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LANTERNS OF THE DEAD IN KRAKÓW. FROM THE SING OF "SUDDEN DEATH" TO A SYMBOL OF THE TOWN'S HISTORY

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The purpose of this article was to direct the attention again to extremely interesting monuments, which are an example of monumental sepulchral architecture, whose idea originated from the Cluniac reform, and which constructions appeared in the Middle Ages also in Poland.

Brick constructions erected in the vicinity of monastery graveyards, ossuaries or over mass graves appeared for the first time in the first half of the 12th century in France. Their location, usually in the middle of cemetery, might indicate sanctity of the place, where the dead rested, encouraging those who are alive to pray for the souls in the purgatory.

The unique place in Central Europe, where we can find 11 constructions of this type is Kraków. In this town particularly clear is the relation between the topography of places, where from the Middle Ages cemeteries have been located and terminally ill people have been sent, and the location of lanterns of the dead. They were associated also with old trade routes and fords, settlements and places of worship used in pre-Christian and pre-location Kraków.

Keywords: sepulchral architecture, lanterns of the dead, Kraków in the Middle Ages.

The process of depositing remains of the dead, regardless archaeological culture in question, its territorial and chronological framework, was associated with careful selection of a burial place. It spatial arrangement, specific funerary architecture or symbols of applied marks signaled its function understood not only by people contemporary to constructed facilities, but also by foreign societies, migrating from time to time from distant territories and in distant times. As an example we can specify the use of kurgans in the steppe area as burial places by various groups of people, culturally, temporally or spatially not related to the original foundation. Constructions, erected on graves or in their direct vicinity, have usually been associated with funerary rituals or rituals for departed souls. They served as meeting places for sacrificial rituals, dedicated to both recently deceased and distant ancestors. In many cultures and in different historical periods bonfires have been fired in the vicinity of cemeteries. This ritual has been cultivated also by Christians, adopting some traditions of the ancient world to own purposes[1]. Jerome of Stridon (347–420) reported that people used to bring lights for funeral ceremonies. Those lights for Christians were symbols of hope and resurrection. However, at that time church condemned these

[1] Fred Weinmann, "Steinkreuze und Bildstöcke in der Pfalz," *Mitteilungsblätter der "Deutschen Steinkreuzforschung"* 29. Jg., Heft 1 (Nürnberg, 1973): 8.

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practices as derived from non-Christian circles. Lighting fire on graves was forbidden as it was associated with rites of summoning the dead, during which torches were burned[2].

Brick constructions erected in the vicinity of monastery graveyards, ossuaries or over mass graves appeared for the first time in the first half of the 12th century in France. These were the so called lanterns for the dead and hosanna crosses. These constructions, however, differ with some architectural details. The hosanna cross was consisted of three components, that is: high stone column of a cylindrical shape, mounted on a square base and a cross crowning the entire construction. Sometimes, the column was more complex – it included ribs. Younger types of crosses had no base. They were dug directly into soil. Furthermore, height of columns also could be various. Such constructions can be seen in the following districts: Deux-Sèvres, Vendée and Loire Valley. Stone hosanna crosses preserved in Normandy and Picardy are richly ornamented with details associated with the funerary symbolism[3].

Lanterns of the dead (French: lanternes des morts, German: Totenleuchten, Totenlaterne, Lichtsäulen, Lichtstock) were separate, high stone or brick constructions with a cylindrical or polygonal core or made of several columns connected with each other. They reached height of 4 to 15 meters[4]. The core was stabilised with a massive base, usually polygonal or round. Sometimes a base included carved steps. Construction of the top of lantern was made so that the light on it was visible from all sides. An openwork level was topped with a conical helmet. At the bottom, there were little doors leading to a cylindrical channel inside column. Through this channel, usually using a pulley, a torch was pulled up to the top (Château-Larcher, Culhat). Sometimes, there were spiral steps leading to the top of lantern (Fenioux, St Pierre d'Oleron, les Moutiers). Some of lanterns had curved steps or mounted iron pivots on the inside side of the wall to allow climbing and putting torch in a niche (Rancon, Oradour sur Glane, Antigny). Among preserved constructions there are also some monumental items (e.g. Chateau Larcher). Some lanterns have a stone shelf in a lower part of a core. Purpose of this element is unknown, also due to the fact that almost each exemplar has different dimensions. Researches cannot reach an agreement whether they were some kind of an altar used during funeral masses, desktop for prayer books, place to expose vases with oils used in the liturgy for the poor or pilgrims, or intended to put a reliquary during the consecration ceremony. The latter hypothesis seems to the least probable due to the fact that lanterns were not dedicated. Moreover, the idea of saying mass outside sacred area is relatively young. In the Middle Ages

[2] Château-Larcher, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://www.chateau-larcher.fr/index.php?page=la-lanterne-des-morts.

[3] Lanternes des morts inventaire, Accessed 05.09.2014, http://lanternes.free.fr/hosannieres.htm.

[4] M-F. Jacops, "Des lanternes des morts en Lorraine? Quelques ultimes temoignages d'un aspect du culte des morts," *Les cahiers lorrains, Les cahiers lorrains. Bulletin (Revue trimestrielle) de recherches régionales publié avec le concours de l'Académie nationale de Metz et de l'Université de Metz* 2 (Metz, 1993): 111.

only the pope could grant permission for saying mass in the open air, outside a church. Thus, the function of shelf is still unknown. Some researchers believe that they were added much later.

Lanterns were made of local stones – usually of sandstone, limestone, shale and less often of granite.

Previous studies, carried out in relation to these constructions were not comprehensive in terms of their genesis and function. Only few researchers were interested in exploring mysteries of lanterns. The publication that contains the most comprehensive information about lanterns is a work of Franz Hula, an Austrian researcher who studies cult of the dead in Europe in the Middle Ages[5]. Other sources are articles or encyclopaedia studies written in 19th and 20th centuries – mainly by art historians, architects and clergy[6].

The name of these constructions probably is derived from Latin or Greek. In Latin the world "later, lateris" means a stone, block, brick or pile of stones and „ lanterna, lanternae" – lamp, lantern, torch. The world "fanum, fani" is translated as a temple, sanctuary, sacredness, sacred place, "fanum" is also associated with the dedication formula[7]. In Greek the world "fanós" means lanterns, "fo1s" is synonymous with light, "fó1sforos" means glow (carrying light), the god of light, Eos[8]. Therefore,

[5] Franz Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale. Die Totenleuchten Europas. Karner, Schalenstein u. Friedhofsoculus* (Wien: Selbstvlg, 1970).

[6] E.g.: Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonne de l'architecture françoise* (Paris, 1854–1868), t. 6, 154–155; Kreuz Weiss, "Vier steinerne Denksäulen zu Ödenburg und Mattersdorf," *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* (Wien, 1857), bd. 2, 320–322; August Essenwein, "Über einige Todtenleuchten in Österreich," *Mitteilungen der K. K. Central-Commission* (Wien, 1862), bd. 7, 317–325; Johann Gradt, "Die ewige Lichtsäule von Wels," *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, (Wien, 1873), bd. 18, 277–279; Abbé Leclerc, *Étude sur les lanternes des morts* (Limoges, 1882–1885); Edouard Corroyer, *L'architecture romane* (Paris, 1888); *Deutsche Gaue. Zeitschrift für Heimatforschung und Heimatkunde. Verl. Deutsche Gaue* (Series published from 1899 to 1978, 60 volumes have been published, information about lanterns in volumes: 26, 29, 33, 34); René Crozet, "Les lanternes des morts," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 3, vol. 13 (Paris, 1943), 115–144; Léo Fayole, "Origine et destination des lanternes des morts," *Bulletin de la société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 3, vol. 13 (Paris, 1943), 145–154; Franz Hula, *Die Bildstöcke, Lichtsäulen und Totenleuchten Österreich. Ein Einblick in ihren Ursprung, ihr Wesen und ihre stilistische Entwicklung* (Wien, 1948); Franz Hula, "Die Bildstöcke, Lichtsäulen und Totenleuchten Österreich," *Wiener Jahrbuch f. Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. 20 (24) (Wien, München, 1965), 159–174; Helmut Schöbitz, "Eine Totenleuchte aus Holz bei Pernitz-Muggendorf," *Unsere Heimat. Monatsblatt des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien* 31, no 3/4 (Wien, 1960), 85–87; Eduard Skudnigg, *Bildstöcke und Totenleuchten in Kärnten* (Wien, 1967); Fred Weinmann, "Steinkreuze und Bildstöcke in der Pfalz," *Mitteilungsblätter der "Deutschen Steinkreuzforschung*" 29. Jg., Heft 1 (Nürnberg, 1973); Fred Weinmann, "Die Totenleuchte in Schaidt," *Kultmale der Pfalz* (Speyer, 1975), 88–90; Michel Plault, "Les lanternes des morts," *Inventaire – Histoire et Liturgie* (Poitiers, 1988); M-F. Jacops, "Des lanternes des morts en Lorraine? Quelques ultimes temoignages d'un aspect du culte des morts," *Les cahiers lorrains, Les cahiers lorrains. Bulletin (Revue trimestrielle) de recherches régionales publié avec le concours de l'Académie nationale de Metz et de l'Université de Metz* 2 (Metz, 1993), 111–120.

[7] Lingua Latina Omnibus, Accessed 30.09.2018, http://lacina.info.pl/.

[8] Polsko-Grecki słownik, Glosbe, Accessed 30.09.2018, http://pl.glosbe.com/pl/el/.

etymological interpretation of function of lanterns of the dead indicates a sacred stone construction, a holy place and a source of light[9].

E. Viollet-le-Duc described lanterns of the dead as "hollow stone constructions, covered with small, conical roof and little doors at the bottom". According to the observation of the French architect, they were placed close to entrances to monasteries, at cemeteries, along roads and nearby leper colonies[10]. This definition has been completed by A. Leclerc with the observation that the roof was always crowned by a small cross and the construction itself has been built on a square, polygon or circle plan. Doors were used to transport the light lit at dusk to the top of lantern. The construction was accompanied by a small, movable altar[11]. This description applies to Romanesque constructions erected in France. Lanterns dated back to 12th–13th century, built in the vicinity burial places were large[12]. Lanterns erected in Germany, Bavaria and Austria were smaller. They were built at cemeteries, embedded into facades of churches, erected along roads and in the open field. In the latter case they might indicate mass graves of people who died from plagues[13]. Sometimes several lanterns were erected along a cemetery wall. Interesting examples are lanterns at the cemetery in Ersheim. These constructions have been built on both sides of the wall, opposite to entrance of Gothic cemetery chapel.

In a symbolic sense, lanterns were bridges between opposites (earth – heaven, earth – water, dead – alive) that allowed passing from one state into another[14]. Their location, usually in the middle of cemetery, might indicate sanctity of the place, where the dead rested, encouraging those who are alive to pray for the souls in the purgatory. The light burning in the dark was related to the doctrine about the immortality of the soul, but it also meant that it was burning for all buried people, regardless their social status when they were live[15].

Probably the first centre, where a structure of this type was erected was Cluny abbey or a monastery located closest to it. The oldest information about a lantern of the dead comes from treatise "De miraculis libri duo" written by ninth abbot of Cluny, Peter (Petrus Venerabilis, 1092/94–1156). The passage contains a vision of a monk who saw a lantern of the dead at a cemetery with a light burning in honour of the dead. Another source informing about the role of lanterns is a report of Guillaume de Tournon of the Cistercian abbey in Dalon, written in 1287. The author noted that lanterns lit at cemeteries seved to remind about the immortality of souls[16]. The abbey

[9] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonne*, 151–152.
[10] Ibid., 152–155.
[11] Jacops, "Des lanternes des morts en Lorraine?," 112.
[12] Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale*, 6.
[13] Jacops, "Des lanternes des morts en Lorraine?," 112, note 4.
[14] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonne*, 154–155.
[15] Jacops, "Des lanternes des morts en Lorraine?," 113.
[16] Château-Larcher, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://www.chateau-larcher.fr/index.php?page=la-lanterne-des-morts.

of Cluny, reformed in accordance with the St. Benedict rule, indeed significantly influenced spread of the habit of erecting lanterns at cemeteries and their role in disseminating the cult of the dead. Benedict of Nursia (480–547) introduced an obligation to light lamps throughout the night in every monastery subordinated to that rule. The light was to symbolise hope for resurrection gave to the dead and Christ himself, who as "the light of a day defeated death". Death was then life in the light. Lanterns of the dead replaced candles on the graves and became a predominant source of light in burial places[17]. Along with Benedictines and Cistercians the idea of erecting lanterns slowly penetrated into neighbouring countries.

Lanterns were erected in connection with donations of monastery cemeteries (Culhat, Estevarailles, Saint-Genou) nearby ossuaries (Fenioux, Pers) or cemetery chapels (Perigne - l'Eveque, Le Baux de Provence). Maintaining lanterns was associated with wealth of parish. In the Middle Ages oil for lamps was extremely expensive; therefore founders taking care of lanterns often were rulers or local aristocracy. Some constructions were built in places where many people died violently. An example is twelfth century lantern in Vouillon (the so called St. George Cross). It was placed by the road to Bommiers, on a former battlefield. In the Middle Ages lanterns rarely were dedicated to individuals. However, they were not erected over graves nor at cemeteries, but in a place of a sudden death of a victim. The oldest lantern of this type is the one in Würzburg, founded and built in 1200 at the place, where bishop Conrad had been killed[18]. At the same time it is the oldest lantern of the dead in Germany[19].

In the 13th and 14th centuries lanterns of the dead were placed mainly near isolation wards, leper colonies or at epidemic cemeteries. They were warnings for those healthy and alive and during plagues indicated places, where ill and dead from the vicinity were gathered. In Germany lanterns of the dead were erected at cloisters of Gothic cathedrals (e.g. Magdeburg, Trier)[20].

Lanterns had also magical functions. In the public awareness their light protected against ghosts, ghouls or repentant souls. According to believes the light helped wandering dead find their way back to grave, before dawn. Fire deterred death from hale people during plagues[21]. In practice, during periods of plagues the light burning on a lantern could serve as a source of fire, passed without direct contacts between inhabitants of neighbouring settlements. It is not known, whether the light on lanterns was lit every night or only during certain holy days.

There are hypotheses assuming that these constructions, in addition to esoteric functions might have been used as orientation points, because cemeteries usually were located by roads leading to villages located in the vicinity. Some of the oldest

[17] Ibid.
[18] Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale*, 9.
[19] Ibid., 16.
[20] Ibidem; Sühnekreuze & Mordsteine, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://www.suehnekreuz.de/.
[21] Weinmann, "Steinkreuze und Bildstöcke in der Pfalz," 9.

lanterns in France were located along the pilgrimage route to Compostela (Arles, Longjumeau), other along the Atlantic coast (the highest lantern in France is the one from L'Ile d'Oleron). Position of some lanterns could have been helpful in river navigation. In this case, lanterns could at the same time symbolise boundaries between land and water. A little later, mainly in the Reich, lanterns of the dead were erected also at crossroads, at important routes, on the outskirts of settlements or in fields. Dimensions and height of such lanterns were smaller facilitating lighting the fire[22]. Another type of construction is a light niche (F. Hula uses term: Lichthäuschen or Lichterker). These were lanterns embedded into wall or corner of church. Objects of this type appeared in Austria and Germany in the late Middle Ages[23].

Most of lanterns of the dead built in the Romanesque style preserved in central and west France[24]. In the following centuries (14th–15th) lanterns were built in northern Italy, Spain, Ireland, southern Germany, Austria and Czechia, and from there probably the idea infiltrated southern Poland. Lanterns of the dead (including lighting niches), dated back to the 14 h century are present in Lower Silesia. They preserved at old church cemeteries (Kowary, Tyniec on Ślęża, Stare Jaroszowice, Jaroszów near Strzegom, Modliszów near Świdnica, Studnica near Legnica, Kostrza near Jawor, Wleń, Lwówek Śląski, Lubnów, Szymanów, Lubiąż)[25]. Younger constructions from Polish territory, known as lanterns of the dead are dated back to 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (e.g. Kapitańszczyzna, Kielce, Ożarów near Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Łącznik, Przewrotne, Ploski, Proszowice near Krakow). Lanterns of the dead had been used until second quarter of the 20th century. Unfortunately, most of them were converted, removing an openwork construction on the top or adapting it to the function of shrine.

The unique place in Central Europe, where we can find the largest concentration of lanterns of the dead is Kraków. There are 11 constructions here, of which the oldest comes from the 14th century and the youngest from 19th century. In Kraków particularly clear is the relation between the topography of places, where from the Middle Ages cemeteries have been located and terminally ill people have been sent, and the location of lanterns of the dead. These sites are mainly isolated islands among broad marshes and wetlands of the Vistula River. They were associated with old trade routes and fords, settlements and places of worship used in pre-Christian and pre-location Kraków. Lanterns located on elevated places warned residents of the city and travellers against places associated with sudden death (leper colonies, isolation wards, epidemic cemeteries, burial places of condemned people).

Certainly, the most beautiful construction that served as a lantern of the dead was the one close to the very centre of the old town. It was located at Copernicus street

[22] Hula, *Mittelalterliche Kultmale*, 6.

[23] Ibid., 6–7.

[24] Lanterne des morts, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://lanternes.free.fr/presentation.htm).

[25] Bogusław Czechowicz, *Nagrobki późnogotyckie na Śląsku* (Wrocław: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003), 30.

nearby the St. Nicolas church in a part of old town called "Wesoła". Originally, the lantern was located nearby the St. Valentine Hospital (No 1 on the map). The complex including church, epidemic cemetery and hospital for leprous women was located outside town charter, in the vicinity of a settlement called Florence at that time. It was close to the route leading from Kraków to the north. Probably, the lantern was built between 1327, from which the first information about the church comes from, and 1392, when the hospital for lepers at Kleparz (Clepardia) was mentioned[26]. In 1818 the hospital and church were demolished and the lantern was relocated to the nearby Plac Słowiański (Slavic Square). In 1871 Jan Librowski relocated it once again to the church cemetery at Wesoła[27].

Nowadays, the lantern is 3.90 m height. Base and core of the column was built on a hexagonal plan (picture 1). The base consists of blocks with dimensions of 0.60 m x 0.20 m. The core consists of blocks with dimensions of 0.50 m x 0.20 m. The lantern is crowned with a conical, steep tower-like roof with small stone cross on the top. Probably the lantern was higher. It can be proved by the fact that secondary narrow plates made of fine sandstone inserted at about one quarter of current height of column. They serve as a cornice, but they do not match stylistically to the core. The core is made of beige and white limestone. Once, at the top of the core there was a channel lading to an openwork span. From the north (current setting of the lantern) there is a window with the back walled (picture 2). The window originally led to the internal channel. An openwork in the upper part reiterated hexagonal plan. Each window, later closed with limestone blocks is flanked with slender stone pillars. Each element was led along the edge of column in order to close two adjacent spans. Pillars are pentagonal in intersection. They are connected into rhythmic unity with narrow architraves of windows. The entire composition repeats the hexagonal intersection of the core. Bases of pillars are also pentagonal. The intersection takes the form of low trapezoid. Each base from the bottom is decorated with foliage in a form of naturalistic flower with five petals. Arches of windows are decorated with geometric bar tracery. Ornament consists of form including three circles (picture 3). The upper part of openwork is decorated with single bar being at the same time base of torsel of stone roof. The roof was constructed of blocks with dimensions of 0.50 x 0.20 m.

This monument resembles to some extent lanterns from today's Austria. An object from Köttmansdorf, dated back to the first half of the 13th century has similar construction. The base and column of the lantern in Köttmansdorf is polygonal in intersection and has steep tower-like roof. It was made of massive blocks, carved out of soft sedimentary rock. However, it has different clearance – proportions of the stone part of openwork overwhelm the entire construction and visually shorten it. Dimensions of base of hexagonal openwork were larger than intersection of the core

[26] Kraków – Mama Róża u świętego Floriana – w tym roku spotkania w centrum!, Accessed 30.09.2018, http://www.jazon.krakow.pl/koscioly/index.php?name=walentego&menu=kg.

[27] Michał Rożek, *Przewodnik po zabytkach i kulturze Krakowa* (Kraków: PWN, 1993), 466.

supporting the column. Narrow window openings did not facilitate light penetrating to the outside[28]. Another example, showing similarities in construction and composition with the lantern from Kraków is a monument from Keutschach, dated back to the second half of the 13th century. Construction of the core, base, clearance and roof is nearly analogous. Blocks were carved out of beige type of sedimentary rock. The lantern is devoid of architectural ornamental openwork details, which is understandable taking into account its chronology. The only feature differentiating these two monuments might be the proportion of window openings. The lantern from Keutschach has massive jambs and narrow clearances[29]. The monuments mentioned and the lanterns from Krakow are linked due to influences of the Romanesque art, evident in the proportions of construction, composition and usage of stone material. However, the ornamental details of openwork and proportions of windows of the lantern from Kraków are works of mature Gothic.

The lantern was subjected to preservation, however the aggressive atmosphere in Kraków and human activities have caused significant damages of the core and base of column. In the walled window candles are lit causing damages in the upper of the monument and destroying the stone.

The only monument that still served as a lantern of the dead is the late Baroque column located at the end of St. Sebastian Street (picture 4). Once, in the vicinity of the current side-street between St. Gertrude and St. Sebastian Streets, outside the area where the city was located, among pools of the Vistula River oxbow lakes forming the St. Sebastian pond, there were islands on which venereal and contagious patients were isolated (No 2 on the map). There was a hospital, church and cemetery dedicated to St. Sebastian (patron protecting from pestiferous air). The complex was erected in 1528 and survived until 1793, when the construction was destroyed by wind[30]. In the vicinity, there was a Gothic church of St. Gertrude with a cemetery for convicts, decapitated in Kraków. The church was built between 1429 and 1432 and demolished in 1822[31]. Probably, in a place of such accumulation of victims of the "sudden death" there was an older lantern located. The current construction, dated back to the second half of the 18th century is a four-sided column, placed on a base four-sided similarly as the core[32]. It is hard to say, of what material it was built, because it is covered with pink coloured plaster. We can assume that it was made of bricks. The lantern is 3 meters high. The base, core and clearance are divided with cornices, emphasising division into sections. At the same time these bars serve as

[28] Sühnekreuze & Mordsteine, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://www.suehnekreuz.de/oesterreich/kaernten/koettmannsdorf.htm.

[29] Sühnekreuze & Mordsteine, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://www.suehnekreuz.de/oesterreich/kaernten/keutschach.htm.

[30] Rożek, *Przewodnik po zabytkach i kulturze Krakowa*, 46.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Michał Myśliński, "Śródmieście. Mury miejskie, Planty, Rynek Główny," *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Miasto Kraków* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki P.A.N., 2005), t. 4, cz. 10, 33.

ornaments. The base is separated from the core with two cornices consisted of double profiled bars of various thickness. The core was decorated with four shallow, rectangular niches. In one of them there is a younger, stylistically inconsistent semi-plastic sculpture of Risen Christ. The upper part of the core is separated with two profiled bars from a narrow (up to 0.15 m), level being base for the openwork. The clearance was fitted in a four-sided base, trapezoid in intersection. This, in turn, is separated from the top level of core with two narrow ornamental bars. The openwork is flanked with four cylindrical, stubby columns round in intersection (picture 5). Their bases and heads are quadrangular. Clearance of windows was formed in a form of arches. Clearance is covered with quadrangular base supporting the roof. It is decorated with three profiled bars, visually slandering clearances and adding lightness to the entire construction. Openwork is covered with a hip roof, coated with ceramic plain tiles topped with a metal cross. Each night in the clearance a red lantern burns, nowadays supplied with electric energy. The lantern has a new roof, but its core and base need maintenance.

Another Baroque monument is a lantern of the dead once located at the junction of Bułhak and Twardowski Streets (No 3 on the map). In the past this area was a border between settlements called Dębniki and Ludwinów . There are disputes about the original location of the lantern. It might have been built in 18th to mark the epidemic cemetery at the road leading from Kazimierz to Tyniec[33]. According to the information included in the work cited above the lantern was placed at least in the 70. of the 20th century at the junction of Bułhak and Twardowski Streets. However, the author of this article knows relation of late Ewa Kudłania, midwife, taking care of the area of Ludwinów, Dębniki, Tyniec and Liszki before and during war, who remembered that the lantern was standing there already in the 30. of the 20th century. It was erected to indicate place of burial of people who died of cholera during the First World War. Archaeological researches conducted in 2008 revealed human remains that can confirm the relation mentioned above[34]. The area around the lantern was heavily affected after the war due to several reconstructions and digs in associated with installations, thus the cemetery could have been destroyed. The construction base is quadrangle in intersection and, compared to the core, is massive. The core was divided into four levels and the sections were marked with cornices. At the lower level there were four rectangular niches visible. Another two levels had arcade niches. At the highest level – former openwork – there are three arcade, deep niches preserved, in which images of saints were placed. This level of the lantern had different height in relation to lower parts. At the height where the arc of arcade ends there is a narrow cornice. Next cornices were placed 0.2 m further, one above clearances and the second one

[33] Emil Zaitz i Michał Zaitz, "Sprawozdanie z sondażowych badań archeologicznych prowadzonych w 2008 roku na terenie planowanej budowy krakowskiego Centrum Kongresowego w rejonie Ronda Grunwaldzkiego," *Kraków – Dębniki. ul. M. Konopnickiej, ul. Monte Cassino, ul. J. Bułhaka "Centrum Kongresowe"* (*wykopy sondażowe*) (Kraków, 2008), 4.

[34] Ibid., 8–9.

was a torsel of the roof. This simple solution added lightness and optical slenderness to the construction. The entire construction was covered with hip roof, topped with a small, metal cross. The lantern is built of bricks, dated back to 17th–18th century[35]. Until 2008 it was covered with orange coloured plaster. Niches were renewed with white plaster. Between 2008 and 2013 in the place, where the lantern stands, a construction project was commenced. The lantern was subjected to conservation, reconstruction and then placed near the junction of Barska and Wierzbowa Streets, at Konopnicka Alley. The construction was covered with cream-coloured plaster. In the upper section, as a part of reconstruction activities, the fourth opening, probably once walled up, was staved in and the openwork was highlighted with blue-coloured plaster. Thanks to this the lantern gained more slenderness. As the history of this object shows, it was founded probably at the beginning of the 18th century as a lantern of the dead and it served as such until the second half of the 20th century. Nowadays it serves as a roadside shrine.

Another monument is located in front of the old cemetery at Podgórze, at the junction of Wielicka and Powstańców Śląskich Streets (formerly Telewizyjna Street) (No 4 on the map). The lantern is made of bricks and covered with fair beige plaster, constructed on a square plan. A rectangular base supports core consisted of two levels. Between the base and the first level there is a massive cornice visible. The lower level is separated from the upper one with a cornice consisted of three decorated bars. Each wall of this level was decorated with shallow, rectangular niches. The lower niche in the facade of contains a donation plaque. Planes of walls at the upper level of the core are divided into two areas with a narrow profiled cornice. Its lower part includes four arcade niches, slightly deeper than niches at the lower level. The upper section is narrow, about 0.20 cm undecorated band. The entire construction is crowned with a second cornice, consisted of four profiled and decorated bars. This slenderizes the entire, a bit massive construction of the column core. Over the upper level there could have been an openwork construction. Nowadays there is no roof at the top of the construction. Although, at the top there is a full figure of God the Father, over the statue there is semi-circular, metal roof supported by four metal columns. The construction together with the statue could have been built at the end of the 18th century, when the cemetery was located (between 1786 and 1794)[36]. However, the roof covering it that does not match the entire construction was added later. It is known that the lantern used to stand at the entrance to the cemetery, at the junction of Wielicka and Robotnicza Streets. During the World War II the layout of the cemetery and its vicinity was destroyed by Nazis during construction of the railway line. From that period we have no reports about the lantern. The old cemetery at Podgórze was ultimately annihilated in the 70. of the 20th century, during development of Telewizyjna

[35] Ibid., 4.

[36] Katarzyna Hodor, "Założenia cmentarne w krajobrazach Krakowa," *Architektura. Czasopismo Techniczne* 7, rok 109, 2A (Kraków, 2012), 283.

Street (now Powstańców Śląskich Street). At that time the lantern was moved to its current location.

Other constructions in some moment of their history could serve as lanterns of the dead. Their form refers to these constructions. Also their location – in the vicinity of monasteries and roads, once crucial for citizens of the city – indicates such function. It is possible that some of monuments described below had older originals. Not at all lanterns the openwork preserved. Currently these constructions serve as shrines.

In the Park Krakowski, near the Plac Inwalidów, there is another Baroque lantern made of bricks, dated back to the 18th century (No 5 on the map). Probably, its prototype once indicated the route lading to Wrocław that also led to the summer residence of the king located in Łobzów. At the point, where currently the lantern stands we still can clearly that the ground lowers. Probably these are remains of the oxbow of one of tributaries of the Rudawa River. Maps of the 18th century shows large fish ponds there[37]. Presumably, the lantern used to inform people about dangers lying in wait on the marshy ground. The construction is of the form of column consisted of a base, core and clearance. The base is of the shape of cube. On the façade wall there is a plaque with donation inscription. The base is separated from the core with a cornice. The core of the column consists of two levels, also separated with a cornice with double profiled bars. The core is slightly smaller than the base. The shape of lower level is similar to cube. In each wall there is an arcade, deep niche in which a semi-plastic statue of a saint stands (lower level: St. Florian, St. Christopher, St. John of Nepomuk and St. Catherine of Alexandria). The upper level is rectangular. In each arcade niche there is a statute of a saint made in the same style as statues in the lower level (St. Jude Thaddeus, St. Stephen, St. Barbara, St. Agnes). All sculptures are polychrome. Niches at both levels are additionally decorated with a double cornice surrounding the level at the height of the upper part of arcades linking adjacent walls around. Tectonics of decorations gives an impression of openwork, adds visual depth to niches at each level and highlights side edges imitating jambs. Similar construction is repeated at the top part of the lantern. However, here there are no dead-end niches – there is openwork with a plastic statue of Pensive Christ. The upper part of clearance is closed with a cornice consisted of three profiled bars forming a torsel. The entire construction is covered with hip roof. At its top there is a metal cross fixed in decorative, spherical frame. The shrine was restored in 2007[38]. It was covered with a beige plaster and polychrome on statues was refreshed.

At Kopernika Street 44, close to the wall of the Carmelite cluster there is a lantern that once indicated and illuminated the route to the cluster. In the Middle Ages an old route towards Kyiv and Hungary led this way (No 6 on the map). The construction is

[37] Wawel, Accessed 30.09.2018, http://www.wawel.net/images/750-lat_lokacji/lokacja.htm (map from 1785)..

[38] Nepomuki Województwa Krakowskiego I RP, Accessed 27.09.2018, http://nepomuki.pl/nepomuk/malopolska.htm.

made of bricks with a square plan, covered with a pitched roof covered with ceramic plain tiles. The ridge is crowned with a metal cross fixed to a stone, profiled frame. The core of the lantern consists of three levels: massive base separated with a cornice from a smooth column with profiled corners and clearance (now walled). The level between the core and clearance was highlighted with two profiled plastic bars. Furthermore, the base of openwork is broader than the core giving the monumentality to the entire construction. In a place of the clearance, in shallow rectangular niches pictures with images of saints were placed. The torsel is supported by a base decorated with three profiled bars. Both top walls of the roof have arcade shallow niches imitating openings. The construction is plastered and coloured beige. The lantern is in very good technical condition.

The so called Sobieraj chapel was constructed in the Baroque style, standing at Dobry Pasterz Street. It was funded in 1683 as a donation associated with King Jan III Sobieski passing through Kraków on his way to Vienna. According to the tradition, during one of uprisings soldiers who died from wounds from battles were hiding in the area of this construction and then were buried there. These events could have occurred at the beginning or at the end of the 19th century (November Uprising or January Uprising)[39]. Therefore, the chapel served as a lantern of the dead. The construction is a square pole made of bricks. The core is divided into three levels. Each level is highlighted by narrow, single, profiled cornices. The lower part of walls of the construction is not decorated. The middle level has shallow, rectangular niches. In each niche there is a drawing depicting the saint. The clearance – the upper level – consists of four rectangular columns (frames) closed with massive, almost rectangular arch. Over the openwork some architectural actions were applied in order to optically slenderize the column. Cornices here are separated with a narrow, smooth band of plaster. The lower element of this section was decorated with a single, narrow, profiled bar. The upper level is more complex. Three profiled bars of the cornice support the torsel of hip roof. The roof is covered with ceramic tiles and topped with a metal cross. In a clearance there is a small plastic statue of the Virgin Mary. The construction is covered with white plaster. Its technical condition is good.

The lanterns located along the old route leading to mediaeval monasteries: Benedictinein Tyniec and Cisterian in Mogiła were mentioned by W. Łuszczkiewicz[40]. Two such lanterns preserved.

The shrine located in Kraków – Czyżyny dates back to the 18th century. Once it could indicate route from Kraków towards Mogiła to the Cisterian monastery and from there to Benedictine monastery in Staniątki. This is pole-like construction consisted of square base and core of column. The column is divided into two levels of different dimensions highlighted with a cornice. In the upper part of the lower level there are

[39] Leksykon. Obiekty, Accessed 05.09.2018, http://towpradnik.republika.pl/leksykon/obiekty.html.

[40] Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, "Stare cmentarze krakowskie, ich zabytki sztuki i obyczaju kościelnego," *Rocznik Krakowski* 1 (1898): 31–34.

four shallow, rectangular niches. In one of them there is an image of a saint preserved. Plan of base of the lower level is wider than of the upper part of the column. In the upper level there are three arcaded, deep niches imitating openwork. The construction is covered with a pitched roof with a metal cross. Its tops are decorated with imitations of openings. The construction is covered with a beige plaster. Niches were highlighted with white colour adding to this a bit heavy construction the impression of slenderness. It serves as roadside shrine.

A monument located at Tyniecka Street, 64 comes from the second half of the 19th century (No 7 on the map). The construction is located by the old road from Kraków to Tyniec that led along right bank of Vistula River. Once, this area used to be heavily swampy, because the river meandered and created numerous pools and swamps. In this area the last pools were dried in the 80. of the 20th century. The lantern could have indicated the way and warn travellers against dangers associated with wandering through marshes. It could have also served as a boundary pillar. The core of column was divided into four levels and he sections were highlighted with bars of cornices. The lower section of the construction has four shallow, rectangular niches. Two middle levels include arcade niches. They are flanked by square frames decorated in upper parts with protruding bars imitating heads of columns. Niches on the façade are deeper. Small plastic statues of the Virgin Mary and Christ that serve as a decoration were placed there. Side niches are shallower and serve as decorations giving some lightness and impression of openwork to the entire column. At the third level, inside side niches crosses were hung. The highest part of the lantern, in a place of clearance, also contains niches. At the façade the openwork is of a form of rectangular opening in which an image of saint was placed. Side niches at this level are shaped as arcades and empty. Also in this case architectural operations slenderizing optically the column were applied in its upper section. These operations include separation of bars of upper cornices with an undecorated band. The cornice consisting of three profiled bars and the core closing the column supported the roof. The construction is crowned with a hip roof with a metal cross. The construction is plastered and painted motley colours. Nowadays it is used as a roadside shrine.

Two brick buildings that could have served as lanterns of the dead are located close to each other at the border of the current district called Dębniki. One of them was placed at Kozienicka Street, 12 (administrative district – Kobierzyn) and the second one at Skotnicka Street, 58. They are dated back to the 18th–19th century. Both constructions are similar in their form. The lantern at Kozienicka Street is made of bricks, covered with white plaster and has square base. It is attached to a massive base. However, it does not constitute stylistic integrity with the core. The column is divided into four levels separated with broad cornices. The lower section is decorated with shallow rectangular niches. The middle level is divided into two dimensionally identical layers. Niches are also rectangular. Images of saints are embedded into these niches. The upper level has slightly deeper, rectangular niches. Once, they

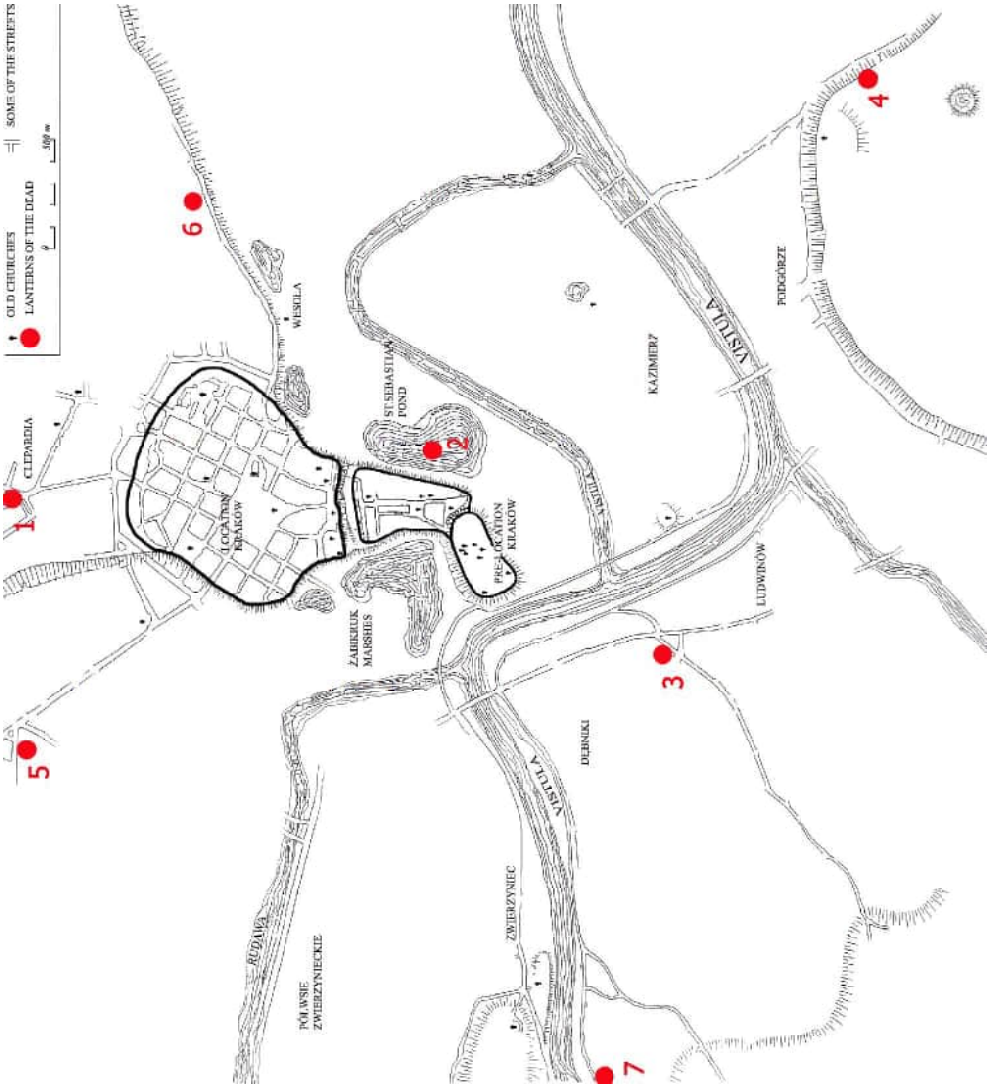
could have been made of an openwork or imitate it. The column is covered with a hip roof crowned with a metal cross based on a broad, decorated cornice. Brick shrine at Skotnicka Street is square, covered with white plaster pole, mounted on a square base. In the middle of its height we can see narrow, high rectangular niche in which plastic statue of the Virgin Mary was placed. The upper level of the column, separated with narrow cornice has no architectural details creating or imitating openwork. This, however, does not exclude the fact that it might have contained an openwork that afterwards was walled. The entire construction is covered with a hip roof with a metal cross on its top. Both constructions are placed by the road leading from Kraków through Dębniki to Skawina. Perhaps both these constructions were associated with old, local cemeteries. In the light of similarities of architectural details and dimensions both could have formally served once as lanterns of the dead, but with time lost its meaning at nowadays serve as roadside shrines.

The oldest lanterns were located outside old city walls. They signalled places associated with "sudden death". At that time it was a custom to choose hardly accessible places and build there complexes for terminally ill. People with leprosy or other infectious diseases, according to state of knowledge at that time, became dead while still alive, being a threat to their families and citizens of cities. Therefore, they were isolated in hospitals that served rather as places to die than to heal and return to life. Along hospitals churches and cemeteries for the dying were built. Often the lanterns were placed nearby epidemic cemeteries. Areas around Kraków were ideal for isolation of people condemned to death by a disease or municipal jurisdiction. Pre-location and location city was surrounded from south, east and west with pools of meandering Vistula River and its tributaries. Only from the north the area was slightly elevated. And it was there, where the places of isolation for ill were built. Often in the vicinity of such complexes routes led. This is why the lanterns had double function. These constructions in Kraków signalled presence of places associated with physical threat (hospitals, leper colonies, epidemic cemeteries) that were associated with the risk of infection as well as spiritual threat: places associated with "sudden death" required moment of reflection and reminded to pray for souls of the dead. Lanterns had also magical function. Their light protected travelling people from vicious spirits, wandering souls of the dead, and bloodthirsty demons, in which people used to believe. Lanterns also facilitated orientation in harsh area (swamps, marshes, fords) through which trade routes led. They signalled presence of nearby monasteries, settlements and the city.

All of the above mentioned objects: lantern at the St. Valentine hospital at Kleparz (leper colony and epidemic cemetery and route towards Wielkopolska), lantern at the St. Sebastian island (hospital for venereal patients and burial place for convicts), lantern at Dębniki (choleric cemetery and route from Kraków to monastery in Tyniec), lantern at the Carmelite monastery (monastery by the old route from Czechia to Kiev), lantern by the old cemetery at Podgórze (burial place, route towards Hungary),

Sobieraj lantern (place of death and burial of insurgents, route to Wielkopolska and Mazowsze), lantern at Czyżyny (old route leading from Kraków to monasteries in Mogiła and Staniątki), lantern at Tyniecka Street (old route from Kraków to Tyniec, boundary pole, warning against swamps), lantern in the Park Krakowski (route from Kraków through royal residence to Wrocław, warning against swamps), two lanterns at Kozieniecka and Skotnicka Streets (route towards Skawina, presumably old cemeteries) were associated not only with the cult of the dead, but also had more practical functions – as orientation points. In the minds of inhabitants these objects were places of prayer for the dead and protection against evil. Over the centuries they began to lose original meaning, because as a result of dynamic development of the city the environment in which they were located started to change. Hospital complexes were demolished, mediaeval cemeteries were liquidated, swamps were dried, and the Vistula River and its tributaries were regulated. In the 19th in the place of inundated oxbow of the Vistula River a road network was constructed. Probably many older lanterns have irrevocably lost and no reports about them survived to this time. The only proof of their existence is the Gothic lantern at Wesoła. It can be assumed that in the Middle Ages there were much more such constructions. It can be proved by the tradition of placing younger construction in places, where presumably older constructions could have stood (for example the lantern at St. Sebastian Street, lantern from the Park Krakowski). As a result of changes in the city structure some of the above mentioned lanterns were relocated to new places, more or less distant from original location (lantern from the St. Valntine hospital at Kleparz to Wesoła near St. Nicolas church, lantern from the St. Sebastian island to Planty at the end of St. Sebastian Street, lantern from Twardowskiego Street at Dębniki was relocated to Wierzbowa Street, lantern from the Podgórze cemetery to Wielicka Street). In the 20th century their function was changed – they were turned into roadside shrines. Some of them were reconstructed walling up openwork or, rarely, doing the opposite. Others were complemented with images of saints. What is interesting, the predominant image at lanterns at Kraków is Virgin Mary, associated in Poland with protection from "arrows of God's wrath" and "infectious air". Currently all objects are used by local people. They light candles and put there flowers regularly. The lantern at St. Sebastian Street lights the darkness each and every night. In the walled up window of the lantern at Wesoła candles are burned.

These objects are a testimony of the history of Kraków, its urban development and historical changes. They also indicate attachment to the tradition of its citizens, who did not lose memory about functions and meaning of these monuments.


OLD CHURCHES
LANTERNS OF THE DEAD
SOMES OF THE STREETS
CLEPARDIA
LOCATION KRAKOW
WESOŁA
ST SEBASTIAN POND
KAZIMIERZ
VISTULA
PODGÓRZE
PRE-LOCATION KRAKOW
ZABŁOCIUK MARSHES
LUDWINÓW
DĘBNIKI
VISTULA
ZWIERZYNIEC
RUDAWA
POLWSIE ZWIERZYNIECKIE
1
2
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Picture 1

Picture 2

Picture 3

Picture 4

Picture 5

Picture 6

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ЛІХТАРІ ПОМЕРЛИХ У КРАКОВІ: ВІД ЗНАКУ "РАПТОВОЇ СМЕРТИ" ДО СИМВОЛУ ІСТОРІЇ МІСТА

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У статті охарактеризовано пам'ятки монументальної нагробної архітектури – ліхтарі померлих. Їх ідея виникла під час клюнійської реформи, а самі пам'ятки від першої половини XII ст. почали з'являтися на теренах Европи, зокрема в Польщі. Їх розташування (біля монастирських кладовищ або над масовими похованнями) означало святість місця, де мешкали мертві, заохочувало живих до молитов за душі, які перебували в чистилищі. Ліхтарі померлих замінили свічки на могилах. У Середньовіччі вони рідко були присвячені окремим людям. Лише згодом їх почали встановлювати на місцях раптової смерти людей. Ліхтарі мали також магічні функції. У свідомості населення їхнє світло захищало від привидів, ходячих мерців чи неприкаянних душ.

На теренах Центральної Европи найбільша група ліхтарів померлих є у Кракові. Тут збережено 11 об'єктів, найдавніший з яких датований XIV ст. (нині розташований біля костелу св. Миколая), а найпізніший – XIX ст. Особливо помітним є взаємозв'язок ліхтарів померлих із топографією місць, де від Середньовіччя закладали цвинтарі та заклади для невиліковно хворих. Ліхтарі померлих були також пов'язані зі старими торговельними шляхами, поселеннями й місцями поклоніння, які функціонували на місці Кракова ще в дохристиянську добу. Ліхтарі, які розміщували на полях, попереджали мешканців міста та мандрівників про небезпечні місця (лепрозорії, лікарні для інфекційних хворих, епідемічні кладовища), місця поховань засуджених. Під час подорожей вони допомагали оминути болота, мочарі тощо, сигналізували про найближчі монастирі та поселення.

Ключові слова: намогильна архітектура, ліхтарі померлих, середньовічний Краків.

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The map:

1. The lanterne at St. Valentine complex (now at St. Nicolas church, "Wesoła").
2. The lanterne at St. Sebastian pond (now at. St. Sebastian and St. Gertruda Streets).
3. The lanterne at the junction of Bułhak and Twardowski Streets (now at Konopnicka Alley).
4. The laterne at Old Cemetery Podgórze.
5. The lanterne in the Park Krakowski.
6. The lanterne at the Carmelite cluster (Kopernika Street).
7. The lanterne at Tyniecka Street.

Pictures:

1. View of the gothic lanterne from "Wesoła".
2. The gothic lanterne from "Wesoła": a window to the channel to an openwork (back walled).
3. The gothic lanterne from "Wesoła": an openwork in the upper part (details).
4. The baroque lanterne at St. Sebastian and St. Gertruda Streets.
5. The baroque lanterne at St. Sebastian and St. Gertruda Streets: an openwork in the upper part (details).
6. Tombstone in the form of a lanterne of the dead – the Salwator cemetery.