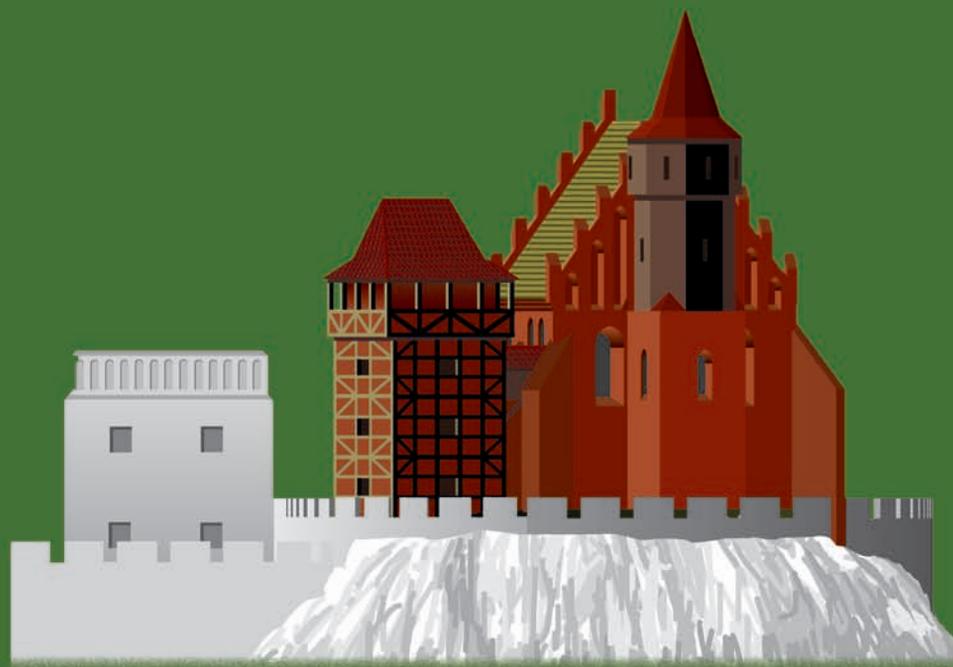


L'INSTITUT D'ARCHEOLOGIE  
DE L'UNIVERSITE JAGIELLONNE  
DE CRACOVIE

# RECHERCHES ARCHEOLOGIQUES

NOUVELLE SERIE 2



KRAKÓW 2010

**L'INSTITUT D'ARCHEOLOGIE  
DE L'UNIVERSITE JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE**

**RECHERCHES ARCHEOLOGIQUES  
NOUVELLE SERIE 2**

**KRAKÓW 2010**

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L'Eglise StMichel et le monastère paulinien à Cracovie dans le début du XVIIe siècle  
(la reconstruction par J. Poleski)

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Jacek Poleski, Dariusz Niemiec, Mateusz Woźniak

**Medieval church and monastery of the Pauline Fathers  
“Na Skałce” in Kraków-Kazimierz in the light of archaeological  
investigations in 2007–2008**

In the years 2007–2009, research programme N109 017 32/0736 entitled “Medieval church and monastery of the Pauline Fathers “Na Skałce” in Kraków-Kazimierz – from pre-location settlement to the centre of Saint Stanislaus cult” was realized. The programme was conducted in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków by a team led by Jacek Poleski. Participants of the programme were archaeologists Ewa Kubica-Kabacińska and Dariusz Niemiec, and consultants: art historian Marcin Szyma and numismatist Mateusz Woźniak<sup>1</sup>.

The research programme in question was realized in three stages. The first stage (in 2007 and 2008) encompassed excavation works (5 trenches) within the Pauline Fathers monastery “Na Skałce” in Kraków-Kazimierz. The second (also in 2007 and 2008) covered conservation/preservation and technical works, including preparation of drawings, reconstructions, photographs and detailed descriptions of acquired finds, as well computer processing (preparation for publication) of drawings illustrating the stratigraphy in the investigated part of the site. During this stage, the necessary

analyses (metallographic) of collected artefacts and samples were done as well. The third stage of the project (2008) encompassed the thorough typological, chronological and comparative analysis of acquired archaeological, architectural and botanical finds, as well as preparation of the results for publication.

**State of knowledge before starting the project**

A tradition, dating back probably to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, identified Archangel Michael’s church, (situated just opposite Wawel, on the other side of the now non-existing channel of the Old Vistula), as the place where bishop Stanislaus of Szczepanów had been killed (*Mistrza Wincentego Kronika, Mon. Pol. Hist.*, vol. II, pp. 296–297; *Vita (minor) sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, ibidem, vol. IV, pp. 280–282). This tradition’s credibility remains an open question, although some scholars are inclined to believe that the bishop’s “factum” took place in Saint Michael’s Church on Wawel Hill (see i.a.: Powierski 1992; Plezia 1999; Labuda 2000; extensive older literature cited there). However, it seems that an older, most probably Romanesque stone rotunda had in fact been functioning on

<sup>1</sup> Mgr Bartosz Pankowski and Mgr Agata Kucia were employed during the excavations as technical workers.

Skalka before the construction of the Gothic church. This view is supported by a later record by Jan Długosz. The existence of that rotunda is confirmed by several altar representations from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, among others St Stanislaus' altar in St Mary's Basilica in Kraków and the triptych from Pławno.

Although one cannot find in the sources a precise date of erecting the church in its Gothic form, historians agree that some premises allow connecting it with the reign of Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great). The altar representations mentioned above clearly indicate that during the construction works the Romanesque rotunda was significantly destroyed. The only part left intact was a supposed apse, which became incorporated into the eastern closure of the short Gothic presbytery. The quoted iconographic representations show that in the Late Middle Ages Skalka was surrounded with a defensive wall forming something like an autonomous "little castle" which constituted the north-western end of the fortifications of Kazimierz Town. In 1472, as a foundation of Jan Długosz, a monastery of the Pauline Fathers was erected on Skalka. The monks, invited over from Hungary, were to take care of the place of the martyrdom of Stanislaus, bishop and saint. In 1663 the construction of the monastery started, and the building has been preserved in that form until the present day. In the 1730s, the construction of the late Baroque church began (Lepiarczyk 1961), preceded by the demolition of the Gothic church. During the construction of the temple, a crypt was cut underneath (deepened later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the idea of the National Pantheon appeared), which irreversibly destroyed the relics of a Romanesque rotunda, which may have still been in place at that time, as well as most remnants of the church's Gothic foundations.

Limited architectural investigations outside the southern wall of the church were carried out in 1946 by A. Szyszko-Bohusz, who uncovered upper parts of relics from the Gothic phase of the church, situated outside the walls of the late Baroque temple. More extensive works were conducted at the same place by K. Radwański (1959) in 1956 and 1957. Apart from the walls of the Gothic church (recorded in small fragments), he unearthed a huge stone defensive wall (ca. 4 m wide at the base) which, like the revealed parts of the Gothic church, he linked with the period of Kazimierz Wielki's reign. Due to the small size of the uncovered relics from the Gothic phase of the temple, K. Radwański did not attempt the reconstruction of a plan and form of the whole complex. Important observations were made during the investigation as to the relation between the walls of the Gothic church and a stone, quadrangle building regarded by A. Szyszko-Bohusz as a square basis of a Romanesque rotunda. K. Radwański found out that the quadrangle building is in fact younger than the perimeter walls of the Gothic church. Therefore, he recognised it as a chapel, built later and incorporated into the church's body<sup>2</sup>. During his investigations, K. Radwański discovered prehistoric layers, features and artefacts (from the Neolithic to the Roman Period), but he found no relics of early medieval layers or features preserved *in situ*. The only remain of the early medieval occupation of Skalka discovered in this place was fragments of

<sup>2</sup> A different opinion has been recently presented by B. Krasnowolski (2007, p. 385), who recognized the "quadrangle" building as older than the Gothic church and dated its construction generally to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. D. Niemiec came to similar conclusions after analyzing photographs and drawings of these walls and deposits beneath them published by K. Radwański.

clay vessels found as a secondary deposit. Another significant observation made by K. Radwański concerns the original morphology of limestone rock which forms the Skalka massif (which slopes gently eastward and quite abruptly to the south). The thickness of cultural layers (including deposits of construction debris from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century demolition of the Gothic church) in K. Radwański's trenches amounted to about 8 metres. Small sounding investigations conducted in 2000 by E. Zaitz (2000a, 2000b) were concentrated in the same area where the excavations of K. Radwański took place. These soundings, according to their author, confirmed K. Radwański's conclusions.

Among the most important studies concerning the development of Skalka's architecture one should count a study by M. Krasnowolska and I. Kmietowicz-Drathowa (1997). Proceeding from the results of earlier excavations and their own examination of the relics of early medieval church walls, the authors present a documented, reliable reconstruction of successive stages of constructing the medieval and modern-period church and monastery on Skalka. A hypothesis assumed by Krasnowolska and Kmietowicz-Drathowa, concerning the layout of the Gothic temple with the older Romanesque rotunda partially incorporated into it, has been fully accepted by the authors of the present paper. However, the results of our excavations conducted in 2007 and 2008 inclined us to propose some modifications. They concern the reconstructed shape and dimensions of the original limestone outcrop on which the church was built, the course and shape of the medieval perimeter wall of the so-called Skalka castle, as well as the elements of medieval architecture within the limits of this wall (see below).

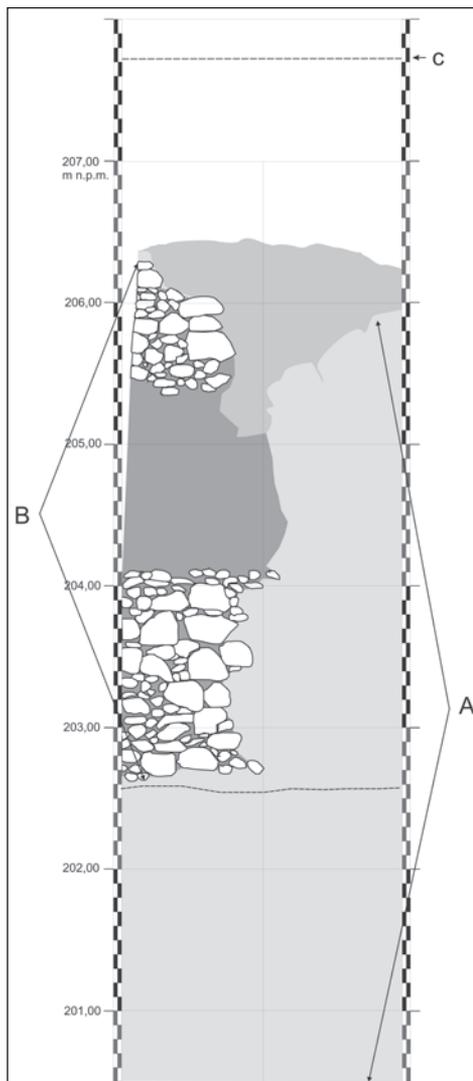
### **Results of excavations on Skalka in Kraków in 2007–2008**

During the first stage of the project, excavation works encompassed the only part of the Pauline Fathers church and monastery "Na Skalce" in Kraków-Kazimierz that had never been investigated before. One of the primary goals of these excavations was to elucidate the issue of the western closure of the Gothic phase of Archangel Michael and St. Stanislaus' church, as well as to resolve the problem of the north-western limits of the Kazimierz defensive walls. A possible discovery of early medieval settlement traces in the area of Skalka was also expected, as it seemed probable in the light of the results of rescue excavations conducted at the Augustinian nuns' monastery and St. Catherine's church (Cabalska 1985; E. Zaitz 2000a; Niemiec 2003). These works revealed, at the distance of 120-200 m east of Skalka, relics of sunken-floor huts and storage pits, some of which were dated as early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It should be emphasized that the works conducted in the 1950s by K. Radwański produced only very sparse artefacts which could be referred to the period when the assumed Romanesque rotunda "Na Skalce" had functioned.

In the course of 2007-2008 investigations, a decision was made to sieve most part of the cultural deposits (some 100 tons of soil) using a double sieve system. The reason was the abundance of very small portable finds (e.g. coins) which could have remained unnoticed during classic exploration. Such an approach made the exploration significantly slower, but resulted in the discovery of a number of valuable, sometimes even unique artefacts.

Trench I and IA, 13.4×2 m wide, was placed on the axis of St. Michael's church, directly to the west of its western wall (Figs. 1, 3, 4). The trench partially covered the plateau on which the church is situated, the

western wall of the rock, and accumulated deposits falling westwards, which covered the above-mentioned rock wall. In the beginning it should be stressed that the ceiling of the limestone rock (on which the church is built) was levelled from the west during the construction of the Baroque church, but most of all later, when an opening was cut to illuminate the “National Pantheon” from the west (at that time, a tunnel was made in the western end of the rock plateau, and limestone was removed to the depth of 1.2 m in the area 2.3 m wide). Therefore, within the first 4 metres of the described trench (from the west), the removal of concrete flooring revealed a ceiling of solid limestone rock. In this area, all potential relics of architecture older than the Baroque had been irretrievably lost. At the western wall of the church – on the axis of the crypt’s “skylight” – the levelled ceiling of the rock reaches 207.00 m a.s.l., and is 40–45 cm lower 4 metres further to the west. In the course of the exploration, 39 stratigraphic units were recorded. Apart from the below described limestone wall (“adhering” to a certain part of the vertical, western wall of limestone rock) and trenches I and II (dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively), all other stratigraphic units were bank layers. They varied as to their composition, form, thickness, and – of course – the time when they had been formed. However, they all shared one common trait – they were raised purposely at the foot of the western, vertical wall of limestone rock on which St. Michael’s church was built. The function of these banks is obvious, as is the function of the mentioned wall (built probably in the Baroque, although a slightly older, Renaissance chronology cannot be excluded). They were intended to support the western wall of limestone rock which could be – and from time to time most probably was – destroyed more or less due



**Fig. 4.** St. Michael church and the Pauline Fathers monastery in Kraków. Trench I (2007), eastern wall. A – limestone rock (western facade), B – wall from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, C – reconstructed surface of the rock from the western side (till 17<sup>th</sup> century)

to erosion (the Vistula’s floods, impact of weather conditions).

Some conclusions concerning the chronology of these deposits can be drawn based on the analysis of the artefacts they yielded.

Three stages can be distinguished in the formation of soil deposits at the foot of the Skalka western wall. The first stage comprises formation of layers 8e and 10 (as well as all deposits below layer 10). These layers, more than 200–240 cm thick, were formed rather later than the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but rather before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This conclusion concerns first of all the floor and central parts of the package of layers denominated as 8e. The proposed dating results not only from the analysis of fragments of clay vessels, but is also confirmed by numismatic analyses. It was probably at the end of the package 8e formation that the above-mentioned wall of rough limestone was constructed, "adhering" to the vertical rock. It seems that this construction could have taken place after the 16<sup>th</sup> century (although, as it was already mentioned, the 16<sup>th</sup> century cannot be totally excluded). This wall, which filled the vertical cavity in the western wall of the limestone outcrop (only the southern fragment of the wall was recorded, up to 1 m long), was built of fine and medium-size irregular fragments (up to 30×40×15 cm) of limestone rock. Among those fragments, some were more carefully cut to form a more or less even, vertical face. Stones were joined with lime-sand mortar. The upper part of the wall (the preserved height slightly exceeded 3 m) was not very carefully covered with plaster.

During the second stage, a new package of layers was formed, with layers 8b, 9a and 9b in the ceiling. As a result, the banks at the western wall of the rock were made 60–120 cm higher. The formation of this series of bank deposits can be tentatively referred to the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, and definitely in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the youngest bank deposits were formed, which covered the ceilings of the above-mentioned layers 8b, 9a and 9b. As a result, the total thickness of banks increased from 200 to 300 cm.

It should be emphasized that the above-presented layers (which, in majority, were formed in the modern period) produced, apart from numerous series of chronologically corresponding finds, also equally numerous series of older artefacts (found on the so-called secondary deposit). Their analysis (including ceramics and coins) allows concluding that the oldest specimens come from as early as the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, while most numerously represented are artefacts from the 14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Trench IB, 4×1.5 m wide, was opened on an "elevation" close to the western wall of St Michael's church, ca 130 cm from the southern margin of trench I and IA (Figs. 7, 27). The exploration was aimed at recording the limestone rock ceiling and potential cultural deposits. It should be stressed that the exploration revealed no cultural layers (so-called soft layers) from before the 20<sup>th</sup> century preserved *in situ*. They were most probably destroyed during the construction of the Baroque church and in the 1970s, when a reinforced concrete band was built around the church foundations. This band, 1.4 m wide, was laid on several layers of fine limestone pebbles joined with poor mortar. The chronology of this "parapet" or foundation is not clear. It cannot be even excluded that it was built during the construction of the above-mentioned reinforcement of the church foundations (although it may, alternatively, be the relic of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century construction – the older dating is rather impossible). To the west of the western church wall, between the above-mentioned reinforced concrete band and a wall fragment described further in the text, a ceiling of limestone waste layer was recorded at the height of ca 206.60 m a.s.l. Some 30 cm below, an uneven, roughly horizontal surface of solid limestone rock was uncovered. It was falling to the west as an almost vertical wall, only 3.7 m distant from the western

wall. On the edge of the rock, a seriously damaged lower part of a wall was discovered. The wall was about 90 cm wide, had no face part/side preserved, and was built of fine and medium-size fragments of rough limestone joined with lime mortar. It was recorded close to the N wall of the trench. The preserved fragment was 65 cm high and approximately 100 cm long. The dating of this wall is uncertain, although it is rather hard to regard it as a medieval relic. Most probably, it is the upper part of the same wall that faced the fragment of vertical rock wall in trench I and IA (at the depth of 5 metres). These two walls are about 2.5 m distant, and both run along the same, N-S axis (with a slight deviation towards NW-SE). Taking all that into account, it seems most proper to regard the described wall as originating from the modern period, although perhaps preceding the construction of the Baroque temple. It should be emphasized that no traces of Skalka's medieval perimeter wall were found in trenches I, IA and IB. Of course, this does not exclude a possibility that such a wall could originally run along the upper edge of the western part of the outcrop. However, as this area underwent deep, repeated transformations in the modern period, any potential traces of this phase of the perimeter wall must have been totally obliterated.

Trench II, 7×2 m wide, was opened perpendicularly to the monastery's western wall, directly adjoining it. The exploration revealed undisturbed soil (ceiling of flood silts) already at the depth of 200.60 m a.s.l. (330 cm beneath the present ground level). It was covered by a package of bank deposits and silts (layers 9, 8 and 7) up to 120 cm thick (in some places, where hollows were present, the layers were 100–120 cm thicker). The hitherto conducted analysis of artefacts found in these layers indicates that these deposits were probably formed in the

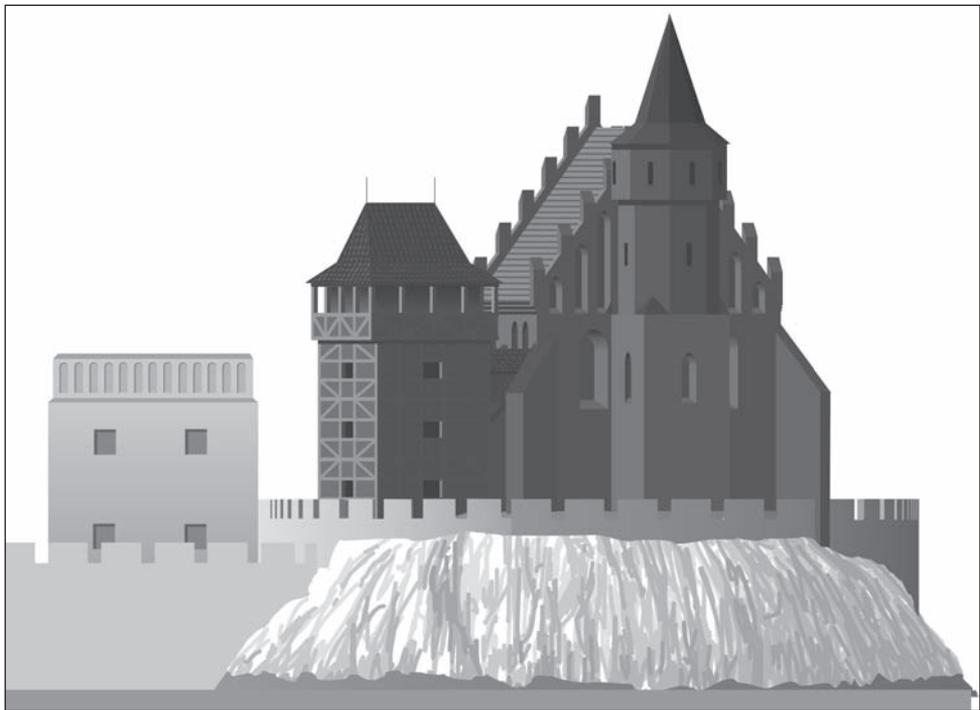
15<sup>th</sup> century. It should be emphasized that these layers also yielded – undoubtedly as a secondary deposit – fairly numerous fragments of early medieval vessels. This is the first more numerous series of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century artefacts, confirming the occupation of Skalka's vicinity already in that period. To the period preceding the construction of the Baroque monastery, but already after the close of the Middle Ages, one should refer layer 6, while layer 6b is obviously a construction layer from the time when the Baroque monastery was being erected. All deposits stratigraphically later than layer 6b should be connected with the 18<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Various building activities were particularly intensive during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is manifested by the appearance of several large trenches (including lime pits) that caused the destruction of older deposits.

It should be also emphasized that uncovering the foundations of the monastery's western wall allowed us to verify negatively the hypothesis about the course of the older, medieval defensive wall of Kazimierz. It was previously assumed to have run along the outer façade of the monastery's western wall (Krasnowolski 2004, 91, figs. 71, 73; 2007, 393–394, figs. 5, 6). Yet, it is now beyond any doubt that from the outer side this is Baroque masonry, down to the level of the foot. A dilatation cleft, noticeable in the foundations of the uncovered part of the wall, can be a result of some interruptions in the monastery construction during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which are testified by written sources. It seems that one should expect the relics of the medieval defensive wall of Kazimierz (built in the years 1340–1369) on the inner side of the monastery wall (already within the monastery building). It cannot be excluded either that the western wall of the Baroque monastery was in fact constructed on the remains of foundations of the medieval defensive wall of Kazimierz. However,

due to safety of the workers during the excavations, we did not risk to dig unde" the Baroque foundations of the existing building.

In 2008, two other trenches were explored. Trench IV (5×2 m) was located near the garages, to the west of the entrance to the monastery's western courtyard, and trench III (irregular, area ca 12m<sup>2</sup>) was opened at the NW corner of trench II from 2007 (Figs. 8, 29-31). In both trenches, the ground water level was recorded at the depth of ca 199.50 m a.s.l.. Above this level lay numerous flood silts. The oldest of them, reaching 199.90 – 200.15 m a.s.l., contained no archaeological artefacts at all, so they should be considered undisturbed soil. Above them lay silts that yielded (in both trenches) numerous fragments of medieval vessels, including

early medieval ones from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century. This proves that some settlement (huts, household buildings, production area) from that period originally existed in the direct vicinity of the discussed trenches. Also, it cannot be excluded that single early- and late-medieval features could be found on the level of the undisturbed soil ceiling (that is at the depth of 199.90 – 200.15 m a.s.l.) between the presented trenches, as there are settlements known from the period in question that are located literally by the watercourse, even on the level of bottom terraces of rivers and streams. Both trenches produced clear evidence of modern period construction activity (mainly the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries). In trench IV that was manifested by a 10 cm thick mortar layer, lying at the



**Fig. 5.** St. Michael church and the Pauline Fathers monastery in Kraków. Reconstruction of the church and the monastery in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century – view from the west (based on the iconography and results of archaeological research – J.Poleski)

depth of 201.80 m a.s.l. In trench III, the foundation and lower part of a wall (from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century). made of limestone blocks, was found, dug into older layers from the depth of 202.85 m a.s.l. This is undoubtedly a remnant of the now non-existing semi-circular wall which separated the monastery's western courtyard from the nearby Vistula bank. The wall is known both from the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century maps, and from drawings from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pieniążek-Samek 1995). The above-mentioned layers connected with the Baroque construction activity were covered by numerous accumulated layers – both those resulting from floods and those related to various forms of activity (including constructions) within the monastery. These layers produced numerous artefacts – both modern period and medieval ones, the latter as a secondary deposit. The ceiling of cultural layers (which is the present courtyard level) was recorded at the depth of 203.65 m a.s.l.

### Recapitulation of excavation results

The excavations conducted in 2007 and 2008 in the western part of the Pauline Fathers monastery in Kraków-Skałka did not result in the discovery of any medieval church or monastery relics preserved *in situ*. This is caused first of all by far-going transformations of buildings and their vicinity in the modern period, starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It should be emphasized that apart from modern period layers (mostly Baroque or later), older packages and deposits in the explored trenches were formed either as a result of natural fluvial activity (Vistula's flood silts) or – for instance around the western wall of the rock on which the church is built – as a result of intentional building of embankments (in the modern period) protecting the rock against damage caused by the Vistula. Despite that, it is worthwhile emphasizing that the presented

archaeological investigations yielded a very large collection of portable artefacts, a significant part of which are finds of great scientific value.

First of all, one should turn attention to the discovery of a considerable series of artefacts from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is a clear proof of the intensive occupation of Skałka in that period. In total, some 450 fragments of clay vessels were found (as a secondary deposit) which, on the basis of analogies to the typology of pre-location pottery (K. Radwański 1975), can be referred to the early Middle Ages. Among the discovered specimens there prevailed vessels made of the so-called raw material group VI, with the use of strongly forming top-turning and coil method. Vessels were fired in oxidizing atmosphere. Decidedly predominant forms were pots, with the maximal body diameter situated above the half of the vessels' height. Among vessel rims, the types characteristic of the post-10<sup>th</sup> century period were found, including types 29, 30, 31, 49, 50, 54 according to K. Radwański. As for decoration, the ornament of horizontal, broad, parallel grooves made with one-tooth tool was decidedly prevailing. This decoration covered the vessel from beneath the neck to the base. Above the grooves, in the area where the body turns into the neck, horizontal bands of oblique imprints were usually placed. They were made with a potter's knife or narrow potter's comb. The ornament of multiple wavy lines was less frequent. Some of the vessels bore the potter's marks on the bases, among others in the form of intersecting squares or a five-pointed star. As exceptional finds one should regard a few larger fragments of vessels, undoubtedly older than mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, whose surfaces were glazed with lead enamel of olive-green colour. It should be emphasized that glazed vessels from before the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century are rare finds (they usually constitute less

than 1% of the total assemblage) and occur practically exclusively in the main strongholds or in their closest vicinity. They are known after the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, among other places, from Okół – a suburbium of the Kraków stronghold (Radwański 1975, 364–365), and from strongholds in Sandomierz, Wrocław, Opole, Gdańsk, Czersk (Buko 1990, 122–123). To the period before, or shortly after the canonisation of bishop Stanislaus of Szczepanowo, that is to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> or alternatively to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one should refer a small, bronze temple ring. It should be considered an element of a grave inventory, perhaps confirming the existence of a church cemetery on Skalka in that period. The 12<sup>th</sup> century can be hypothetically accepted as an upper limit to the destroyed grave's chronology, as in that century the last traces of the pagan ritual of furnishing the dead disappear<sup>3</sup>.

Extremely important is the discovery of a collection of coins, found mainly in bank layers of trench I, being the largest such collection acquired through archaeological excavations in Kraków. The series of coins, including 136 pieces from a broad chronological spectrum (the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century), contains some unique specimens (see further in the text). A splendid assemblage of several late-Gothic, decorated bronze book fittings and clasps was also discovered – a testimony to an impressive library functioning in the monastery already from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A bookbinder's tool from the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries was also found, which provides the evidence for a workshop operation in the monastery. Another extraordinary

find is a personal gilded seal matrix. A particularly interesting series of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque glazed colour roof tiles (of the "gašiorówka" type) was found as well. A large series of stove tiles was acquired, including particularly beautiful early Renaissance tiles. Concluding, it can be stated that the discovered assemblage of artefacts is a distinct manifestation of the power and significance of the Kraków Pauline Fathers, who cultivated the tradition of St. Stanislaus' place of martyrdom and who played an active role in the life of Kraków's citizens and all Poles already since the Middle Ages.

The astounding abundance of coins in bank layers in trench I, IA (where the majority of the discovered coins was found) seems mysterious. It cannot be excluded that they were originally deposited in the closest vicinity of the so-called St. Stanislaus' spring (or pool), which is located to the east of the present-day monastery building. Surely enough, the custom of dropping coins into the spring by pilgrims visiting Skalka was cultivated already in the Middle Ages. Some of these coins found their way to bank layers supporting Skalka's western wall, most probably as a result of repeated regulation and cleaning of the spring.

One of the most interesting results of the research project turned out to be the possibility of making a revised reconstruction of the shape of the limestone rock on which Archangel Michael and St. Stanislaus' church was built. Investigations conducted in 2007 and 2008 allowed stating that the plateau of the rock, elevated at the western side ca 7–8 m above the surrounding landscape, reached some 3 metres further to the west and north than it was stated by M. Krasnowolska and I. Kmietowicz-Drathowa (1997) in their reconstruction. Therefore, it became necessary to reconsider the oldest iconographic record that represents Skalka and its

<sup>3</sup> Several unburned human bones were found as a secondary deposit in bank layers in trenches I, IA. Most probably, they come from the destroyed inhumation graves discovered, among others, during K. Radwański's excavations in the SE part of the Skalka plateau. The graves discovered there came from the modern period.

architecture at the close of the Middle Ages. In our opinion, a reliable appearance of Skalka's architecture is presented on the St. Stanislaus triptych from Pławno dated to the period just after 1510, which shows clearly that the monastery building is placed within the perimeter wall of the Skalka "castle". The building is connected with the wooden church by a canopied gallery. An identical arrangement of two buildings – the church and the supposed monastery, connected by a wooden gallery – is represented on one of the wings of the St. Stanislaus triptych from St. Mary's basilica in Kraków, dated to the first years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Details of these buildings are clearly visible on a brilliant photograph made by Reverend P. Guzik. However, in our opinion, the perspective from which Skalka's buildings are seen in the photograph does not allow declaring unambiguously whether the monastery building is located inside or outside Skalka's perimeter wall. What makes the Kraków altar so invaluable is the fact that it depicts precisely the construction details of the church building, including the tower – campanile, which adjoins the church from the west (the upper part of the tower is undoubtedly made entirely of wood). There are also no doubts that the artist depicted the monastery building and its hipped roof covered with red tiles, roughly the same part of Skalka which the author of the triptych from Pławno did. What is most important is that the Kraków triptych presents this building as built in timber-frame (*Fachwerk*) construction. Because only two uppermost floors of this special tower house are visible, we cannot be sure whether its lowest part was also made of wood, or whether its walls were built of brick or stone. Central-European analogies from the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries (including Wrocław and Kraków) indicate that both possibilities can be considered (Piekalski 2004, 176–181; Liniecki

1988; Świąś 1995). Now we should refer to one more iconographic source, practically unused in this context so far. We mean the famous panorama of Kraków with Kleparz and Kazimierz, created in the years 1603–1605 (J. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. VI, *Theatri praecipuarum totius mundi urbium Liber sextus*, Colonia 1617, plate 43), which is commonly accepted as a particularly reliable source for the iconography of Kraków (Banach 1983, 58–76). The right side of this veduta presents Kazimierz as seen from the north-west. Enlargement of this fragment of the copperplate reveals contours of the Gothic building of St. Stanislaus' church with the lower part of the former campanile adhering to its western wall. The campanile was in that period lowered to the level of the crown of the temple's northern wall (the campanile is covered by a simple, three-sloped roof supported by the temple's gable western wall). Next to the church, at its NW corner, stands a tower building covered with hipped roof – probably a simplified representation of the monastery in the form of tower house. It should be emphasized here that both the church and the supposed monastery building (tower) are located on the drawing in question within the Skalka perimeter wall represented in the semicircular form. The discussed veduta confirms once more the specific arrangement of Skalka's architecture before the construction of the Baroque monastery. Altogether, this allows attempting the reconstruction of a plan and look of Skalka's architecture in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The results are presented in figures 2 and 5. We do not know if the supposed building of the Pauline Fathers medieval monastery looked exactly as it is presented on the triptych from St. Mary's church in Kraków, or how large it was. However, it is beyond any doubt that the north-western part of the Skalka plateau had enough space to house a

building with the N–S wall at least 7 metres long (along the E–W axis the building could have been significantly longer). Analyses of iconographic sources and the results of excavations allow only for such a degree of reconstruction to be made. The irreversible destruction of the most part of the medieval church and the supposed building of the oldest monastery during the construction of a new church in the 18<sup>th</sup> century renders any more detailed reconstruction impossible.

The oldest Gothic bricks with heads  $9.5 \times 12$  cm and  $9 \times 14$  cm or  $8.5 \times 15$  cm and  $8.5 \times 12$  cm in size, which were found as a secondary deposit in the vicinity of the Skalka temple, can be dated, on the basis of analogies in other Kraków edifices, to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, or even to its first half. Bricks of similar dimensions appear sporadically even in the oldest Kraków tenement houses from the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century (Komorowski 1997, 114) and are basic building material in a terrace in front of a façade of a building of the Main Market tenement houses constructed around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (Cechosz, Holzer 2007, 14). Bricks of such dating can originate from the demolition of the Gothic church erected on Skalka during the reign of Kazimierz the Great. It is worthwhile remembering that it was just that ruler who was credited by Jan Długosz with general reconstruction of the original temple (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 239; Goras 2003, 107, 110).

Among the finds of constructional ceramics from Skalka, the Gothic "gąsiorówka" roof tiles of the *mnich-mniszka* (monk-nun) type, covered with olive-green and olive-brown glaze, form a unique group (Fig. 6). Their presence leaves no doubts that, at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, the roof of St. Michael Archangel and St. Stanislaus' church attracted popular attention by its original covering in the form of glazed tiles. Two kinds of enamel recorded on Gothic

roof tiles from Skalka can indicate an intentional usage of readable arrangements consisting of two groups of tiles. They could be intentionally arranged into commonly recognizable motifs, one of which was surely the cross. This hypothesis can be supported by the iconographic analysis of some Gothic sculptures. An interesting detail comes from a sector of the late-Gothic St. Stanislaus triptych from St. Mary's church (dated after 1511, according to Wojciech Walanus – 2007, 246–247), with the scene of the resurrection of knight Piotrowin (Fig. 7). This scene realistically presents the roofing of a Gothic temple, with red "gąsiorówka" tiles and a cross motif formed by the arrangement of other tiles, similar in form but gilded. One can imagine that the roof of the late-Gothic church on Skalka was generally covered with green tiles, and different,

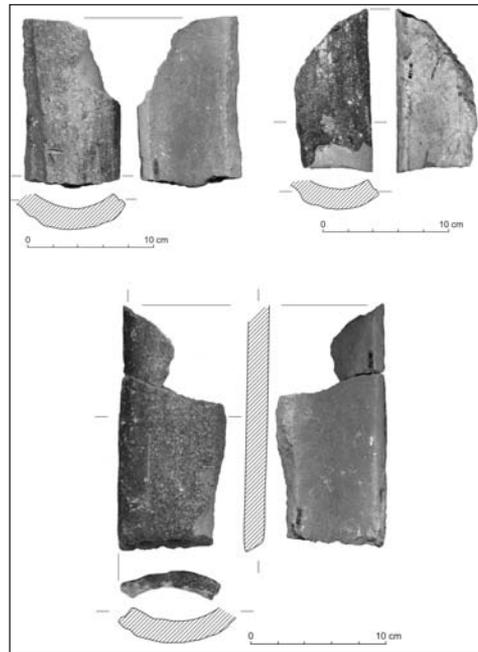


Fig. 6. Gothic roof tiles of "monk-nun" type from Skalka covered with olive-green and olive-brown glaze. Graphic design U. Bąk



**Fig. 7.** Roof of a Gothic temple with slopes covered with tiles of “monk-nun” type with a characteristic cross motif arranged from tiles of distinct colour (in this case gold). Fragment of a quarter of the late-Gothic St. Stanislaus triptych (after 1511) in the Angels Chapel in St. Mary’s church, with the scene of knight Pirotrowin’s resurrection. Photo P. Guzik

light-brown tiles were arranged on the roof slope in such a manner that they gave the impression of a cross motif when one looked from a distance. Constructional ceramics also contained fragments of modern period “gąsiorówka” roof tiles with enamel typical of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. They must originate from regular replacements of the church’s roof slopes, performed more or less every hundred years. To the Renaissance period (the 16<sup>th</sup> century) one should refer roof tiles covered with light-green or intensive “grass” green enamel. Tiles covered with light- and dark-brown glaze with ferrous precipitations should be connected with the temple’s roofing replaced in the early Baroque phase (the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

Another group of constructional ceramics are bricks with finger-marks, sized 8×13.5 cm, 8×14 cm, 7.5×12 cm, dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They were found within banks containing demolition debris. These bricks may originate from the complex of buildings constructed on Skalka after 1472, from the period when

St. Michael Archangel and St. Stanislaus’ church was renovated. At that time, on the initiative of Jan Długosz and in cooperation with Kazimierz Jagiellończyk and Spytko of Melsztyn, the Paulinian monastery was established at the sanctuary and the monastery buildings were erected (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 239, 242, 245; Ożóg 2000, 230; Szymborski 2007, 162–163). It cannot be also excluded that this brick format is connected with the early-Renaissance reconstruction of the monastery.

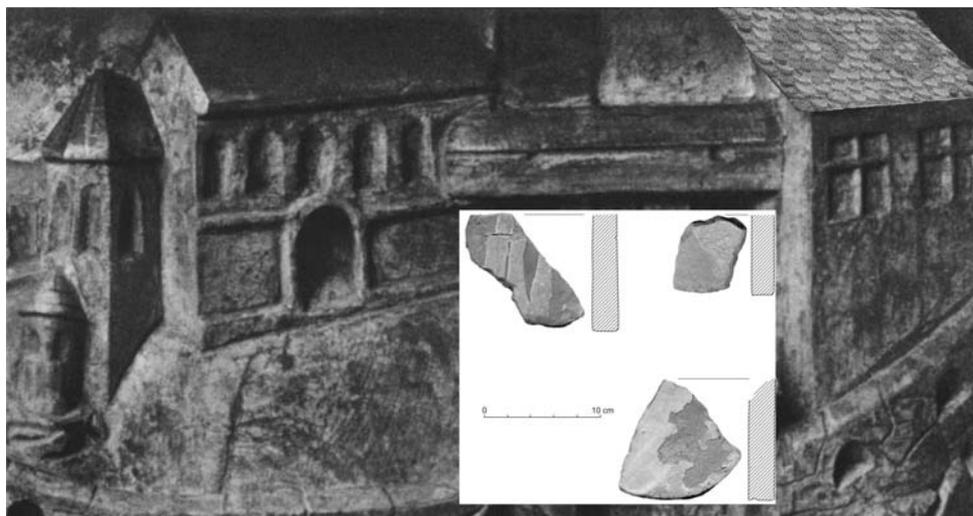
Proceeding from the fragmentary written record and analysis of iconographic sources, it can be assumed that the oldest buildings of the medieval Paulinian monastery were made in timber frame construction (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 245, footnote 179). Among portable artefacts discovered around the Paulinian complex, scarce fragments of late-Gothic plate stove tiles were found, covered with green-olive glaze typical of the Kraków pottery of the Gothic era. The above fragments of a tile stove should be dated to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to plate tiles from the oldest tile stoves used in Wawel castle (Piątkiewicz-Dereniowa 1960b; 1991, 22, footnote and fig. 10). The discussed fragments of Gothic tiles from Skalka, originating most probably from the period after the year 1472, must testify to the existence of rooms heated with plate-tile stoves in the oldest monastery building (which perhaps could have the form of a tower house).

The analogies to Wawel can also be noticed in flat roof tiles of the so-called “karpiówka” type, covered with yellow and white lead-tin glaze (cf. Morka 2006, 87), which can be connected with the roofing of the Renaissance monastery building on Skalka (Fig. 8). This type of roof tiles, of a clearly decorative character, must indicate that the roof of the Renaissance monastery had typical, steep slopes. At the same

time, it should be noticed that the original arrangement of tiles of this kind was copied in the crownings of early-Renaissance stoves on Wawel. Based on the details of the above-mentioned crowning tiles, it can be concluded that roof slopes on Wawel and Skalka were covered with “karpiówka” tiles in the so-called scale arrangement. Roof covering prepared in that way was to resemble scales of a carp. Hence this tile type is traditionally described as “karpiówka” and the covering as arrangement “in scale”. An analysis of Wawel’s finances indicates that lead-tin glazed roof tiles, as well as stove tiles with such glaze, in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were manufactured in the vicinity of Kraków only by two workshops (Piątkiewicz-Derniowa 1960a, 361–363; Kwapieniowa 1976, 29–30). One of them belonged to Bartosz of Kazimierz, and the second was the workshop of Grzegorz Kapłaniec, located in a Kraków suburbium called Garbary (Piątkiewicz-Derniowa

1960a, 361–363; Kwapieniowa 1971, 220; 1976, 29–30, 36, tables 3 and 5; Opalińska 1986, 28). Proceeding from the few finds from Skalka and analogies from Wawel, it can be assumed that the Renaissance brick monastery of Seweryn Boner’s 1522 foundation (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 242, 245–246, footnote 179) had a roof covered with multi-coloured “karpiówka” tiles arranged “in scale”, similarly to the roofs of the royal residence on Wawel.

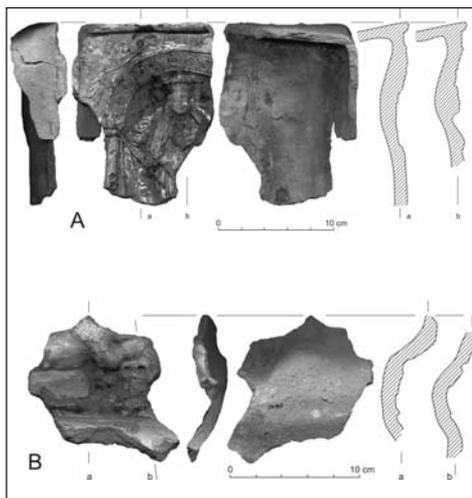
The décor and comfort of the monastery interior in that period is manifested by fragments of early-Renaissance stove tiles found in contemporary levelling banks around Skalka hill. Among them, one should distinguish an impressive, light-green glazed plate tile with an imprinted representation of a young, crowned female figure with long loose hair, most likely Mary the Queen of Heaven or some other, closer unidentified female saint (lack of an attribute makes an alternative identification



**Fig. 8.** Early-Renaissance “karpiówka” roof tiles from Skalka (first quarter of the 16th century) covered with yellow and white lead-tin glaze, with the manner of roof covering “in scale” reconstructed on the basis of details from crowning tiles of Wawel stoves (the reconstruction of the early-Renaissance architecture of Skalka was inspired by a quarter from the so-called Pławno triptych). Graphic design U. Bąk and D. Niemiec

impossible; Fig. 9). In the context of the figure's identity, it seems worthwhile to invoke paintings from reverses of wings of the Pławno triptych, where Christ the Saviour is accompanied by the Blessed Virgin – Queen of Heaven in a similar iconographic scheme, that is as a crowned young woman with loose long hair (Dobrzeński 1954, 25–26, plate 8, 9; Walanus 2007, 281). Paintings on the Pławno triptych are attributed to the workshop of Hans Süß von Kulmbach and are dated, like the whole altar, to the beginning of the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Dobrzeński 1954, 16–17, 25–26; Walanus 2007, 278–279, 283). In their studies, art historians accept the hypothesis that the so-called triptych from Pławno was originally situated in St. Michael's church on Skalka (Walczak 2003, 13; Walanus 2007, 279, footnote 11; Czyżewski 2008, 247), and it could have been the Boner family foundation (Dobrzeński 1954, 16–17, 26; Walanus 2007, 279, footnotes 11 and 12). One can suppose that the graphic matrix of a crowned Woman (Blessed Virgin Mary?) represented on the tile, or a sketch for the tile's matrix project was executed personally by an artist as great as Hans Süß von Kulmbach or Hans Dürer, and both are known to have been working in Kraków on the Boners' commission at that time. Moreover, in 1511 Hans Süß von Kulmbach painted an altar triptych especially for the church on Skalka. Its only preserved part is a famous painting with the *Flight into Egypt* scene (Błask Skalki 2008, 71).

Another interesting representation on a multi-coloured tile from the early-Renaissance monastery on Skalka is a fragment of a variant of the Paulinian emblem with a skull and two lions motif (Fig. 9). This motif refers to the episode connected with the death and burial of St. Paul of Thebes, the

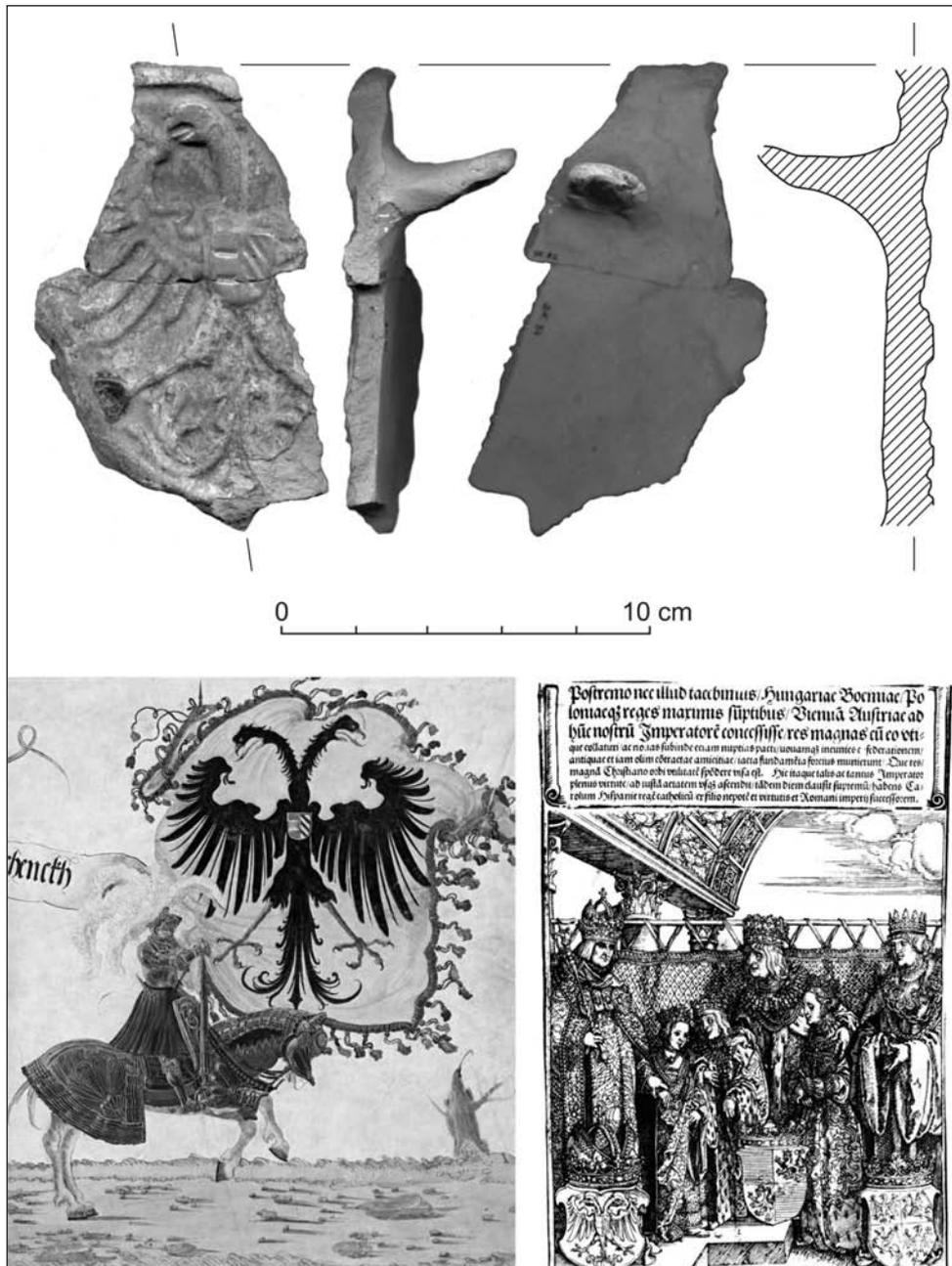


**Fig. 9.** Early-Renaissance plate tiles from Skalka, first quarter of the 16th century; workshop of Bartosz of Kazimierz (?). Graphic design U. Bąk: A – with the representation of Our Lady Queen of Heaven (?); B – with the Paulinian emblem

First Hermit and a patron of the Paulinian monastery, described in a hagiography by St. Hieronymus.

At first, a heraldic tile discovered on Skalka, covered with multi-coloured lead-tin glaze, caused utmost astonishment (Fig. 10). It bore a representation of a double-headed imperial eagle with elements of the Austrian coat of arms of emperor Maximilian Habsburg (died in 1519) and of the Burgundy coat of arms which should be attributed to Maria of Burgundy, the emperor's spouse since 1477<sup>4</sup>. The appearance of Habsburg emblems in decoration of stoves used in the sanctuary of the Patron Saint of the Kingdom of Poland can be explained by a specific character of the propaganda policy of Zygmunt I Stary's court, which after the so-called First Congress of Vienna in 1515

<sup>4</sup> For the identification and interpretation of particular elements of Maximilian I's coat of arms we are indebted to dr hab. Zenon Piech.



**Fig. 10.** Early-Renaissance plate tile with imperial coat of arms of Maximilian I Habsburg, first quarter of the 16th century; workshop of Bartosz of Kazimierz (?); for comparison: the same emperor’s coat of arms represented in a miniature made in 1480 by Albrecht Altdorfer and glorification of ties between the Jagiellon and Habsburg houses presented in Albrecht Dürer’s woodcut from 1517. Graphic design U. Bąk and D. Niemiec

glorified the ties between the Jagiellon and Habsburg houses. It is known that the Wawel court referred to such ideological messages, as has been recently demonstrated by Mieczysław Morka's study, where the author analyzed the political and propaganda significance of the art of Zygmunt I Stary's court (Morka 2006, 89–113). It is worthwhile noticing that such messages were even present in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut print from 1517 belonging to the Triumphal Arch cycle, where Maximilian I Habsburg, Władysław II Jagiellończyk and Zygmunt I Stary were showed together, with their countries' coats of arms and with three of the royal children married as a result of the Vienna Congress arrangements (Morka 2006, 98, 101–103). According to written records, in 1523 the king commissioned Seweryn Boner to purchase in Nurnberg the above-mentioned Dürer's monumental woodcut print for the Wawel chambers. Although the Triumphal Arch was an apotheosis of emperor Maximilian, it was also seen as a glorification of the Jagiellonian house (Morka 2006, 98, 110). A letter, submitted in 1514 by Maximilian I to Zygmunt I seems interesting in this context (Morka 2006, 112). The emperor noticed that the Polish monarch *did wrong placing the Austrian coats of arms inherited from his mother among his father's coats of arms, as it is not in custom to use mother's coats of arms and it is not practised by the princes connected with the Jagiellons* (Morka 2006, 112). As a conclusion it should be stated that the tile with the double-headed eagle of Maximilian I must originate from a stove founded by king Zygmunt I Stary. It is a well-known fact that this ruler had St. Stanislaus in particular reverence (see Morka 2006, 425–442), which can be testified by numerous pilgrimages he made to the Skalka sanctuary (Szymborski 2007, 169–170). Among all the Jagiellons, king Zygmunt I visited

this temple most often (Szymborski 2007, 169–176, tables 1–4). He also significantly enriched the church itself and the Paulinian monastery with numerous foundations and endowments.

Archaeological investigations conducted in the years 2007–2008 on Skalka yielded also elements of slightly younger, late-Renaissance stoves from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, preserved in the form of tiles with floral motifs covered with multi-coloured, tin-lead glaze. Slightly younger are the remains of manneristic stoves from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century having the form of glazed tiles with white floral motifs against a blue background. To the 17<sup>th</sup> century one should refer tiles covered with green glaze, with late-Renaissance motifs: a rosette in the centre and leaves in corners (Renner 1992). Such tiles appear on Wawel hill in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Renner 1992, 37, 53, 57, 66).

With the construction works conducted in the monastery in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps in the years 1650–1689 (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 246–251), one should connect demolition bricks sized 7×13 cm, 6.5×13 cm, 6–6.5×13.5 cm, 6.5×11 cm, 6×13 cm, 6×12.5 cm, and 6×12 cm (early-Baroque bricks). A slightly younger group of constructional ceramics found on Skalka are small bricks with finger-marks, sized 5.5×11.5×23.5 cm, 5.5×11×21.5 cm, 5.5×13.5 cm, and 4.5×14 cm; 4.5×13 cm and 4–4.5×14 cm (late-Baroque bricks), which may originate from buildings constructed in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, including the period of the church late-Baroque reconstruction in the years 1735–1751 (Krasnowolska, Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 261–263; Goras 2003, 107).

According to written sources, the monastery's oldest library was significantly enriched by the collection of books donated in

1520 to the Paulinians by Maciej Miechowita, famous annalist and professor of the Kraków University (Krasnowolska, Kmiotowicz-Drahtowa 1997, 246, footnote 179). Perhaps with this collection, including slightly older books from the close of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one should connect the discovery of a large assemblage of late-Gothic and Renaissance fittings made of brass and copper, which originally were elements of book bindings. Among them one can notice triangle fittings of bindings corners, rectangle fittings of bindings sides, or fittings attached in the centre of a book's binding (Figs. 11–14). Fragments of the so-called "slot" clasps for fastening book covers and the buckles themselves were also found. Among the



**Fig. 11.** Late-Gothic fitting (below) and clasp (above) from coverings of books from the oldest library of Paulinian monastery on Skalka (perhaps of Jan Długosz's foundation after 1492) with Marian invocations engraved in minuscule and a border in the form of floral twig around the Marian inscription. Graphic design

U. Socha

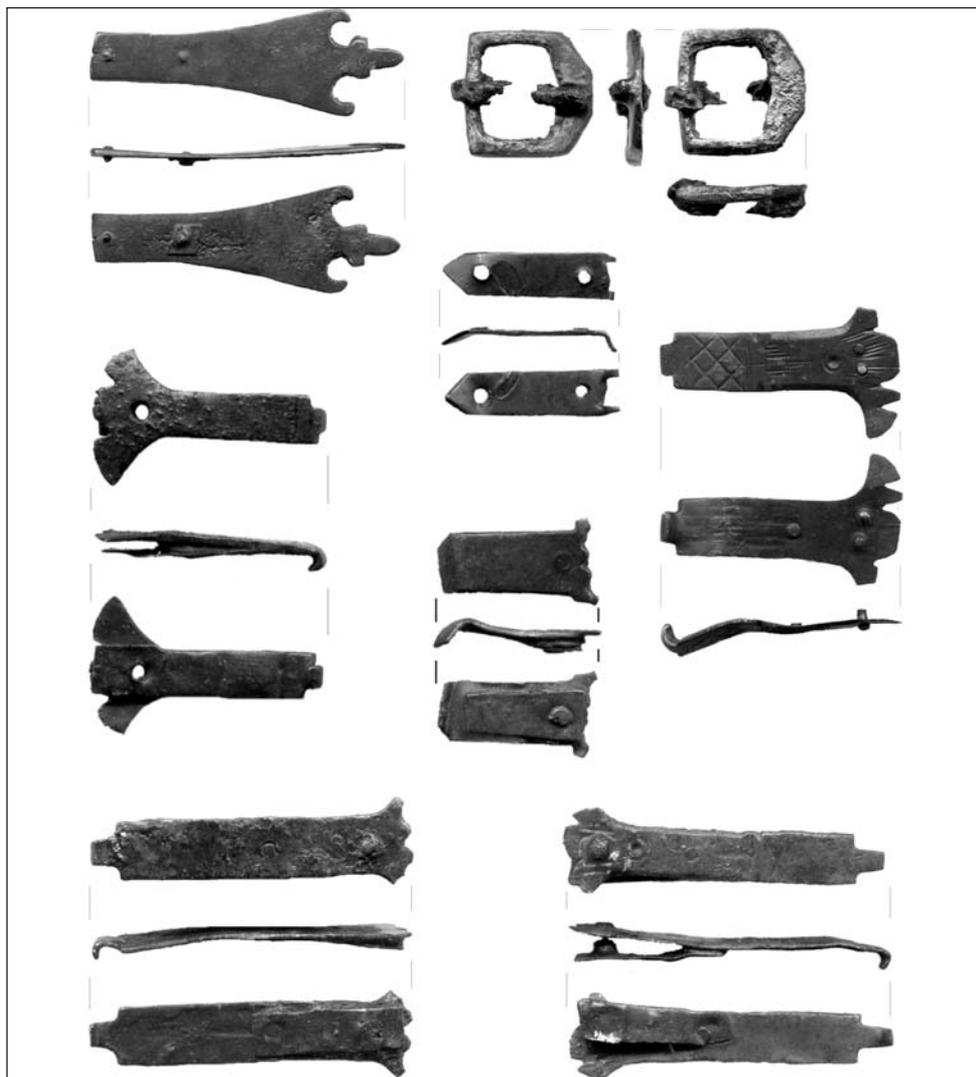
elements of fastenings one can distinguish, in particular, an elongated clasp with the motif of fine plaiting. Among corner fittings one should turn attention to an open-work fitting with convex motifs of flower cobs. Apart from floral twig motifs, some of book fittings were decorated with devotional inscriptions (mainly invocations with St Mary's name) with engraved, late-Gothic lettering. On one of the fittings, the letters **m a** in Gothic minuscule were engraved together with a flower and floral twig motif. Another one reveals a fragment of a slightly blurred Gothic inscription **m (?)a r**. Both fittings were cut from longer plates containing a full engraved inscription. Most probably, the whole set of such fittings formed a composition riveted to the bindings' edges to form the full name "Mary" or a longer Marian invocation. Based on the lettering chronology it can be accepted that these fittings are an element of bindings of the Kraków Paulinians' oldest book collection, originating from as early as the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Bookbinding works conducted in the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in connection with replacement of older, worn out book coverings and with binding new prints can be confirmed by another unique find, which is a brass bookbinder's roulette.

Among the three iron keys found on Skalka, attention should be paid to a Gothic key with an open-work tracery handle, which can be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

A personal seal with the Kościeszka coat of arms and initials P S<sup>5</sup> is a unique sphragistic find (Fig. 15). The seal is made of brass and should be dated to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century or to the 17<sup>th</sup> century based on the shape of the escutcheon and lettering.

Dress elements, in the form of fastenings such as bronze clasps, brass or glass

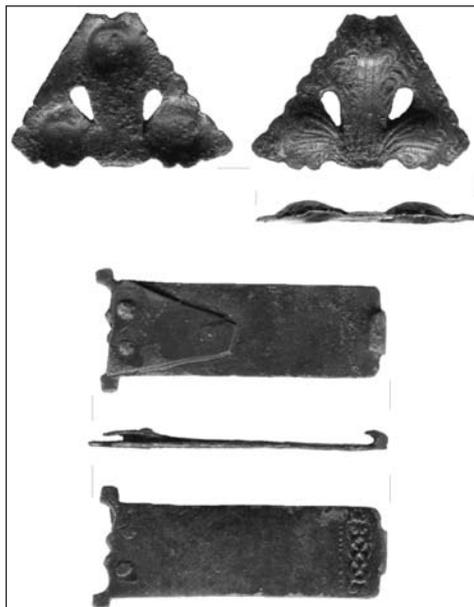
<sup>5</sup> The coat of arms was identified by mgr Bartosz Pankowski.



**Fig. 12.** Late-Gothic fastenings of book bindings from the 15th/16th century found on Skalka (perhaps from the library founded by Jan Długosz after 1492 and Maciej Miechowita after 1520). Graphic design U. Socha

buttons, as well as bone buttons and metal belt elements are most likely the remains of funeral clothing from burials of the Baroque period in Poland or were the appliques accidentally torn off the dress and lost by pilgrims at that time. Six of several clasps discovered on Skalka were specimens made of bronze wire bent in the shape of a loop,

enabling to attach a hook or to reeve a cord. The second type of clasps had a form of hooks made of bronze wire, and is known from three specimens discovered on Skalka. Another type of circular fasteners made of bronze plate, which were found on Skalka, could be used in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries to lace shoes or corsets in women's dresses.



**Fig. 13.** Late-Gothic open-work corner fitting (above) and the element of a clasp decorated with narrow plaiting motif (below) from coverings of books from the oldest library of Paulinian monastery on Skalka (after 1492). Graphic design U. Socha

Two small globular glass buttons, as well as a single specimen of a small bronze button with a stamped flower motif were also used to fasten dresses. Among belt fittings discovered on Skalka, the most interesting are a brass, Gothic-Renaissance (?) appliqué in the form of a rosette (most probably from the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries) and a kind of circular, bronze pendant with a twisted outer surface (from the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries) used to attach a circular adornment to the belt (Figs. 16, 17). Particularly decorative is also a late-Renaissance or early-Baroque (second half of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century) bronze fitting with a stamped bunch of grapes motif, attached to the belt by a rivet.

A collection of 136 coins discovered during 2007–2008 excavations is extremely interesting. The oldest coins come from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the

youngest from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There were 6 specimens of 14<sup>th</sup>-century coins. The 15<sup>th</sup> century is marked by a significant increase in the number of coins, of which we have as many as 44. The next – sixteenth – century yielded 33 specimens. The 17<sup>th</sup>-century coinage is represented “only” by 43 coins, which may seem surprising, taking into account abundant emissions of shillings in that period. The last two centuries (18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>) are represented by two and three coins, respectively. Precise dating of 5 coins was not determined due to the state of their preservation. The most interesting assemblage of coins comes from trench I-IA. Its dating – after excluding an 18<sup>th</sup>-century coin due to the context in which it was found – would be limited to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (due to the lack of evidence of long circulation of Jan Kazimierz shilling coins in this case). Polish coins dominate among the acquired collection. The earliest of them are four Kraków pennies of Władysław Łokietek (1306/1320–1333) and a Poznań penny of Ludwik Węgierski (Louis I of Hungary; 1370–1382). Most numerous are 15<sup>th</sup>-century emissions, comprising



**Fig. 14.** Bookbinder's roulette from the second half of the 16th century or the 17th century, found on Skalka, used for stamping ornaments in books' leather bindings. Graphic design U. Socha



**Fig. 15.** Brass seal with Kościesza coat of arms and initials P S, lost on Skalka in the second half of the 16th century or in the 17th century. Graphic design U. Socha

pennies of Władysław Jagiełło (1386–1434), Władysław Warneńczyk (1434–1444), Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1446–1492) and coins attributed to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk or Jan Olbracht (1492–1501). The representation of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century coinage is less numerous. We have the coins minted during the reign of two last Jagiellons – Zygmunt I the Old (1506–1548) and Zygmunt II August (1548–1573) – followed by emissions of Stefan Batory (Stephen Báthory; 1577–1586). The second most numerous group are the 17<sup>th</sup>-century emissions, represented by coins of Zygmunt III Vasa (1587–1632) and Jan Kazimierz (1648–1668). The later period of Polish coinage is marked only by a sole coin from the times of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795).

Polish coins are supplemented by quite numerous representations of the

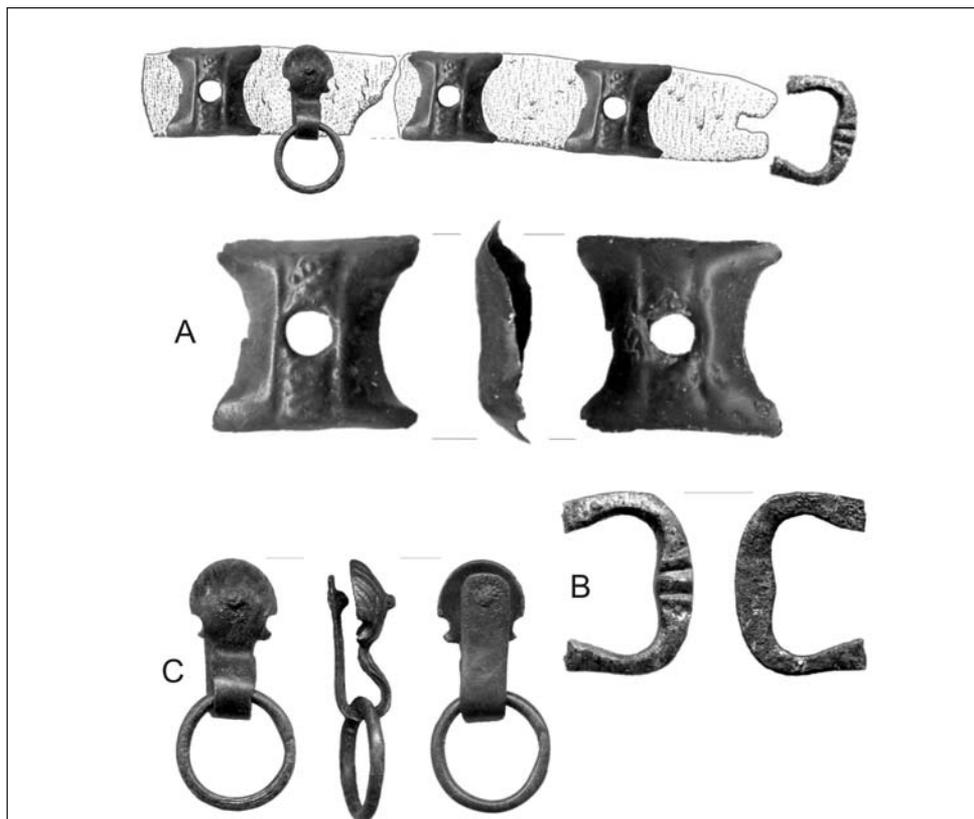


**Fig. 16.** Brass belt appliqué in the form of rosette from the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century, found on Skalka, with the attempted reconstruction of the arrangement of such fittings attached to the belt (above). Graphic design U. Socha and D. Niemiec

Duchy of Prussia and by Silesian coins, starting with the Duchy of Oświęcim haler of Wenceslas I and Jan IV (1433/4–1457). Perhaps among Silesian coins (although Mazowsze and alternatively Małopolska are also taken into consideration) one can also include a so-far unknown variant of bracteate with the letter B, originating from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 18).

Among foreign coins, particular attention should be paid to a group of six 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Hungarian pennies, whose occurrence should not be surprising, considering whence the Paulinians came to Poland. The remaining coins are emissions of Swedish and Czech mints, and a few representatives of Austrian (i.a. of the Archbishopric of Salzburg) and Scottish mints. Their occurrence can point at the interregional contacts of the Skalka monastery, but on the other hand it can simply prove the presence of such coins in circulation.

Almost all the coins discovered on Skalka represent the lowest denominations circulating in a given period (a phenomenon which



**Fig. 17.** Elements of decoration of the late-Renaissance or Baroque belt from the second half of the 16th century or from the 17th – 18th centuries, found on Skałka, with the attempted belt reconstruction (graphic design U. Socha and D. Niemiec): A – bronze fitting with bunch of grapes motif; B – bronze buckle with twisted bow; C – bronze pendant for purse or weapon

is also observed on other sites of that type). The exceptions are the half-grosch of Zygmunt Stary and the grosch of Zygmunt III Vasa although, which is symptomatic, these are forgers' emissions.

The fact that so many coins were discovered on Skałka, although a relatively small area was encompassed by excavations, is connected with the character of the site. Therefore we could consider them a typical example of church finds. Thus we can assume that this assemblage was formed like other finds of this kind, that is as a result of losing coins when preparing an offering or

closing deals in the church's vicinity. However, sometimes they are a manifestation of intentional acts (Suchodolski 1997, 193–201; Paszkiewicz 2003, 86–91). In such cases, a coin is a kind of sacrifice aimed at gaining the protection of a saint or at increasing the chances of fulfilling the intention of pilgrimage. Such an offering (especially if it is somehow connected with the offering person, e.g. a coin from the country from which the pilgrim came) also brings the contributor closer to the saint, becoming at the same time the proof of the pilgrimage (Travaini, 2004, 171–173). Perhaps a part of the coin



**Fig. 18.** Duchy of Oświęcim, Wencelas I and Jan IV of Oświęcim (1433/4-1457), haler. Photo M. Woźniak

assemblage from Skalka was formed as a result of just such efforts and remains in direct connection with the presence of a pond in the monastery, which already since the Middle Ages was a place visited by many pilgrims peregrinating to St. Stanislaus' place of death (pilgrims could have been dropping these coins to St. Stanislaus' pond or leaving them close to it).

The most interesting coin among all those acquired during the excavations is a

hitherto unknown penny bearing all the features of a 14<sup>th</sup>-century emission (Fig. 20). It has a beautifully designed letter K as the main element on the reverse, and a legend POLONIE. Such a composition is known from pennies of Kazimierz Wielki, where K stands for this king's first name monogram (Piech 1994, 123–126).

However, the obverse side of the coin in question is surprising. We find there a crown and a circumscription WLADISLA



**Fig. 19.** Duchy of Prussia, Albert Frederick (1578-1603), penny of 1571. Photo M. Woźniak



Fig. 20. Poland, Władysław Łokietek or Kazimierz Wielki (the Great)?, penny. Photo M. Woźniak

(WLADISLAUS? – Latin for Władysław). The first association is with Władysław Łokietek. Thus, we would have a coin which reveals the features of Kazimierz's emissions but is additionally provided with the name of the previous king of Poland. Moreover, there is no doubt that this is not the effect of an erroneous connection of Łokietek's penny stamp with that of Kazimierz's coin. In the light of present knowledge it is difficult to find reasons for placing the letter K on a coin minted by Władysław Łokietek, or for placing his father's name on Kazimierz the Great's emissions. The attempts to attribute this emission to one of Polish princes named Włodzisław, who ruled in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and are known or supposed to have minted coins (e.g. Władysław Duke of Łęczyca and Dobrzań (1329–1343) or Władysław Biały Duke of Gniewkowo (1347/50–1363/4)), also remained fruitless.

The monogram itself deserves a separate analysis. On coins, it usually indicates the name of the ruler, patron saint, or the place of emission (Suchodolski, 1993, 117).

Only one name of a ruler can be in fact proposed, if we decide to follow this interpretation. It is Kazimierz, and if Kazimierz, then surely Kazimierz the Great, which can

be excellently seen on this king's pennies. As it is rather purposeless to look for a saint with the name starting with K who could be honoured in this way, the only possibility left is to attempt interpreting this letter as an indication of the minting place. Considering the place of the coin's discovery and the high quality of its execution it would be extremely tempting to read this monogram as the first letter of the name Kraków, if it was not for the fact that its Latin version (which is used on seals, documents as well as coins) is spelt with a C. However, it must be remembered that on the 14<sup>th</sup>-century pennies from Kalisz, the town's name (written in documents and on seals in the form Calisia) was put in the form KALIS. A similar observation concerns the Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) quartensis of Kościan town (Latin Costan) minted in the years 1309–1314, where the letter K placed on the reverse must indicate – considering the lack of other possible interpretation – the locality where it was minted (Suchodolski 1985, 144). Another proposition (although burdened with many doubts) is to attribute this coin to Kazimierz the Great and interpret the legend WLADISLA as a Latin name of Włocławek (Latin Vladislavia) or Inowrocław (Latin

Juvenis Vladislavia, Novum Vladislav, or Vladislav). Thus we would have another (after Gniewkowo coins) penny coin minted in Kuyavia during the reign of Kazimierz the Great. Despite numerous interpretative

difficulties that this coin raises, it can be stated without any doubt that this penny was minted on some exceptional occasion or in exceptional conditions, and surely with the cooperation of an excellent engraver.

### **Średniowieczny kościół i klasztor OO Paulinów „Na Skalce” w Krakowie-Kazimierzu w świetle badań archeologicznych w latach 2007–2008**

Wyniki badań wykopaliskowych, przeprowadzonych w 2007. i 2008. r. w zachodniej partii klasztoru OO Paulinów na krakowskiej Skalce, nie doprowadziły do odkrycia zachowanych *in situ* relikwów murów średniowiecznego kościoła i klasztoru. Wynika to głównie z daleko idących przekształceń budynków i ich najbliższego otoczenia w okresie nowożytnym, poczynając od XVII w. Jednym z bardziej interesujących wyników zakończonego projektu badawczego okazała się natomiast możliwość wykonania ponownej, poprawionej w odniesieniu do ustaleń z lat 70-tych i 80-tych XX w., rekonstrukcji ukształtowania skały wapiennej, na której wzniesiony został kościół p.w. Archaniola Michała i Św. Stanisława. W tej sytuacji konieczne stało się ponowne odniesienie się do najstarszych przekazów ikonograficznych, obrazujących wygląd Skalki i jej zabudowy u schyłku średniowiecza. Ich analiza pozwala na stwierdzenie, iż tuż przy gotyckim budynku kościoła, przy jego NW narożniku, znajdował się wieżowy budynek, przykryty czterospadowym dachem – zapewne przedstawiony w pewnym uproszczeniu najstarszy budynek klasztoru (?) w formie wieży mieszkalnej. Podkreślenia wymaga w tym miejscu, iż kościół i domniemany budynek klasztoru (wieżowy) znajdowały się wewnątrz obwodowego muru obronnego wyniesienia Skalki. Badania archeologiczne z lat 2007–2008 doprowadziły do pozyskania bardzo dużej serii zabytków ruchomych. Przede wszystkim podkreślić należy odkrycie pokażnej serii zabytków z XI–XII w., które są dobitnym świadectwem intensywnej użytkowania „Skalki” i jej najbliższego sąsiedztwa w tym właśnie okresie. Ogromne, być może największe znaczenie posiada imponujący zbiór monet, odkrytych przede wszystkim w nasypowych warstwach wykopu I. Seria monet, licząca blisko 136 okazów, pochodzących z szerokiego spektrum czasowego (od XIV do XIX w.) to po części okazy unikatowe, niektóre znaleziska są wręcz sensacyjne (np. nieznanym dotychczas typ srebrnego denara Władysława Łokietka lub Kazimierza Wielkiego). Niesłychanie ważne jest rozpoznanie licznej serii średniowiecznych i renesansowych monet węgierskich (co nie powinno dziwić, biorąc pod uwagę pochodzenie Zakonu OO Paulinów), śląskich, pomorskich i niemieckich. Świadczy to o szerokich, interregionalnych kontaktach Konwentu. Podkreślić należy, iż pozyskanie tylu numizmatów, jak i licznej serii innych drobnych zabytków to efekt zastosowania niesłychanie żmudnej procedury przesiewania całości eksplorowanych warstw ziemi przez system podwójnych sit (ponad 100 ton ziemi!). Odkryto też kapitalny zbiór kilkunastu późnogotyckich, ornamentowanych brązowych okuć i zapięć ksiąg – świadectwo funkcjonowania w klasztorze pokażnej biblioteki już od XV w. Ponadto natrafiono na narzędzie introligatorskie z XVII–XVIII w., świadectwo działalności pracowni w obrębie klasztoru. Niezwykłym odkryciem jest prywatny, pozłacany tłok pieczętny (z herbem Kościeszka). Odkryto też niezmiernie ciekawą serię gotyckich, renesansowych i barokowych polewanych, kolorowych dachówek (w typie „gąsiorówek”). Pozwala to na wysunięcie uzasadnionego przypuszczenia, iż dach gotyckiej świątyni p.w. Św. Michała pokryty był w XV i XVI w. zieloną, polewaną dachówką. Pozyskano również liczną

serie kafli piecowych, w tym wyjątkowej urody kafle późnorennesansowe, z polichromiczną polewą i przedstawieniami postaci ludzi i zwierząt, tudzież ornamentami roślinnymi. Klasa tych kafli porównywalna jest jedynie do współczesnych im pokryć pieców z Wawelu. Sumując można stwierdzić, iż odkryty zbiór zabytków jest dobitnym świadectwem siły i znaczenia krakowskiego zgromadzenia OO Paulinów, kultywujących tradycję miejsca kaźni Św. Stanisława, uczestniczących aktywnie w życiu mieszkańców miasta i Polski już od średniowiecza.

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