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*The Symbolic Tomb of King Władysław III Warneńczyk in the Cracow Cathedral on the Wawel Hill: History of Making the Cenotaph*

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Symboliczny grób króla Władysława III Warneńczyka w Katedrze Krakowskiej na Wawelu.  
Historia tworzenia grobowca

SUMMARY

This article presents the history of the construction of king Władysław Warneńczyk's cenotaph in the Cracow Cathedral in Wawel. The reasons for its so late erecting (1906) as well as the choosing sculptor Antoni Madeyski for its maker have been presented. The in-depth analysis of the sepulchral figure of Warneńczyk and the tomb itself is performed in the text. The processing of sculpting work in the sculptor's studio and installation works in the Cathedral is described. Finally, some reflections of people of that time and their opinions on the tomb are presented.

**Keywords:** Władysław Warneńczyk; Antoni Madeyski; Cracow Cathedral in Wawel; cenotaph

The aim of this article is to present the history of founding the symbolic tomb of Władysław Warneńczyk in the Cracow Cathedral in Wawel<sup>1</sup>. Undertaking academic research and preparing this article was inspired by the work by Prof. Urszula Kaczmarek *Warneńskie pole – dzieje pomnika*, in which the author describes the chronology of events associated with the creation of a place of worship for this Polish monarch in Varna. So far there has been no similar work on the topic of making a tombstone for this king in the Cracow Cathedral in Wawel

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<sup>1</sup> The article uses the terms "Cracow Cathedral" or "the Cathedral in Wawel" instead of the commonly used term "Wawel Cathedral".

– a time-honoured burial place of Polish monarchs. It is possible to find information and photographs “scattered” around journals and newspapers from the times of the tombs’ construction; information about it in historical studies on the Cathedral and guidebooks is laconic. However, they are not of an academic nature. The first attempt of placing in order the issue of creating Warneńczyk’s cenotaph was a work by Angela Sołtys, but the author devoted more attention to the subject of founding Jadwiga’s sarcophagus and also concentrated more on a specific historical situation, in which both tombs were made, i.e. the restoration of the Cathedral at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This works collected information from various sources and academic studies which allow not only to trace the chronology of events associated with erecting this latter monarchical grave in the Cracow Cathedral, but they also present a broader (historical and cultural) background of its creation in a shape that it finally took in the Cathedral.

On 20 January 1320, the coronation of a Polish ruler – Władysław Łokietek, who initiated the tradition of crowning Polish monarchs in the Cracow Cathedral – took place for the first time in the history of Poland in the Wawel Hill. After the victorious battle of Płowce in 1331 he also laid the standards captured from the defeated Teutonic Knights in the Cathedral’s presbytery. From that time onwards, the Cracow Cathedral became a place for laying down battle trophies. And

[...] from 1333, when the body of King Władysław Łokietek was buried there, all monarchs together with their families – with few exceptions – made it a place of their eternal rest. They were buried there regardless of their personal achievements, disasters, victories, or faults, because this was a unique privilege of the kings of Poland, guaranteed by tradition and respected by the nation throughout the centuries<sup>2</sup>.

In this way, since the reign of this king (1320–1333), the Cracow Cathedral (with only few exceptions) became the coronation and sepulchral place of the Polish monarchs and the site for trophies. Successive coronations of the Polish monarchs and their wives, baptisms of royal children, depositions of battle spoils, and finally, burials of the deceased monarchs assigned the Cracow Cathedral a unique role in the Polish history. This centuries old tradition was interrupted by the partitions of Poland, which erased the existence of Poland and its monarchs. In the face of political changes, the significance of the Cathedral was also changed, and not into its disadvantage. Quite the opposite. After losing independence, it began to fulfil completely different functions: patriotic and “didactic”. It became “Poland’s national sanctuary. [...] In the times of Poland’s partitions, Wawel fulfilled patriotic functions [...]. Since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Cathedral was almost worshipped together with the royal tombs inside it, which marked historical continuity”<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rożek, *Groby królewskie*, Kraków 2008, pp. 27–28.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *Krakowska katedra krakowska na Wawelu*, Kraków 2015, p. 223.

The tombstones of Władysław Łokietek, Kazimierz the Great, Władysław Jagiełło, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk were admired. Near the main altar, a modest epitaph was situated informing that this was the resting place of Jadwiga of Anjou<sup>4</sup>. Due to the absence of new Polish monarchs, new graves were added in the Cathedral's crypts – this time – of national heroes (Duke Józef Poniatowski in 1817 and Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1818), in order to remind of Poland's past greatness through the contemporary great figures from the country's past. The Cathedral's role as a national pantheon increased even more after the tomb of King Kazimierz the Great had been opened (June 1869) and the successive burial of his remains (8 July 1869); then – after the restoration of previously unavailable graves of other monarchs and opening them for the visitors<sup>5</sup>. Due to the deterioration of the Cathedral's interior and the elements of its furnishings through the centuries, a complete restoration was conducted in 1895–1910. At that time, chapels and altars were restored, new stained glass windows were installed, two graves of the kings of Poland were also erected of Jadwiga of Anjou and Władysław Warneńczyk.

The figure of Jadwiga was held in reverence and worshipped<sup>6</sup>. After her death in July 1399, she was buried by the main altar in the Cracow Cathedral. In 1887, this tomb was opened and the queen's cult began to revive. Count Karol Lanckoroński founded<sup>7</sup> her a beautiful sarcophagus in white marble in 1902, made by the Polish artist-sculptor who lived in Rome, Antoni Madeyski<sup>8</sup>. While

[...] the creation of Jadwiga's sarcophagus was decided, among other arguments, by her cult motives, the monument for Warneńczyk – according to the intentions of the Cathedral's restorers – was to emphasise the connection between the church and the most important moments in the history of the nation<sup>9</sup>.

Till that time, Władysław Warneńczyk did not have any, even symbolic, tombstone in this time-honoured burial site of the Polish monarchs. Yet, it was from his reign that the thinking of Poland as the “bulwark of Christianity” started to develop, so popular later in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, and experiencing “a certain career” exactly at the times of Poland's partitions<sup>10</sup>. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Władysław III, the term “bulwark” referred rather to Hungary, threat-

<sup>4</sup> The tombs of other rulers were not accessible for the visitors until 1875.

<sup>5</sup> M. Rożek, *Krakowska...*

<sup>6</sup> W. Staich, *Budzenie świętej – dzieje kultu królowej Jadwigi*, Kraków 1933.

<sup>7</sup> Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) – Polish art historian, member of PAU, pioneer of conservation of monuments, involved in the restoration of the Cracow Cathedral.

<sup>8</sup> Reasons for selecting Madeyski to make the tomb of Jadwiga are provided by A. Sołtys, *Pomniki Antoniego Madeyskiego na tle problemu restauracji katedry krakowskiej*, “*Studia Waweli-ana*” 1994, vol. 3, pp. 157–167.

<sup>9</sup> A. Sołtys, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> J. Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy*, Warszawa 1987, p. 5.

ened by the progressing Turkish expansion, but it was precisely for this purpose that the young king of Poland accepted the Hungarian crown – in order to fight for defending the Kingdom of Hungary<sup>11</sup>. Military successes during the so-called “long campaign” (1443/1444) resulted in the fact that he individually became to be referred to as a “bulwark of the entire Christian Commonwealth” – and not by somebody else but by Francesco Filelfo, one of the greatest snobs, but also the most outstanding erudite humanist of the Italian Renaissance, who was sought after by the most outstanding people of the time, including monarchs and even the pope!<sup>12</sup> Prof. Janusz Tazbir correctly notices that it was at that time that the term *antemurale Christianitatis* – already widespread in Europe – was for the first time used towards the Polish ruler (!) and not the Kingdom of Poland<sup>13</sup>. For the achieved victories, Władysław III as the first Polish ruler received from the Pope a blessed sword – a special distinction for rulers who distinguished themselves in fighting for the defence of Christian faith.

The question of accepting the Hungarian crown caused controversies from the very beginning. Władysław’s final consent to ascend the Hungarian throne, his departure to Buda, involvement in fighting against infidels at the expense of his own country, and finally his tragic death at Varna and its consequences for Poland’s national interests, the loss of his body during the battle most likely contributed to not erecting a tombstone for this monarch despite the fact that the plans to build a tomb for this king were already made in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>. Why were they not implemented at that time? This could be linked to the loss of the dead king’s body and the simultaneous rumors about his alleged escape from the battlefield, and the occurring impostors<sup>15</sup>, and/or different political reasoning of Władysław’s brother, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, who was his successor to the Polish throne<sup>16</sup>. It is difficult to investigate the real reason today, but

<sup>11</sup> It is interesting, “the definition of Hungary as a wall and shield is for the first time encountered precisely in his [Władysław III’s – E.S.] letters” (*ibidem*, p. 10).

<sup>12</sup> S. Lempicki, *Renesans i humanizm w Polsce*, Kraków 1952.

<sup>13</sup> J. Tazbir, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> J.A. Chrościński, *Najstarsze przedstawienie „Śmierci króla Władysława III pod Warną” na rysunku Jacobo Belliniego*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, eds. H. Manikowska, A. Bartoszewicz, W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2000, pp. 541–551.

<sup>15</sup> A. Lewicki, *Pseudo-Warneńczyk*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1895, no. 9, pp. 239–245; S. Jakubczak, *Mikołaj Rychlik, który się za króla Władysława III, Warneńczyka podawał*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1988, no. 3, pp. 199–205; S. Sroka, *Sława, chwala i plotka. Władysław Warneńczyk jako król Węgier*, “Przegląd Nauk Historycznych” 2016, no. 2, pp. 103–126.

<sup>16</sup> The first option is rather not justifiable since Kazimierz Jagiellończyk issued in 1466 a founding act for the monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Krzepice, in which “the king himself, for giving his permission [...]; [the permission for the founding the monastery – E.S.] expects the salvation of his soul and the souls of his father, Władysław, mother Zofia, and brother Władysław” (S. Muznerowski, *Krzepice w przeszłości*, Włocławek 1914, p. 114). The king lived

it is a fact that the tomb of Władysław Warneńczyk in the Cracow Cathedral was missing for centuries. The restoration of the Cathedral at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries seemed to be an adequate moment for erecting a symbolic tomb for this ruler, which would commemorate his tragic death in defence of Christian faith and values. The erection of Jadwiga of Anjou's tomb and its beautiful execution by Antoni Madeyski resulted in Cardinal Jan Puzyna and the Cathedral Chapter's decision on commissioning this sculptor to make a tomb for Władysław Warneńczyk. At the end of 1902 (i.e. in a year when Jadwiga's sarcophagus was unveiled in the Cathedral), the final decision was made on founding a tomb for Warneńczyk and placing it in the Cathedral's central nave – a pendant to the grave of his father, Władysław Jagiełło – and on 10 January 1903, an agreement was concluded between Cardinal Puzyna and Madeyski regarding the commission of Warneńczyk's cenotaph<sup>17</sup>. So it was only after over 450 years that Cardinal Puzyna made it possible to commemorate Władysław Warneńczyk with a proper tombstone, to which Polish rulers were entitled. Already at the time of concluding the agreement, the details regarding its future appearance were determined. First and foremost, its structure was to refer to other medieval tombstones of monarchs, i.e. It was to have a shape of a chest tomb with a figure of the king situated on it and covered with a baldachin. This latter element was typical of medieval sarcophagi of monarchs, starting with the tomb of Władysław Łokietek, founded by his son, Kazimierz the Great, who had diplomatic connections to the papacy – at that time staying in Avignon – where tombs with canopies were erected<sup>18</sup>.

Moreover, the tomb was supposed to be made of marble and bronze, and the artist had three years to erect it. After concluding the agreement Antoni Madeyski started working with his typical enthusiasm<sup>19</sup>. Already in the first months of 1903 he prepared the original version of the chest tomb (Fig. 1) as well as the ruler's figure (Fig. 2).

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to 1492 and during his lifetime he founded a tomb for himself sculpted by Wit Stwosz. Thus, he could have founded at least a symbolic tombstone to his deceased brother.

<sup>17</sup> A. Sołtys, *op. cit.*; *Nagrobek Władysława Warneńczyka*, [www.wirtualnakatedra.pl/katedra-krolow/nagrobek-wladyslawa-warnencyka](http://www.wirtualnakatedra.pl/katedra-krolow/nagrobek-wladyslawa-warnencyka) [access: 10.11.2020].

<sup>18</sup> M. Sokołowski, *Pomnik Warneńczyka na Wawelu*, "Czas" 1906 (23 June, evening ed.), p. 1. It is worth noting that each of the baldachins on the royal sarcophagi is supported by eight columns – number 8 is a symbol of infinity, eternity, and resurrection.

<sup>19</sup> On the sculptor and his enthusiasm to work, see more in a short description of the artist from the times of making Warneńczyk's tomb in H. Piątkowski, *Antoni Madeyski. Sylwetka*, "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1906, no. 20, pp. 374–375.

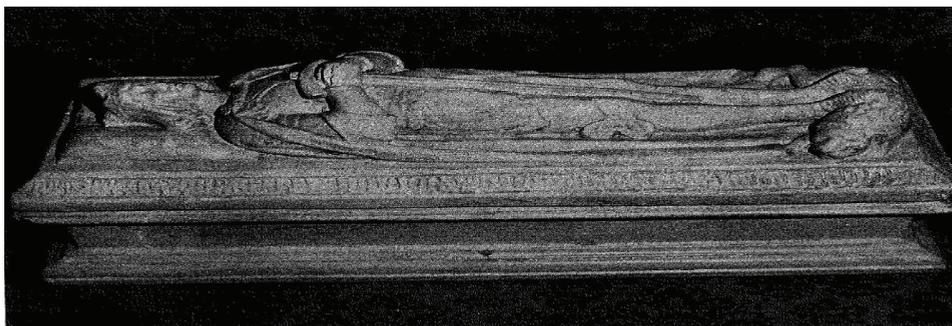


Fig. 1. The original model of Warneńczyk's sarcophagus

Source: A. Sołtys, *Pomniki Antoniego Madeyskiego na tle problemu restauracji katedry krakowskiej*, "Studia Waweliana" 1994, vol. 3, p. 165.



Fig. 2. Sketch of Warneńczyk's figure

Source: "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1906, no. 20, p. 382 (available in the collection of Digital Library of the University of Lodz).

In the second part of the year (after changes that had been made), the model of the final sarcophagus' version was ready (Fig. 3)<sup>20</sup>.

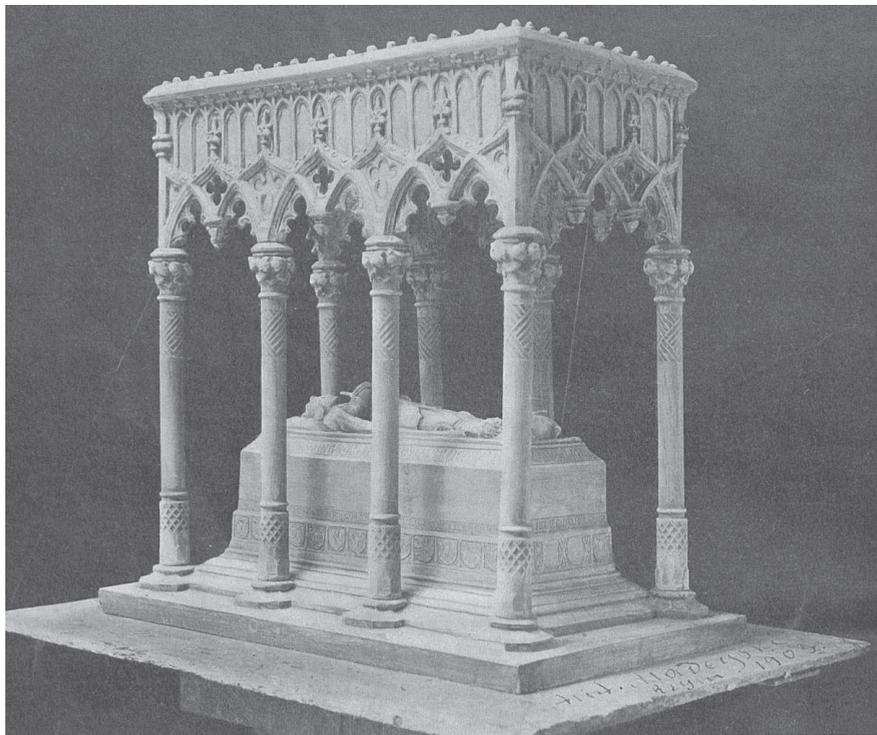


Fig. 3. Sketch of Władysław Warneńczyk's monument in the Cracow Cathedral  
Source: "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1906, no. 20, p. 378 (available in the collection of Digital Library of the University of Lodz).

In relation to the sculptor's original version, the above photograph allows to notice differences in the tombs' shape – much more convex, without any architectural incisions, with a place designed for the coats of arms of two kingdoms: Polish and Hungarian in the lower part of the tomb. The figure of King Władysław was also transformed in relation to the prototype (Fig. 4).

Presented photograph clearly indicates changes made by the artist to the entire figure of the ruler – significantly "slimmed down", full of proportional shapes. The king's face was even given a look of a beautiful young man by Madeyski (although, if chronicles are to be believed – he was not so full of charm as on the sarcophagus). Also the shape of the royal garment was arranged in a way not to cover any element of the armour – the latter was meant to emphasise the heroic

<sup>20</sup> A. Sołtys, *op. cit.*



Fig. 4. Władysław Warneńczyk's tomb plaque

Source: "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1906, no. 20, p. 373 (available in the collection of Digital Library of the University of Lodz).

death at the battlefield while defending the Christian faith and to serve his glorification as a knight. However, since he was a king, his monarchic dignity could not be thoroughly overlooked. For this reason, a sword that was "placed" in the king's hands crossed at his chest, runs along his entire figure<sup>21</sup>. However, it was not a knight's sword which Warneńczyk used in battles, but *Szczerbiec* – the sword of a unique significance for the history of Poland<sup>22</sup>. It was the ceremonial sword

<sup>21</sup> The gesture was not accidental – in the Middle Ages it was a sign of humility (P. Mrozowski, *Gest portretowy w gotyckiej rzeźbie nagrobnej*, [in:] *Portret, funkcja, forma, symbol*, ed. A. Marczak-Krupa, Warszawa 1990; A. Sołtys, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> *Nagrobek Władysława Warneńczyka...*

for coronations of Polish rulers, the sword of justice, handed over by archbishop during the coronation ceremony, who at that time reminded the future king “to defend the Holy Church and his subjects with this sword and to fight against the enemies”<sup>23</sup>. Additionally, the Polish *Ordo coronandi*, prepared for the event of coronation of under-aged Władysław III in 1434<sup>24</sup>, assumed that the new ruler would be handed over – apart from the crown, the globe, the sceptre, and the sword – also brassards and a ring<sup>25</sup>. Unsurprisingly, the latter of the two insignia of royal power was added to the king’s tombstone sculpture, on the left hand finger of Warneńczyk. The royal ring was “a sign of dignity and a badge of Catholic faith”<sup>26</sup>. Thus, the incorporation of these two symbols of royal power referring directly to the issue of Catholic faith and duties of protecting it complemented the image of a king – knight, which the founders wanted.

The posthumous image of Władysław Warneńczyk was not accidental – it was meant to serve specific intentions of the founders who – from the perspective of more than four centuries – wanted to recall the figure of Warneńczyk and commemorate him accordingly. Since he was a medieval ruler, it was necessary to refer to the medieval tradition of erecting monarchical sarcophagi, keeping in mind the nature of a medieval tomb. For it was an important source of information on the deceased through the attributes with which he was presented (and which were useful during his life to perform a specific social function, i.e. sword, crosier), inscriptions providing basic information (name, date of death, origins, etc.), coats of arms and a figure (sometimes a likeness) of the deceased with certain gestures, clear and understandable for people from that time<sup>27</sup>. In the case of Warneńczyk it was necessary to erect a tombstone that would refer to the traditions of the royal tombs, but simultaneously emphasise what distinguished this ruler from other Polish kings. Polish medieval rulers presented on the sarcophagi in the Cracow Cathedral

[...] from the times of Łokietek [...] traditionally carry the insignia of power – *the globe* and sceptre – which are complemented with a crown on the head. This was the expression of believe in the immortality of monarchical dignity, the power which the anointed carried out “by God’s grace

<sup>23</sup> M. Rożek, *Polskie insygnia koronacyjne*, Kraków 2011, p. 82.

<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to learn nowadays whether Władysław III was crowned in accordance with this new *Ordo coronandi*. Jan Długosz stated that the coronation was conducted “according to the rituals and old custom [(!) – E.S.] of the Kingdom of Poland” (*Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, transl. J. Mrukówna, Book 11, Warszawa 2009, p. 154). It is more broadly discussed by Z. Dalewski, *Ceremoniał koronacyjny królów polskich w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1995, no. 3–4, pp. 37–60.

<sup>25</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Koronacje królów i królowych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1918; M. Rożek, *Polskie insygnia...*

<sup>26</sup> M. Rożek, *Polskie insygnia...*, p. 82.

<sup>27</sup> P. Mrozowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–349.

as *vicarius et imago Dei*”. The immortal anointing throughout the life was a source of hope for going to eternity<sup>28</sup>.

However, Władysław Warneńczyk was not only a ruler; he was a king – knight, and the only king of Poland who died on the battlefield, in addition fighting not only in defence of his own country, but the entire Christian Europe, the faith it professed and its values from infidels. This aspect was considered as the most important. For this reason – in contrast to other figures of monarchs in tombs, presented in royal garments together with the insignias of power – Warneńczyk was to be presented as a king – knight, in full armour, with the sword in his hands, and only a crown, royal mantle and ring were to emphasise his monarchic dignity. If the crown and the ring were symbols of royal power, then armour and sword emphasised his knighthood<sup>29</sup>. Due to these attributes – typical of medieval tombstones of knights – he “presented to God the virtue of prowess and bravery, emphasised that his earthly existence passed in readiness to sacrifice his life in defence of faith and gospel”<sup>30</sup>.

Apart from those knightly and royal symbols, the entire figure of the king was to be surrounded by an inscription running around the upper level of the tomb, emphasising his heroic death at the battle of Varna. While 1903 was spent by Antoni Madeyski on making the original model of the sarcophagus and the king’s figure, the next year (particularly its first half) the artist spent on refining architectural details<sup>31</sup>. One of the details, to which the sculptor paid particular attention, was an inscription that was to continue around the entire sarcophagus, placed right below the figure of the lying king. According to the artist’s intention, it was supposed to fulfil a double role: to inform briefly – with only a few words that could be included in the inscription – who the deceased king was, but also – as he emphasised in the letter from 2 May 1904 – “it should be remembered that in my composition the inscription plays a role of an ornamentation [...]”<sup>32</sup>. He expressed his concern and attention to detail regarding this ornament already in a previous letter dated 20 April stating that

[...] the inscription is to go around the sarcophagus, so it will be placed on four sides – two of them short and two long; the long side may fit from 45 to 50 letters of words, the short one – from 16 to 18. While arranging the inscription it should be taken into account that each of four sides fits

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 348.

<sup>29</sup> However, the sword (*Szczerbiec*) was also partly referring to holding the royal power, as emphasised in the article.

<sup>30</sup> P. Mrozowski, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

<sup>31</sup> A. Madeyski, the letter from 20 April 1904 (available in the collection of the Archives of the Jagiellonian University, L D. XCVIII: Correspondence of M. Sokołowski).

<sup>32</sup> A. Madeyski, a letter from 2 May 1904 (available in the collection of the Archives of the Jagiellonian University, L D. XCVIII: Correspondence of M. Sokołowski).

an uninterrupted sentence of an appropriate number of letters. In case the inscription is shorter and has less than 120–150 letters, an appropriate proportion should be kept at the division<sup>33</sup>.

In the letter from 2 May, Antoni Madeyski offered that it should include the following content: *Vladislaus tertius Rex Poloniae et Hungariae natus Anno Domini 1424 pro Dei gloria apud Varnam Anno Domini 1444 fortiter pugnando occubuit – verus atleta Christi*<sup>34</sup>. Through this inscription the sculptor referred to the medieval funerary inscriptions<sup>35</sup>, but it was not coincidental that he used the expression *verus atleta Christi* – which in medieval Latin meant a true swordsman of Christ, a saint, a martyr. The artist's idea was not implemented in the end – at the suggestion of Duke Roman Sanguszko<sup>36</sup>, it was changed as follows: *Ladislavus III poloniae et hungariae Rex nat (us) a(nno) D(omi)ni mccccxxiv pro re Christiana in clytam ad varnam pugnam acriter pugnans mortem gloriosam p(er) petuit an(n)o Domini mccccxlv*<sup>37</sup>. Even though the new and final version omitted the phrase *verus atleta Christi*, the inscription's content nevertheless emphasises his heroic death at the battle of Varna, suffered during the fight for “a Christian cause”. An example of how important was this inscription – its content and decorative aspect – can be proven by a preserved fragment of the letter (Fig. 5) to the sculptor, written on behalf of the sick Duke Sanguszko, in which – after proposing different words of the inscriptions that the artist saw fit – it was meticulously calculated whether the number of letters would be the same in order not to disturb the entirety of the sarcophagus' composition<sup>38</sup>.

While working on the entire sarcophagus and its details, the artist was visited in his studio by Poles<sup>39</sup>. However, these were relatively small Polish groups (apart from important individuals) had no possibility to go to Rome and see the Ro-

<sup>33</sup> A. Madeyski, a letter from 20 April 1904.

<sup>34</sup> A. Madeyski, a letter from 2 May 1904.

<sup>35</sup> Although inscriptions rarely appeared on the royal tombs in the Middle Ages (P. Mrozowski, *op. cit.*, p. 333), it should be remembered that the cenotaph of Władysław Warneńczyk, as well as the one of Jadwiga of Anjou, were created a few centuries later and it is not accidental that both have inscriptions. This can be linked to the fact that in the Middle Ages, the Cracow Cathedral was accessible only to the elites and no inscriptions regarding the rulers were necessary. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Cathedral got accessible also to ordinary people who had not had a chance to learn the history of the country, the inscriptions were provided to remind of the deceased monarch. Erecting these two royal tombs, they intended to “remind” and commemorate them.

<sup>36</sup> The letter from 5 January 1905 is preserved and available in the Iconographic Documentation Section in the National Museum in Warsaw, no. 3768/46/89; written on behalf of Duke Roman Sanguszko by his secretary.

<sup>37</sup> The inscription content is also available in: *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae*, vol. 8(1), Kraków 2002, p. 348.

<sup>38</sup> The letter is preserved and available in the Iconographic Documentation Section in the National Museum in Warsaw: *Korespondencja A. Madeyskiego*, no. 3769/35/89 and 3768/46/89.

<sup>39</sup> A. Madeyski, a letter from 2 May 1904.

Ladislaus iii  
 Poloniae et Hungariae Rex,  
 nat. A.D. MCCCCXXIV  
 pro re. christiana inelytam  
 ad Varnam pugnam acriter pugnavit  
 mortem gloriosam appetit  
 A. D. MCCCC XLIV  
 $12 + 22 + 14 + 23 + 28 + 23 + 11 = 133$

~~Vladislaus tertius Poloniae<sup>15</sup>  
 et Hungariae<sup>11</sup> Rex natus anno<sup>12</sup>  
 Domini 1424<sup>10</sup> pro Dei gloria<sup>12</sup>  
 apud Varnam<sup>10</sup> anno Domini<sup>10</sup>  
 fortiter pugnando<sup>16</sup> occubuit<sup>8</sup>  
 verus athleta<sup>14</sup> Christi<sup>7</sup>  
 $10 + 15 + 11 + 12 + 10 = 58$   
 $12 + 10 + 10 + 16 + 8 = 56$   
 $12 + 7 = 19$   
 133~~

Fig. 5. Preserved fragment of the letter from the secretary of Duke Roman Sanguszko to Antoni Madeyski. The original is in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw

man workshop of the sculptor. They could read about the progress in works on the tomb of King Władysław in a few press reports, mainly from the journal “Czas” – the most popular journal informing about political, economic and cultural events from all over Europe<sup>40</sup>. There was a special column (“Chronicle”) in the journal, which regularly reported on the most important news of various topics.

<sup>40</sup> “Czas” – a journal published in 1848–1939; it had two daily issues: morning and evening.

And so in the issue from Wednesday, dated 6 September 1905<sup>41</sup>, information was included about the monument of King Warneńczyk.

[...] the Roman correspondent of *Gazeta Lwowska* writes “In his quiet studio in Via Flaminia, behind *del popolo* gate, Antoni Madeyski finishes the monument of Władysław Warneńczyk, which His Excellency Cardinal Puzyna commissioned from him for the Cathedral where there is already the statue carved by him, presenting Queen Jadwiga. If the sarcophagus of Jadwiga, all made in marble, has an unrivaled charm of simplicity and poetry in the figure of Queen Jadwiga, the beautiful statue of Władysław Warneńczyk is distinguished by a richness of material, juxtaposing of marble and bronze, and even gildings, which were applied to the ore. Moreover, since it is to be a pendant to the statue of the father, Władysław Jagiełło, and will be situated across from it, on the other side of the Cathedral’s main nave, thus it is covered with baldachin. The wealth and beauty of rare marbles that were used for the base of the monument are unparalleled. They consist of: the so-called *antico Rosso*, a pink marble brought from Greece, and a greenish one, also rare and expensive. A Gothic bronze inscription runs at the top of the base, under the figure of the lying king. The very figure of Warneńczyk is absolutely perfect. As in case of Jadwiga, we do not have a portrait of Jagiełło’s son. [...]. The young king cast in bronze lies in a crown and armour; hands crossed on the chest rest on Szczerbiec, [...], I just do not know whether in the darkness that is typical [...] of the Cathedral’s main nave, the colours of marbles will come out as they deserve. The crown on the head is gilded just as is the wire mesh on the armour, carved with particular care. Topazes and amethysts are set in the crown,<sup>42</sup> and there is a sparkling sapphire in the ring. [...] one of the Polish ladies, Duchess Róża Radziwiłłówna of Nieśwież, offered to give the sapphire to Warneńczyk’s ring when she visited A. Madeyski’s studio. I think that they will be able to place the Warneńczyk’s tomb even this year.”

As an extension and supplement to this report could also be words printed in this journal by Bronisława Rychter-Janowska<sup>43</sup> who described her impressions of visiting Madeyski’s workshop as follow:

In Via Flaminia, running along outside the walls of Rome, in a quiet suburb, in a courtyard of an old collapsing house, one can hear a pounding with hammer from early morning until evening. These echoes come from the studio of Madeyski, a sculptor [...].

It is a strange feeling to enter his studio. The walls, the scaffoldings, there is evidence of the artist’s work everywhere. His latest creation – it is a tomb of Władysław Warneńczyk, which is soon to be placed in the Wawel Cathedral.

The tomb, which is nearly finished, due to its size is currently taking up three quarter of the large studio. Here is a pedestal, here are the steps, here is a baldachin, here are scattered capitals to the baldachin; a lot of small ornaments everywhere; finally, on the stone beams, right in the middle of the studio, the figure of the king made of bronze is placed. A Slavic type, a dreamer of long and thick hair, with a crown on his head, in a knightly armour, he presses a sword to his chest with both

<sup>41</sup> “Czas” 1905 (6 September, evening ed.), p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Topazes in the royal crown are mentioned only by this correspondent, not mentioned by name or even initials. Professor Marian Sokołowski (*Pomnik Władysława Warneńczyka*, “Czas” 1906 [23 June, evening ed.], p. 1) and Bronisława Rychter-Janowska (*Grobowiec Warneńczyka*, “Czas” 1905 [6 September, evening ed.]; p. 2) write only about amethysts in the crown.

<sup>43</sup> Bronisława Rychter-Janowska (1868–1953) was a Polish painter and publicist. In the journal she used the initials “Br. R. J.” (“Czas” 1906 [1 February, evening ed.], p. 3).

hands. A royal delia sliding off his shoulders is fastened with a pin, rich in rubies and amethysts. This is a gift from Duchess Róża Radziwiłłówna as the tomb's "godmother". The royal crown is decorated with matte amethysts in their original forms. The peace of a dead youthful strength of the entire figure is symbolically expressed by a small lion sleeping at the king's feet.

The pedestal together with the base is made of a few types of the most expensive marbles which harmonise with each other in terms of tone and colour. The upper part of green marble, similar in colour to malachite, is rested on black and dark red steps. At the junction there is a frieze with coats of arms of Polish provinces. The frieze is separated by small eagles. On both sides of the tomb there are four gothic bases of red marble for columns in the same colours, which are meant to hold the baldachin. All of this is ready to be assembled. The baldachin itself is a very meticulously made lace with capitals, for which leaves and flowers were used as models. Almost each capital is different. One has oak leaves, the second one of grapevines, the third one of laurels, ivy, and mallow. The latter one is a thoroughly original and new idea. Casting all these details in bronze is a complicated, laborious, and subtle work, which can be understood only by those who look at it closely<sup>44</sup>.



Fig. 6. Studio and office of Antoni Madeyski in Rome

Source: "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1906, no. 20, p. 374 (available in the collection of Digital Library of the University of Lodz).

It was most likely the enormity of works on all the details on this royal sarcophagus and care for its smallest details that made the assumptions made by the previously cited Roman correspondent regarding the placing on the tombstone in the Cathedral in Wawel towards the end of 1905 did not come to fruition. Only

<sup>44</sup> B. Rychter-Janowska, *op. cit.*

in spring of 1906 all the tomb's "components" were brought from the Roman studio of Madeyski to Cracow, after which works on placing it in the Cathedral were started<sup>45</sup>. The progress of these assembling works could be found in "Czas", in the "Chronicle" column. Thus, in the morning issue of "Czas" from Thursday, dated 3 May, the readers were informed on a fast progress of works on erecting the tomb, and that "after setting the foundations, the base of the monument was placed and the main figure of the king was laid down on it. Now the works are started on assembling the lower components"<sup>46</sup>. In turn, the morning issue from May 15 included information that "the works on placing the tomb of King Władysław Warneńczyk are so advanced that efforts were made to erect the baldachin"<sup>47</sup>.

The building materials mentioned before, used for preparing the casts and then the final sarcophagus, the hard work of the artist, and the assembling works required considerable finances. The question where they came from could also be found in "Czas"<sup>48</sup>. Professor Marian Sokołowski<sup>49</sup> writes in the journal that:

[...] two dearest figures in the historical tradition of the nation, Jadwiga and Warneńczyk, who were not properly honoured in our Cathedral, came to [...] have their monuments. A generous patron was found for erecting the former, the thought about the latter was implemented – for commemorating the king who died for faith and who embodied the Christian ideal of a Polish knight – by an ardent initiative [...] of the church dignitary [it refers to Cardinal Jan Puzyna – E.S.]. [...] They managed to collect the funds (36,000 coronas) thanks to the saving and percentages of public contributions and with the help of the Chapter. However, it is enough to look at the tomb to be convinced that it was not able to cover all the costs. Therefore, Mr. Madeyski had to contribute and did contribute from his personal savings [...]<sup>50</sup>.

One should also appreciate not only the artist's material, financial "contribution", but also the heart the sculptor put into making the tomb. A few days before unveiling the sarcophagus, Professor Sokołowski wrote in "Czas" that:

[...] everything in our monument is made with this care and accuracy which crown the work. It can be felt and seen that the artist put his soul into it. [...] it is enough to notice the details in order to understand that not the craftsmen or technical helpers, but the sculptor himself has left his mark on them [...]<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> A. Sołtys, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>46</sup> "Czas" 1906 (3 May, morning ed.), p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> "Czas" 1906 (15 May, morning ed.), p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911) – art historian, professor at the Jagiellonian University, conservator of monuments, involved in the restoration of the Cathedral.

<sup>50</sup> M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.* Thereby, one can find information that due to these financial contributions, the coats of arms of: Cathedral Chapter, Cardinal Puzyna and Madeyski are depicted on the keystones of the baldachin.

<sup>51</sup> M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.*

One should also remember about personal donations and gifts, such as, *inter alia*, the sapphire for the king's ring which was donated by Duchess Radziwiłłówna.

On 6 July 1906, after nearly three and a half years, all the sculptor's works culminated and the cenotaph of Władysław Warneńczyk – 356 cm long, 215 cm wide, and 360 cm high<sup>52</sup> – stood finished in the Cracow Cathedral. As “Czas” reported on 7 July 1906,

[...] yesterday in the afternoon, quietly and with no celebrations, the tomb of King Władysław Warneńczyk, sculpted by an artist-sculptor Antoni Madeyski, was unveiled in the Wawel Hill. Today very many people, both local and travelers, hurried to the Cathedral in order to see the monument. The tomb was unveiled in the best time, when Cracow is visited by the largest number of people from all parts of Poland so they will have the opportunity to see the latest ornament of the Cathedral<sup>53</sup>.



Fig. 7. Tomb of Władysław Warneńczyk

Source: [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Nagrobek\\_Władysława\\_III\\_Warneńczyka.jpg](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Nagrobek_Władysława_III_Warneńczyka.jpg) [access: 17.12.2020].

The finished and newly unveiled cenotaph of King Warneńczyk is shown in Fig. 7. It was situated to the left side from the entrance to the Cathedral, opposite the tomb of his father, Władysław Jagiełło, in a place “which had awaited him for ages” since it was “adjusted by both its shape and the colour to the entire

<sup>52</sup> *Nagrobek Władysława Warneńczyka...*

<sup>53</sup> “Czas” 1906 (7 July, evening ed.), p. 2.

surrounding”<sup>54</sup>. Undoubtedly, the meticulous execution of the tomb makes one keep an eye on it, although a lot of its elements – important for it as “an information medium” on the deceased king – are not easy to notice; for it is enclosed by an iron fence. It hinders to see Polish and Hungarian coats of arms surrounding the whole tomb, making it even impossible to read the inscription or to look at architectonic details, which were noticed and appreciated by visitors to the artist’s studio. Regarding the fence, even Madeyski had so many reservations that the day before the unveiling of the tomb, information appeared in “Czas”, in the “Chronicle” column

[...] from the author of Warneńczyk’s tomb, [...] with a request to include the following:

“The veil covering the monument of Władysław Warneńczyk will be removed tomorrow. Anticipating a justified criticism of the iron fence, I would like to inform [...] that I also think of the fence as thoroughly unsuitable. Bars next to any monuments, the lower parts of which are decorative, are a necessary evil. Their tasks should be only to protect from too close access to the tomb, putting one’s feet on its polished steps, touching it from those too curious, destroying it by wrongdoers [...]. I wish to assure [...] that the unfortunate bars I regard as temporary [...].”<sup>55</sup>

From the beginning the fence limited the ability to notice the intricacy of the sarcophagus’ execution; the second limitation was the semi-darkness in the Cathedral, particularly in autumn and winter season on sunless days. With the lack of access to light from the outside through the Cathedral’s shutters, it is impossible to notice the colours of marble used for erecting the tomb, which was already pointed out by the Roman correspondent mentioned above. The role of light was also paid attention to by Sokołowski who wrote that

[...] if we step back to the centre and look at the whole, if the details are lost on us and the light of the morning falls through the southern windows, then with the bloody base on this black plate and fiery small columns, between which the bronze of the figure shines, everything takes on some mystical charm [...].<sup>56</sup>

Wishing to express even greater wonder at the newly erected royal sarcophagus together with all the ideological contents associated with it and with the King, he wrote that

[...] the figure of Warneńczyk [...] in its entire character, in the distinctive features, in slenderness and proportions of shapes, in the accent of beautiful hands crossed on the sword, is an ideal of a Christian knight, and at the same time so very Polish! The most beautiful type of our mountaineer, ennobled and processed through the medieval knightly culture<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Both quotations: M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> A. Madeyski, *Pomnik Warneńczyka na Wawelu*, “Czas” 1906 (6 July, evening ed.), p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem.*

The above-mentioned words by Professor Sokolowski, a man so involved in the works on the tombs of Jadwiga and Warneńczyk, so full of admiration for “the new ornamentation of the Cathedral” were, however, not supported by everyone. There were also words of criticism, i.e. a short fragment of an August issue of “Architecture”<sup>58</sup>, in which – on the cover page – a small photograph of Warneńczyk’s tomb was placed, and on one of the last pages was a commentary that

[...] the whole tomb is beautiful [...] – but...there is “but”.....why this cast and those marbles, and this work, both of casting and sculpting was created outside of Poland!... [...] Where are the traces of Polish hand in Warneńczyk’s tomb? Even his face is not of a Slavic type<sup>59</sup>.

How very contradictory opinions; what bitterness can be felt from these words. And in how great contrast these words stand to the memories of Zofia Solarzowa<sup>60</sup>, brought up in patriotic circles, who – although she saw the tomb of Warneńczyk only several years later – said that for her “a young girl at that time, the figure of Warneńczyk seem to be immensely beautiful”<sup>61</sup>.

The cenotaph has not been subjected to any changes later on, and to this day it has a form that was given to it by Antoni Madeyski. It is also worth mentioning that the symbolic tomb of Władysław Warneńczyk is not the only place reminding of the death of this young ruler. The attempts were made to commemorate this king in Varna yet in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, but only the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought some specific results. In 1921, a commemorative plaque was erected for him at the fields of Varna, and on the 4 August 1935, a mausoleum with an inscription *Vladislao Varnensis*, placed above the entrance, was officially opened. In 1964 – on the occasion of the 520<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Varna – a museum was also opened there, which was named “Brotherhood of Arms of 1444”<sup>62</sup>. Soon, a plastered copy of Władysław Warneńczyk’s figure from the Cracow’s cenotaph was also made – it was gifted to the museum of Varna by the Polish delegation. The plans to create on its basis the same copy of the ruler’s figure, but in fine white marble, were made in Varna. Due to technical difficulties<sup>63</sup>, the figure’s copy was eventually made of white stone and placed in the Varna mausoleum in 1971<sup>64</sup>, where to this day it reminds us of a place and death of Władysław Warneńczyk, the King of Poland and Hungary.

<sup>58</sup> “Architekt” – a monthly issued by Cracow Technical Association Krakowskie Towarzystwo Techniczne) in 1900–1932; on topics related to architecture and constructions.

<sup>59</sup> “Architekt” 1906, R. 7, no. 8, column 184, fig. no. 35.

<sup>60</sup> Zofia Solarz (1902–1988) was a teacher, social activist, co-founder of the first folk university; the wife of Ignacy Solarz.

<sup>61</sup> K. Rożnowska, *Dom świetlisty. Willa Zofii Solarzowej*, “Gazeta Krakowska” 1986, no. 300.

<sup>62</sup> U. Kaczmarek, *Warneńskie pole – dzieje pomnika*, “Balcanica Posnaniensia, Acta et studia” 1997, vol. 8, pp. 209–227; N. Sawow, *Pameticite na Varna*, Varna 2007.

<sup>63</sup> N. Sawow, *op. cit.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*.

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## STRESZCZENIE

W niniejszym artykule zaprezentowano historię powstania kenotafu króla Władysława Warneńczyka w katedrze na Wawelu. Przedstawiono przyczyny tak późnego postawienia kenotafu w katedrze (1906) oraz wyboru rzeźbiarza – Antoniego Madeyskiego – na jego wykonawcę. W tekście dokonano analizy nagrobnej postaci Warneńczyka oraz samego grobowca. Opisany został przebieg prac rzeźbiarskich w pracowni mistrza oraz prac montażowych w katedrze. Na koniec przytoczono refleksje współczesnych i ich opinie na temat nagrobka.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Władysław Warneńczyk; Antoni Madeyski; katedra na Wawelu; kenotaf