Introduction

The origin and history of the Piast dynasty are undoubtedly the starting point of any research on the rise and growth of the medieval Polish state. The problem has been examined by each generation of Polish historians, some archaeologists and art historians. It has also been lively debated in contemporary historiography, which, in order to expand the interpretation possibilities provided by the written source base, uses new research tools borrowed from other disciplines. It is, however, of key importance for these studies to have a source, documentary basis developed, a kind of essential guide for scholars from various disciplines¹.

It took several stages for the catalogue of the Piast tombs to be developed. The material was selected during the first phase, interrelated with the elaboration of the scholarly legacy of Kazimierz Jasiński². Particularly important were the materials Jasiński collected while he worked on the genealogy of the Piasts. In the 1960s and 1970s, Jasiński conducted an intensive source query, which allowed him to collect materials for his *opus vitae maximum – Rodowód Piastów śląskich* [the Pedigree of the Silesian Piast]³. In the introduction to the first volume, Jasiński mentioned that he began his source query on the Piast from family branches other than Silesian one in 1958. After 1961, his research interest turned mostly to the Silesian Piasts. This means that it took Kazimierz Jasiński nearly 11 years to collect the materials⁴. Jasiński's studies were sum-

¹ This book, funded under the program of the Minister of Science and Higher Education under the name 'National Program for the Development of Humanities' in 2014–2019 (No. 0040/NPRH3/H11/82/2014), is part of wider research work conducted in the milieu of Poznań historians, archaeologists, geneticists and anthropologists, within the framework of the National Science Centre project *Dynasty and society of the Piast state in the light of integrated historical, anthropological and gnomic research* integrated with the above (No. UMO-2014/12/W/NZ2/00466).

² Fragment of the introduction regarding the legacy of Kazimierz Jasiński is part of a wider already published publication: A. Losik-Sidorska, *Spuścizna Kazimierza Jasińskiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Kórnickiej PAN*, [in:] *Stilo et animo. Prace historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Tomaszowi Jasińskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, M. Dorna, M. Matla, M. Sosnowski, E. Syska, W. Baran-Kozłowski (eds), Poznań 2016, pp 579–586.

³ K. Jasiński, *Genealogia Piastów. (Źródła, literatura, metoda, wyniki badań)*, Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komitetu Naukowego Oddziału PAN w Krakowie 13 (1969), z. 2, pp 462–465.

⁴ Idem, Rodowód Piastów śląskich, vol. 1, Piastowie wrocławscy i legnicko-brzescy, Wrocław 1973, p 15.

marised, among others, in the three volumes of Rodowód Piastów ślaskich and Rodowód Pierwszych Piastów [The First Piast Pedigree] that were published during his lifetime. In the introduction to the latter, the author presented the circumstances behind the initiative to develop this issue⁵. The original idea, which emerged in the late 1950s, was to prepare the reissue of Oswald Balzer's Genealogia Piastów [Genealogy of the Piasts] enriched with additions and corrections. Responsible for changing the concept was Aleksander Gievsztor who in 1961 'anointed' Kazimierz Jasiński as the author of a publication intended as a comprehensive study of the genealogy of the Piasts, including the Silesian Piasts omitted by Balzer. However, the publication of Rodowód Pierwszych *Piastów* was delayed due to the 'priority' status of the research on the Silesian branches, which had been previously neglected. Along with the progress of works on this topic and the publication of subsequent volumes of Rodowód and papers7, Kazimierz Jasiński decided that the source query carried out between 1958 and 1961 did not correspond to the developed state of research and needs to be completed. This is the reason why the volume devoted to the first Piasts, although planned to be the first, was published as late as in 1993. The other two volumes concerning the genealogy of the Piasts were published already after the unexpected death of the Professor, who died on 8 August 1997. The work on publishing Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich [the Pedigree of the Masovian Piasts] began, as Marek Górny recalls, in April 19968. It is most unfortunate that the numerous duties of Professor Jasiński prevented him from submitting the finished parts of the book for publication within the set deadline. The first part was sent on 23 March 1997, and the next one on 13 May. In total, the Professor managed to send 27 biographic entries, 14 of which were proof-read by him. Other biographical notes in the book were published from a manuscript, the reading of which was supervised by Tomasz Jasiński. This work appeared in print in 1998. Three years later, the last volume of Professor's opus magnum, Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich [The Pedigree of the Piasts of

⁵ Idem, Rodowód Pierwszych Piastów, Warszawa-Wrocław 1992, p 5.

⁶ O. Balzer, Genealogia Piastów, Kraków 1895.

⁷ To mention just a few: K. Jasiński, *Powiązania genealogiczne Piastów (małżeństwa* piastowskie), [in:] Piastowie w dziejach Polski: zbiór artykułów z okazji trzechsetnej rocznicy wygaśniecia dynastii Piastów, R. Heck (ed.), Wrocław 1975, pp 135–148; idem, Drugie małżeństwo Bolesława Rogatki oraz problem "Zofii Doren", Ślaski Kwartalnik Historyczny "Sobótka", vol. 34 (1979), vol. 3, pp 339-358; idem, Studia nad genealogia czeskich Dypoldowiców, Ślaski Kwartalnik Historyczny "Sobótka", vol. 36 (1981), vol. 1, pp 59-68; idem, Genealogia Władysława Łokietka i jego najbliższej rodziny, Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie. Historia, vol. 6 (1988), pp 13-32; idem, Małżeństwa i koligacje polityczne Kazimierza Wielkiego, Studia Źródłoznawcze, vol. 32-33 (1990), pp 67-76.

⁸ Idem, Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich, wyd. M. Górny, Poznań–Wrocław 1998, pp 8–10.

Małopolska and Kujawy] was published, its edition based on the biographical notes prepared by Kazimierz Jasiński. Some of them were typed by him⁹. In 2007, the Avalon publishing house released *Rodowód Piastów ślaskich* [The Pedigree of the Silesian Piasts] collecting three volumes in one¹⁰. The references in this catalogue will refer to this issue.

In 2012, the archives of Kazimierz Jasiński were donated to the Kórnik Library by his son, Tomasz Jasiński. The archives contain manuscripts, typescripts, photographs, newspaper clippings, postcards, photocopies and microfilms. The most numerous set of call slips concerns the pedigree of the Piasts. The legacy includes references from BK 14600 to BK 14706. The Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences placed a significant part of Kazimierz Jasiński's private archive in the Wielkopolska Digital Library¹¹.

Owing to the materials constituting Kazimierz Jasiński's legacy, specifically his notes from field trips during which he visited Piast necropolises, talked with their administrators and verified the state of preservation of the tombstones or tomb monuments, it was possible to draw a map of potential burials of male representatives of the Piast dynasty. In the next stage, information about the condition of the cemetery and archaeological research carried out in their area was collected¹². Thirty-three Piast cemeteries in today's Poland were thus selected for field research, which was subsequently carried out in order to verify previously collected information on the state of preservation of sepulchral objects dedicated to the Piasts and to check whether access to the crypts is technically possible. The catalogue of tomb monuments presented in this study is the result of these works.

The monuments were grouped according to the family branches within the Piast dynasty, and then sorted chronologically by the dates of death of people commemorated on the them. The layout of the catalogue card takes into account the current location of the tombstone monument, its external description, genealogical information about the deceased, the history of the object and the references. The descriptions include the dimensions of the object, the material from which it was made, the figural representation of the deceased, its symbolism, accompanying heraldry and a summary of the inscription. The information on the state of preservation of the monuments and any

⁹ Idem, Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich, Poznań-Wrocław 2001, p 9.

¹⁰ Idem, Rodowód Piastów śląskich, Kraków 2007.

¹¹ Scans of cards for Kazimierz Jasiński's publication are available at: http://www.wbc. poznan.pl/publication/303710. Scans of Kazimierz Jasiński's papers are available at: http://www. wbc.poznan.pl/publication/161616.

¹² An unpublished doctoral dissertation of Wojciech Madry was helpful at this stage: W. Madry, Nekropolie Piastów. A doctoral disertation written under Prof. Ryszard Grzesik (professor of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Archives of Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań 2012.

conservation works is also included. In addition, the date and workshop of the contractor were given, provided that they are not the subject of scholarly debates. Genealogical information includes information about the immediate family of the deceased (especially parents), the extent of their territorial authority, the circumstances of their death, and any facts necessary to properly read the content of tombstones. The 'origin and history' section presents the most important research findings on the workshop, dating, founders and ideological content of particular tomb monuments. The monuments are discussed in a broad context, including the semantic field of the churches and tomb chapels insofar as the state of research permits. In each case, the relationship between the object and the burial place is discussed, with particular attention paid on the one hand to the possible relocation of the tombstone and its restoration, on the other to the relocation or violation of human remains (whether as a result of desecration or due to the expansion of the church). Each entry is complete with references and general references section, which contain studies on the biography of the deceased (not included in the works of Kazimierz Jasiński) and their tomb monument in the field of art history, archaeology and history. As a rule, the references do not include nineteenth-century studies and source editions which are discussed in the cited literature. In the case of objects with a shared or similar history (located in the same location or belonging to one foundation complex), the same parts of the text are repeated in relevant catalogue entries. This is a deliberate procedure to enable convenient use of each of these entries separately, without having to check the information contained in other parts of the publication.

Although the editions of the inscriptions are certainly an integral part of the tomb monuments, from the historians' point of view often their most important element, they are nevertheless not included in this book. The decision not to incorporate them stems from the very purpose of this catalogue: it is intended that the catalogue will be a study aid and guide for history enthusiasts, students and young scholars starting a query into Piast tombs and cemeteries. It aims to provide the most up-to-date state of research, not to provide stances in ongoing scholarly disputes. The propositions of my own reading of the inscriptions and their critical edition would therefore go beyond these assumptions and would entail entering into a polemic with the current state of research. It should be emphasised that the scope for discussion in this respect is very wide due to the poor condition of a number of the Piast tombstones. Summaries of the inscriptions allow the reader to assess whether they contain any relevant information, and detailed photographs included in the catalogue allow the readers to study them on their own. Last but not least, the list of references regarding particular tomb monuments includes publications containing inscription editions.

The connection between sepulchral objects and the burial place was the basic criteria during the selection of objects to be included in this catalogue. All presented monuments were created for the purpose of commemoration of male representatives of the Piast dynasty. Some of them (tombstones, sarcophagi) were originally located exactly above the burial place. Over time, as a result of the expansion of the church, they could, however, be relocated and thus lose direct contact with the grave, which was discussed each time in the 'origin and history' section. In accordance with the guidelines of Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych¹³ [The Dictionary of Fine Arts Terminology], the terminology used in the work takes into account the relationship between the structure and the burial location. The following terms are thus used throughout the text: a tomb monument (or a tomb chest, an altar tomb), a top slab, a tombstone and a tomb. The analysis of the semantic field in which the tomb monuments were embedded, i.e., architectural and painting decoration and the location of the object in the sacred space of the church, was an important issue from the point of view of the ideological programme of each burial site. If the state of research made it possible to discuss this issue, it was presented in the part devoted to the genesis and history of the tombstone. On the other hand, the ideological programme of the chapels – the mausoleums of the Piasts, built or rebuilt in the eighteenth century on behest of monasteries, was not subject to detailed analysis. Designed to legitimise the orders as successors of the Piast dynasty, the foundations were directly related to the current political situation in Silesia, a phenomenon discussed in detail by Romuald Kaczmarek¹⁴. This study, therefore, does not include the epitaphs of the Piasts created in the eighteenth century as part of the architectural decoration of the tomb chapels¹⁵. Neither does the catalogue discuss objects that were made in the nineteenth or twentieth century as reconstructions or modifications of

¹³ Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych, Warszawa 2005.

¹⁴ R. Kaczmarek, Nagrobki średniowiecznych fundatorów w barokowych przebudowach cysterskich kościołów na Śląsku. Historyzm i aktualizacja, [in:] Krzeszów uświęcony Łaską, H. Dziurla, K. Bobowski (eds), Wrocław 1997, pp 146-153.

¹⁵ i.e., the epitaph of Bolko III in Krzeszów (see R. Hołownia, Krzeszowskie Mauzoleum Piastów świdnicko-jaworskich w aspekcie sukcesji książęcej, [in:] Krzeszów uświęcony Łaską, H. Dziurla, K. Bobowski (eds), Wrocław 1997, pp 272-311 - and the references cited therein) and the epitaph of Władysław of Opole (d. 1281) made on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Cistercian abbey in Rudy Wielkie in the 17th century (see H. Okólska, D. Mrozowska, M. Smolak, Mauzolea piastowskie na Śląsku. Katalog wystawy. Ratusz wrocławski, czerwiec 1993, aut. tekstu, słowo wstępne J. Harasimowicz, Wrocław 1993, p 97). The decoration of the Mausoleum of the Piasts in Legnica is not included as well (see K. Kalinowski, Gloryfikacja panującego i dynastii w sztuce Śląska XVII i XVIII wieku, Poznań 1973, pp 55-73 – and the references cited therein).

damaged tombstones. Due to this criterion, there is no entry in the catalogue on the tomb commemorating Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave, which stands in the Golden Chapel¹⁶. Two fragments of sandstone, the figures of the apostle and Christ from the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary, which survived from the fourteenth-century tomb monument commemorating the first Polish king, were installed in the sarcophagus displayed around 1840. Located in the middle of the nave of the Poznań cathedral, the original tomb monument has not been preserved, becoming the subject of extensive scholarly debate¹⁷. Neither does the catalogue include the tombstone commemorating Leszek the Black, carved in 1857 according to the drawings depicting the destroyed Gothic fifteenth-century tombstone¹⁸; the object related, as tradition has it, to Jerzy Ernest of Legnica-Brzeg (d. 1589), which identification has not been scholarly verified¹⁹; or, from the same reason, the picture from the epitaph depicting

¹⁶ Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, Dzieje Kaplicy Królów Polskich, czyli Złotej w katedrze poznańskiej, Poznań 1997.

¹⁷ See, e.g.: Z. Białłowicz-Krygierowa, Gotycki grobowiec Bolesława Chrobrego w katedrze poznańskiej. Weryfikacja postaw rekonstrukcji, [in:] Nobile claret opus. Studia z dziejów sztuki dedykowane Mieczysławowi Zlatowi, L. Kalinowski, S. Mossakowski, Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska (eds), Wrocław 1998, pp 71-85; A. Gąsiorowski, Najstarsze polskie pochówki monarsze w świetle źródel pisanych, Roczniki Historyczne, year's issue 55-56 (1989-1990), pp 85-93; R. Gansiniec, Nagrobek Bolesława Wielkiego, Przegląd Zachodni, vol. 7, No 7/8, pp 359-537; T. Janiak, Czy Bolesław Chrobry był czczony jako święty? Z badań nad przestrzenią liturgiczną przedromańskiej katedry w Poznaniu (do połowy XI w.), Slavia Antiqua, vol. 44 (2003), pp 67–95; T. Jasiński, Rocznik poznański. Ze studiów nad annalistyka polską i czeską, [in:] Aetas media aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, H. Manikowska, A. Bartoszewicz, W. Fałkowski (eds), Warszawa, pp 664–672; J. Kębłowski, Pomnik króla Bolesława Chrobrego – nagrobek czy relikwiarz?, [in:] Symbolae historiae artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane, Warszawa 1986, pp 257–265; Z. Kurnatowska, Archeologiczne świadectwa o najstarszych grobowcach w katedrze poznańskiej, Roczniki Historyczne, vol. 55-56 (1989-1990), pp 71-84; Z. Kurnatowska, Jeszcze raz o grobowcach poznańskich, [in:] Scriptura custos memoriae [księga pamiątkowa Profesor Brygidy Kürbis], D. Zydorek (ed.), Poznań 2006, pp 503-510; B. Kürbis, Epitafium Bolesiawa Chrobrego. Analiza literacka i historyczna, Roczniki Historyczne, vol. 55-56 (1989-1990), pp 95–132; S. Skibiński, Nagrobek Bolesława Chrobrego w katedrze poznańskiej, Kronika Miasta Poznania, year's issue 1995, vol. 2, pp 165-176; D. Zydorek, W sprawie tradycji o pochówku Bolesława Chrobrego – raz jeszcze, [in:] Scriptura custos memoriae [księga pamiątkowa Profesor Brygidy Kürbis], D. Zydorek (ed.), Poznań 2001, pp 511-522; E. Skibiński, Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego, Studia Epigraficzne, vol. 2 (2006), pp 73-77; E. Skibiński, "Ossa trium...": interpretujemy dalej, Studia Epigraficzne, vol. 3 (2008), pp 101–105.

¹⁸ Recently on the issue: K.R. Prokop, Odkrycie grobu księcia Leszka Czarnego w krakowskim kościele dominikanów w roku 1856, Rocznik Krakowski, vol. 71 (2005), pp 115-123.

¹⁹ H. Okólska, D. Mrozowska, M. Smolak, Mauzolea piastowskie na Śląsku. Katalog wystawy. Ratusz wrocławski, czerwiec 1993, aut. tekstu, słowo wstępne J. Harasimowicz, Wrocław 1993, pp 116-119.

the Annunciation (National Museum in Wrocław, inv. no. XI 2015), identified without further analysis by Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski as the epitaph of Jan III, Duke of Legnica and Brzeg²⁰. The Racibórz tombstone, traditionally considered to be the top slab from the tomb monument of the Piast princely couple, but attributed to Duke Jan III (of the Přemyslid dynasty) and his wife Magdalena following an in-depth analysis by Bogusław Czechowicz, is the last object not included in the catalogue.

This catalogue is the fruit of research that also became the starting point of field exploration of selected Piast cemeteries in cooperation with scientists from other disciplines, i.e. geneticists and anthropologists (associated in the Poznań Centre of Archeogenomics), in which anthropological samples were taken from the remains of male representatives of the Piast dynasty to carry out DNA tests²¹. For me, the opportunity to permanently document the Piast necropolises and participate in the interdisciplinary research project was an extraordinary scholarly challenge. I would like to give my very heartful thanks to Prof. Hanna Kóčka-Krenz, Prof. Marzena Matla, Prof. Józef Dobosz, Prof. Marek Figlerowicz and Prof. Tomasz Jasiński, for inviting me to participate in the research projects. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Tomasz Jasiński for his trust and consent to develop the scholarly heritage of Kazimierz Jasiński. Special thanks go also to my colleagues from the Kórnik Library, Polish Academy of Sciences, for their kind understanding of my work and tolerance of my weeks-long absence when I left for queries. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Magdalena Biniaś-Szkopek for her all-encompassing support, definitely going beyond the purely scientific aspect. This study would not have been possible were it not for the help and commitment of my husband, Roman Sidorski, who accompanied me during field queries and prepared most of the photographic documentation.

²⁰ A. Ziomecka, Obraz z epitafium z przedstawieniem Zwiastowania, [in:] Sztuka na Śląsku XII i XVI wieku. Katalog zbiorów, B. Gulden-Klamecka (ed.), Wrocław 2003, pp 178–179; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe na Śląsku [in:] Sztuki plastyczne na średniowiecznym Śląsku. Studia i materiały, A. Karłowska-Kamzowa (ed.), vol. 2, Wrocław-Poznań 1990, pp 5-35.

²¹ Within a joint project UMO-2014/12/W/NZ2/00466 mentioned above. For a report on the works see: L. Handschuh et al., W poszukiwaniu Piastów, Opolskie Studia Administracyjno-Prawne, year's issue 14 (2016), No. 4, pp 63-77.