an Explanation of Tomicki's Votive Figures]*. In: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, Vol. 7/1–2, 1902, coll. CCXC–CCXCII.

17 *Acta Tomiciana* (note 6), Vol. 17, no. 374. – M. Sokołowski (note 16), coll. CCXC–CCXCII. – J. Miziołek (note 3), pp. 305, 324 and note 9 on p. 328. – For the votive wax figures in Florence around 1500, see Aby Warburg: *Arte del ritratto e borghesia fiorentina. Appendice I: Statue votive in cera*. In: *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*. Florence 1980, pp. 137–141.

18 For the erection of the chapel and its architecture, see J. Łoziński (note 3), pp. 45–48. – J. Białostocki (note 1), p. 43. – For the tomb, see Helena Kozakiewiczowa: *Rzeźba XVI wieku w Polsce [Sixteenth-Century Polish Sculpture]*. Warsaw 1984, pp. 52–56.

19 *Acta Tomiciana* (note 6), Vol. 17, no. 199.

20 *Acta Tomiciana* (note 6), Vol. 8, p. 150; Vol. 15, pp. 493 and 623. – J. Kieszkowski (note 5), col. CCLXXVI.

21 J. Kieszkowski (note 5), coll. CCLXXIX–CCLXXX. – J. Łoziński (note 3), pp. 45–46. – Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa: *Gobeliny katedry wawelskiej [Tapestries of the Wawel Cathedral]*. Cracow 1994, pp. 36–37.

22 *Inwentarz Katedry Wawelskiej* (note 4), pp. 194–196.

23 *Vita Petri Tomicii* (note 7), coll. CLXIV.

24 Cf. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* (note 3), p. 92.

25 *Acta visitationis illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Bernardi cardinalis Maciejowski*. Archiwum Katedralne na Wawelu, no. 19b, p. 313.

26 The first mention of the relief being in the chapel was made in *Acta visitationis Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis*, MS no. 64, fol. 102v of 1731; Archiwum Katedralne na Wawelu (Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej). The passage referring to the relief reads: »altare in hac capella est unicum veteris et rudis structurae in quo est imago SS. Trium Regum«.

27 For the identification of the Kings, see John of Hildesheim: *Historia Trium Regum*. In: *The Three Kings of Cologne. An Early English Translation of the »Historia Trium Regum«* by John of Hildesheim. Ed. from the mss. by Carl Horstmann (Early English Text Society, 85). London 1886 (Reprint Millwood/N.Y. 1988). – See also, Yona Pinson: *Connotations of Sin and Heresy in the Figure of the Black King in Some Northern Renaissance Adorations*. In: *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 34 (XVII), 1996, pp. 159–175.

28 Hans Georg Gmelin: *Georg Pencz als Maler*. In: *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Vol. 17, 1966, pp. 49–76, esp. pp. 53–55, 75–76, figs. 1–3. – *Meister um Albrecht Dürer*. Exhib. Cat. Nuremberg 1961, p. 152, no. 256.

29 H.G. Gmelin (note 28), p. 53, fig. 4.

- 30 From one of Tomicki's letters (*Acta Tomiciana* (note 6), Vol. 16, p. 645), it is known that Tomicki did not particularly appreciate painting. In his letter he complains about the high price of a painting he ordered for the parish church in Tomice and about the impermanence of painting.
- 31 Cf. Diane Wolfthal: *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400–1530*. Cambridge 1989.
- 32 H.G. Gmelin (note 28), pp. 49–76. – See also Tadeusz Kruszyński: Jerzy Pencz z Norymbergi jako twórca malowideł tryptyku w Kaplicy Zygmunto-
skiej [Georg Pencz of Nuremberg as the Artist Who Produced Paintings for the Altarpiece in the Sigismund Chapel]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, Vol. II, 1933/34, pp. 179–216.
- 33 B. Miodońska (note 15). – Barbara Miodońska: Die Buchmalerei in Polen zur Zeit der Jagiellonen. In: *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen* (note 2), pp. 224–254, esp. 229–230, 252–254.
- 34 Rainer Brandl: *Zwischen Kunst und Handwerk. Kunst und Künstler im mittelalterlichen Nürnberg*. In: *Nürnberg 1300–1500. Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance*. Exhib.Cat. Nuremberg 1986. Munich 1986, pp. 51–60, esp. 59–60; Hans Dürer auf dem Wawel-Schloss. – *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen* (note 2), pp. 187, 213–214.
- 35 B. Miodońska (note 15), pp. 96–117.
- 36 A passage in the Ms. 1035 of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow reads as follows: »Item dedi pro telle uln. 21 super qua delineamentum alias visirungk tabulae Nurembergae argenteae fabricandae depictum est... Item dedi Ioanni Dyrer pictori regio a labore et pictura delineamenti m. 12 gr. 24...« Cited after T. Kruszyński (note 32), pp. 181–182.
- 37 Helena and Stefan Kozakiewicz: *The Renaissance in Poland*. Warsaw 1976, pp. 99–103, figs. 90–91.
- 38 *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 13 (7). Ed. by W.L. Strauss. New York 1981, 2 (536), p. 300.
- 39 It was Adam Bochnak: *Mecenat Zygmunta Starego w zakresie rzemiosła artystycznego* [Sigismund the Old as a Patron of the Crafts]. Cracow 1960, p. 67, fig. 57, who noted similarities between Dürer's woodcut and the scene in the Sigismund Chapel's altarpiece.
- 40 Józef Muczkowski–Józef Zdanowski: Hans Süss z Kulmbachu. Cracow 1927, pp. 26–30, fig. 7. – The original panel, the one from the church of St. Stanislas in Cracow, is now in Berlin, see *Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*. Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1975, p. 220, no. 596 A.
- 41 L. Hajdukiewicz (note 7). – Stanisław Mossakowski: La non più esistente decorazione astrologica del castello reale di Cracovia. In: *Magia, astrologia e religione nel Rinascimento* (Convegno polacco-italiano, Varsavia: 25–27 settembre 1972). Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1974, pp. 90–98.
- 42 *Acta Tomiciana* (note 6), Vol. 16/ 2, p. 270, no. 529: »Rogamus vos, ut iam scutum ad pluviale laborari nobis faciatis, quod labore phrygio seu rechamator non secundum picturam per nos vobis missam, sed iuxta figuram suam sanctorum Trium Regum, quam habet elegantior...«. – See also: J. Miziołek (note 3), p. 309 and note 9 on p. 328.
- 43 For the Adoration of the Magi, see Richard C. Trexler: *The Journey of the Magi. Meanings in History of a Christian Story*. Princeton 1997. – See also Gertrud Schiller: *Iconography of Christian Art*. Vol. I. Transl. by Janet Seligman. London 1971, pp. 94–114. – Erich Depel: Das Kölner Dombild und die Lochnerachfolge um 1500. In: *Kölner Domblatt*, Vol. 23/24, 1964, pp. 371–410.
- 44 Rab Hatfield: The »Compagnia de' Magi«. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 33, 1970, p. 107–161. – See also André Chastel: *Arte e umanesimo a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*. Transl. by Renzo Federici. Torino 1964, pp. 245–252, 440–442.
- 45 Richard C. Trexler: *Triumph and Mourning in North Italian Magi Art. In: Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*. Ed. by Charles M. Rosenberg, Notre Dame–London 1990, pp. 38–66. – For comets in Italian art, see Andreas Beyer: *De significatione cometarum*. Guglielmo De Becchis Traktat »De Cometa« (1456) und sein Einfluß auf die bildliche Kometenikonographie in Florenz. In: *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Wolfram Prinz–Andreas Beyer. Weinheim 1987, pp. 181–211.
- 46 Die Huldigung der Magier in der Kunst der Spätantike. In: *Die Heiligen Drei Könige – Darstellung und Verehrung*. Exhib.Cat. Cologne 1982, pp. 20–32.
- 47 Ilka Kloten: *Wandmalerei im Grossen Kirchenschisma. Die Cappella Bolognini in San Petronio zu Bologna*. Heidelberg 1986. – Darrell D. Davison: *The Iconology of the S. Trinità Sacristy, 1418–1435: A Study of the Private and Public Function of Religious Art in the Early Quattrocento*. In: *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 57, 1975, pp. 316–334.
- 48 Rab Hatfield: *Botticelli's Uffizi »Adoration«*. A Study in Pictorial Content. Princeton 1976, pp. 30–32.
- 49 Andrea de Marchi: *Gentile da Fabriano. Un viaggio nella pittura italiana alla fine del gotico*. Milano 1992, pp. 135–143.
- 50 R. Hatfield (note 48). – Richard C. Trexler: *Captains and Kings. The Medici Chapel*. In: *Church and Community 1200–1600. Studies in History of Florence and New Spain*. Rome 1987, pp. 203–223.
- 51 L. Hajdukiewicz (note 7), pp. 206, 218. – Tomicki's copy of Durandus' *Rationale Divinorum officiorum* is preserved in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow.
- 52 J. Kieszkowski (note 5), coll. CCLXXVI.
- 53 J. Miziołek (note 3), p. 326, fig. 18. – A.M. Schulz (note 14), p. 126.
- 54 J. Miziołek (note 3), pp. 324–327, fig. 13. – Jerzy Miziołek: *Oculus coeli: osservazioni sulla simbologia della luce nella cappella del primate Uchanius a Lovitium (Łowicz)*. In: *Quasar*, Vol. 8/9, 1992/1993, pp. 5–18, esp. p. 9, fig. 13. – For the Adoration of the Magi and the Eucharist, see Ursula Nilgen: *The Epiphany and the Eucharist: on the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Medieval Epiphany Scenes*. In: *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 49, 1967, pp. 311–316. – William Hood: *Fra Angelico at San Marco*. New Haven–London 1993, pp. 248–253.
- 55 *Korespondencja Erazma z Rotterdamu z Polakami* [Erasmus' Correspondence with Poles]. Transl. by Maria Cytowska. Warsaw 1965.
- 56 Stephen M. Buhler: *Marsilio Ficino's »De stella magorum« and Renaissance Views of the Magi*. In: *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43, 1990, pp. 348–371.
- 57 *Hymns of Prudentius. The Cathemerinon; or, The Daily Round*. Transl. by David R. Slavitt. Baltimore–London 1996, pp. 54–61.
- 58 *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 7*. Ed. by Elaine Fantham–Erika Rummel. Toronto–Buffalo–London 1989, pp. 196–205. – The same ideas about the Epiphany and the afterlife occur in several Polish Renaissance Christmas carols, see: *Patrząc na rozmaite świata tego sprawy*. Antologia polskiej poezji renesansowej [With a View to Various Matters of

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59 In a letter to Sigismund the Old, dated 1531, the Bishop states: »Hic cum rege de me magna fuit disputatio ex declaratione comete«, cited after S. Mosakowski (note 41), p. 91.

60 Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Vol. IV: Miasto Kraków, część V: Kazimierz i Stradom, Kościoły i klasztory, 2 [Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland. Vol. IV: The City of Cracow, part V: Kazimierz and Stradom, Churches

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