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PLACES OF BISHOPS' CONSECRATION IN MEDIEVAL POLAND

In medieval communities ordinary bishops, though not numerous, were a social group of great significance¹. Among the higher clergy they were distinguished not only by their pontifical vestments. A unique ritual (which could be an example of *rites de passages*) was connected to the promotion from the group of the higher clergy to episcopacy, understood here as a group of ordinaries. This ritual began with an act of appointment, which could either be an election, a secular investiture, a canonical election or papal commission depending on the circumstances and time. The next step, particularly in the so-called classical period in the history of the Medieval Church, was the bishop-elect's confirmation by a metropolitan or the Pope. It seems quite obvious that the candidate commissioned by the Pope did not need any other approval. After confirmation, the elected could start governing his diocese, however, his enthronization and first service in the cathedral had to wait until he was anointed a bishop².

¹ R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, New Jersey 1968, p. 3; K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops. The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia 1984, *passim*; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford 1989, esp. pp. 527–541. On the Polish medieval episcopacy see J. Wiesiołowski, *Episkopat polski jako grupa społeczna (The Polish Episcopacy as a Social Group)*, in: *Spotecznictwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 4, ed. S. K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1990, pp. 236–295; J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski doby dzielnicowej 1180–1320 (The Polish Episcopacy of the Period of the Divided Kingdom)*, Kraków–Bydgoszcz 2003; M. Koczerska, *Biskup w Polsce późnego średniowiecza (Bishop in Poland in the Late Middle Ages)*, in: *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 105–124.

² H. E. Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, Weimar 1955, p. 322; R. L. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93, 168, 206; J. Gaudemet, *Histoire du Droit des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident*, vol. 8: *Le Gouvernement de l'Eglise à l'Epoque Classique*, vol. 2, ed. G. le Bras, J. Gaudemet, Paris 1979, p. 63.

The bishop's consecration ceremony itself was a liturgical spectacle in layman's terms comparable only to ceremonies for monarchs ascending to the throne (royal coronation, less often enthronization or benediction of a duke)³, since the appointments of lay officials did not get such a setting⁴. The course of the ceremony in medieval Poland can, unfortunately, be reconstructed, only on the basis of the material from liturgical books used there. According to the contents of pontificals, the ceremony had the following parts: a solemn procession, vesting with a robe, public announcement of the candidates' qualifications by the archbishop, his anointing with sacred oil and the presentation of insignia of faith and rule. The most important of these acts took place in front of the altar, so it seems quite obvious to conclude that the ceremony was held in church. It can be also supposed that the ceremony evolved in some ways over time. In Poland, probably already in the thirteenth century, at this occasion a new bishop received a letter reminding him his official obligations, a letter which was handed to him by the province head⁵.

There is no doubt that a bishop's consecration ceremony, through which a diocese's governor obtained all his pontifical rights, was socially an extremely important event. Moreover, the ritual gestures performed during public ceremonies were a common way to announce important news in medieval communities⁶.

³ Comp. Z. Dalewski, *Władza. Przestrzeń. Ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.* (Lordship. Space. Ceremonies. Place and Ceremonies of Inauguration of Rulers in Medieval Poland to the End of the 14th Cent.), Warszawa 1996.

⁴ J. Wiesiołowski, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁵ *Pontyfikał krakowski z XI wieku* (The Pontifical of Cracow from the 11th Cent.) . pub. Z. Obertyński, in: *Materiały do Dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 5, Lublin 1977, pp. 146–151; *Pontyfikał płocki z XII w.* (Studium liturgiczno-źródłoznawcze (The Pontifical of Plock from the 12th Cent. Liturgical Source–Study), pub. A. Podleś, Plock 1986, pp. 53–59; *Pontyfikale arcybiskupa lwowskiego Jana Rzeszowskiego w bibliotece kapitulnej w Gnieźnie* (The Pontifical of the Archbishop of Lvov, Jan Rzeszowski, in the Gniezno Capitular Library), pub. Z. Obertyński, Lwów 1930, pp. 128–135; Z. Obertyński, *Pontyfikaty krakowskie XV wieku* (The Pontificals of Cracow from the 15th Cent.), "Prawo Kanoniczne", vol. 4, 1961, p. 335, footnote 1; J. Maciejewski, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁶ See, e.g.: M. Bloch, *La société féodale*, ed. A. Michel, Paris 1994, *passim*; *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X–XIII w.* (The Culture of Medieval Poland), ed. J. Dowiat, Warszawa 1985, p. 221; M. Starnawska, *Uroczystość objęcia parafii w Turowie koło Wrocławia w 1464 roku przez Andrzeja Kuchelera, kapłana-joannitę* (The Ceremony of Accession of Andrzej Kucheler to the Parish Church in Turow near Wrocław in 1464), in: *Ludzie. Kościół. Wierzenia*, Warszawa 2001, p. 255; R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordination of Clerics in the Middle Ages*, in: *idem, Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages. Duties and Ordination*, Aldershot — Brookfield

It could be expected then that such an important event should take place in venues particularly meant for this kind of occasions, or even specially prepared for them, which means cathedrals in the first place. In this case two most likely options were a metropolitan or cathedral church of an ordained bishop. In the first situation the choice could be explained by the archbishop's prestige and his willingness to emphasize not only his own priority but also the position of the most important church in the province. The other option however, would allow direct communication to the elite of the newly ordained bishop's congregation that he had just obtained all the rights connected with his office and become one of the God's anointed.

Canon law in principle did not specify the places of ordaining. It obliged, however, at first only deacons and presbyters⁷, to be ordained in public, at the foot of the altar in the church, preferably in the episcopal see⁸. As far as the episcopate is concerned it was generally accepted that bishops were consecrated in the province's main city (which in practice meant a metropolitan cathedral)⁹. This conviction was carried due to the unique position of a metropolitan bishop, who was entitled to approve his suffragans and, if no exceptional circumstances interfered, he anointed them personally assisted by (at least two) other ordinary bishops of the province¹⁰. However, it was assumed that some special circum-

— Singapore — Sydney 1999, N^o 11, p. 8; R. F. Gyug, *Introduction. Ritual*, in: *Ritual, Text and Law. Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, ed. K. G. Cushing, R. F. Gyug, Ashgate 2004, pp. 3–4.

⁷ In the 11th and 12th centuries the subdiaconate became one of the superior sacred orders (*sacri ordines*), R. E. Reynolds, *The Subdiaconate as a Sacred and Superior Order*, in: *idem, Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot — Brookfield — Singapore — Sydney 1999, N^o 4, 1–39.

⁸ *Decretum magistri Gratiani* (henceforth: *DG*), in: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, p. 1, ed. E. Friedberg, Graz 1959, p. I, d. LXXV, c. VI (col. 267): *Quando et ubi libitum fuerit usque ad subdiaconatus officium ordinantur clerici, diaconi vero atque presbyteri nunquam, nisi in publica*; R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordination of Clerics*, p. 5. In practice however, a bishop consecrated his suffragans in the place of his stay because what was important was the time of the consecration ceremony not the place, A. Gąsiorowski, *Święcenia w diecezji kujawskiej na przełomie XV i XVI wieku (Clerical Orders in the Diocese of Kutavia of the Later 15th and Early 16th Century)*, "Roczniki Historyczne", vol. 67, 2001, p. 86.

⁹ *DG*, p. I, d. LXV, c. VIII (col. 251): *Si quis metropolitana civitate episcopus non fuerit*.

¹⁰ The metropolitan's functions connected with confirmation and consecration were clearly defined by canon law already before Gratian's times. He, however, summed them up, *DG*, p. I, d. LXIV–LXVII, (col. 247–253). Comp. H. E. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 322; R. L. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 168; W. Sawicki, *Studia nad wpływem praw obcych w dawnej Polsce (Study of the Influence of Foreign Law in Old Poland)*, Warszawa 1971, p. 56.

stances might occur and for this reason anointing bishops in other places was not forbidden¹¹. Therefore, canon law allowed in this respect, like in case of other *ordines*, considerable freedom of action.

To the best of my knowledge, the places of bishops' consecration held no interest for decretists and decretalists or authors of liturgical books¹². This matter was left unnoticed even by Wilhelm Durand, bishop of Mende, the author of the liturgical treatise so important to the late medieval Church, where he used and synthesized the four hundred years of commentary that stood behind his writings¹³. Chapter XII of Book II of this dissertation is devoted to the significance of the bishop's office and ordination rite¹⁴. However, while referring to consecration, what was considered important was not the place but the time (day and exact hour) when the ceremony could be held.

These general rules of canon law regulating the conditions of the consecration ceremony were not only well known but also generally followed. Examples confirming this conviction can be found in many of the countries on the northern side of the Alps including Central Europe, which means also the area bordering on the metropolis of Gniezno.

From the tenth to the twelfth centuries, bishops of Prague and Olmütz (Olomouc) were anointed almost with no exception by the archbishop of Mainz¹⁵. Most often the ceremony took place in the capital of the province. Seldom was it held at the royal (imperial) court, in the place where the monarch was staying at the time. Apart from prestige, there were practical considerations to this matter. These were the situations when the archbishop of

¹¹ DG, col., 251: *Si autem necessitas fuerit, tres episcopi, in quocumque loco sint, cum primatis precepto ordinare debebunt episcopum.*

¹² See, the pontificals cited above in footnote 5 and *Das Rituale des Bischofs Heinrich I. von Breslau*, pub. A. Franz, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912.

¹³ T. M. Thibodeau, *From Durand of Mende to St Thomas More: Lessons Learned from Medieval Liturgy*, in: *Ritual, Text and Law. Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, „Church, Faith and Culture in Medieval West”, 2004, p. 84.

¹⁴ *Gvilelmi Dvranti Rationale dvtinorvm officiorvm*, ed. A. Davril, T. M. Thibodeau, lib. I-IV, Turnholti 1995, pp. 170-176.

¹⁵ Extraordinarily, in 1100 bishop Herman was consecrated by the papal legate because the metropolitan, accused of simony, had to leave his see. The ceremony, however, took place in Mainz, *Cosmae Pragenensis Chronica Boemorum* (henceforth: CPCB), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Scriptorem rerum Germanicarum, Nova series*, vol. 2, hrsg. B. Bretholz, Berolini 1923, p. 171.

Mainz was accompanying the king (emperor) at the time when an elect of Prague requested official approval and a secular investiture from the king¹⁶. In the thirteenth century (2nd half) however, a certain change can be noticed. Two subsequent bishops of Prague, John III of Dražic and Tobiasz were anointed by the bishop of Olmütz, Brunon of Schauenburg, who in both cases was mandated by the archbishop of Mainz. Apparently however, the ceremonies were not in Prague but the first one in Vienna and the other in a Dominican church in Brno¹⁷. These were very important political and religious centres in this part of Europe. As a matter of fact, the subsequent consecration of the bishop of Prague, John IV of Dražic, was held in Prague cathedral in presence of the Czech king and his court¹⁸, which could be considered a new trend being in line with ambitious political plans of the king Vaclav II. In fact, already during the reign of John IV in the middle of 1341 the diocese of Prague had become separated from the province of Mainz and after his death became an archdiocese¹⁹.

The practices from the province of Mainz can be related to the area of the whole German church, which however, allowed greater diversity as far as the places of anointment were concerned. A popular solution, which seemed to dominate, was consecrating bishops in metropolitan churches²⁰. Before the

¹⁶ This situation was favoured by the fact that bishops appointed by the dukes of Prague had to appear at the imperial court in order to receive investiture because the sovereigns of Bohemia did not have the right powers. For example in the emperor's presence the first two bishops of Prague: Ditmar and Adalbert were anointed, *CPCB*, pp. 45, 47. However, there are records of opposite cases. In 1167, the bishop of Prague was the main consecrator of his metropolitan Christian when he was anointed a bishop in the emperor's presence in Italy, *Annales Boemorum Vincentii Pragensis*, ed. J. Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (henceforth: *FRB*), v. II/2, Prague 1875, <http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/FRRB/>.

¹⁷ *Annales Bohemiae 1196-1278*, ed. J. Emler, *FRB*, vol. II/1, Prague 1874; *Iohannis de Marignoli Chronicon Bohemorum*, ed. Josef Emler, *FRB*, vol. III, Prague 1882; *Annales de rebus gestis post mortem Przem. Ottokari Regis*, ed. Josef Emler, *FRB*, vol. II/1 (Prague 1874); all these sources quoted after: <http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/FRRB/>.

¹⁸ *Cronica Francisci Pragensis*, ed. Josef Emler, *FRB*, vol. IV (Prague 1884), cap. XVI; *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis Benesii Krabice de Weitmile*, ed. Josef Emler, *FRB*, vol. IV (Prague 1884), lib. I; both sources quoted after <http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/FRRB/>.

¹⁹ Z. Hlediková, *Biskup Jan IV z Dražic (1301-1343)*, Praha 1991, p. 165.

²⁰ This can be illustrated with two examples from Magdeburg: in the first one the local bishop Adalbert of Trier, after his instalment to the new metropolitan office, "welcomed with splendour by the clergy and the people, consecrated Bozo, the

papacy, during the reign of Alexander IV, began to oblige archbishops to receive confirmation personally in curia (where often they got anointed at the time), the majority of archbishops had been ordained in their cathedral churches²¹. In these ceremonies quite often all the suffragans of an anointed archbishop participated²².

Sometimes however, another important religious centre in the territory of a given archdiocese was chosen as the place of the ceremony, instead of the archiepiscopal see. This solution ensured prestige to the archbishop since the bishop-elect was summoned by his sovereign²³.

It could even happen that the ceremony took place simply at the place where the archbishop was staying at the time in his estate, like in 1037, when the archbishop of Mainz consecrated his suffragan bishop of Halberstadt in Heiligenstadt located in the territory of the archdiocese and belonging to his estate, where there was the old royal court and church of St. Martin²⁴.

As already mentioned above, a practice still in use, particularly during the close partnership of German church with the sovereign (tenth–eleventh centuries), was the anointment of bishops during their stay at the royal (imperial) court. One of best examples is the chronicler Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg. The course of events connected with his consecration, described

first shepherd of Merseburg, Burchard, the first bishop of Meissen and Hugh, the first bishop of Żytyce”, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. R. Holtzman, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series*, vol. 9, Berolini 1935, p. 65. In the second one on Holy Saturday in 1207 the archbishop Albrecht von Käfernburg anointed three of his suffragan bishops (of Havelberg, Brandenburg and Naumburg) in his cathedral, P. B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216–1245*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1995, p. 139.

²¹ J. Nowacki, *Arcybiskup gnieźnieński Janusz i nieznan synod prowincjonalny roku 1258 (Archbishop of Gniezno Janusz and an Unknown Provincial Synod in 1258)*, “*Collectanea Theologica*”, vol. 14, 1933, Nos. 1–2, pp. 134–136.

²² This happened for example in Cologne on May 24, 1209, when the archbishop of Cologne Dietrich von Hengebach was consecrated, P. B. Pixton, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

²³ On September 19, 1221 in Erfurt (the territory of the archbishopric of Mainz) the ordinary of Hildesheim was anointed. The consecrator was — no doubt — the archbishop of Mainz, who was also the driving force of this consecration, P. B. Pixton, *op. cit.*, p. 304. The ceremony might have taken place in the eleventh century Benedictine church of St. Paul.

²⁴ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usu scholarum*, cont. G. Waitz, Hannoverae 1878, p. 41.

in detail in his chronicle, shows that all the stages of his appointment to the bishop's office and final anointment as a bishop depended on the king's itinerary²⁵.

Still, in the thirteenth century the consecration of a bishop in his own cathedral should be considered exceptional, though events like this also occurred²⁶. It was more often the case that a bishop was anointed in a church outside his province, reasons for which could be numerous: both of political nature as well as structural in the Church (sovereign's will, bishops' synod, being summoned by the delegate of the Holy See, a period of vacancy for the metropolitan see, etc.)²⁷.

The practice of choosing the place for the consecration of ordinary bishops was similar in England. As it can be concluded from the information found in *Fastii Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in the thirteenth century province of Canterbury there were two dominant centres where bishops were consecrated. The first one and the most important was doubtlessly the capital of the province and the other was London and some locations in its vicinity²⁸. In the second case, what mattered was not only the sovereign's participation, but the fact that the archbishop of Canterbury was in possession of estates and land in this area. The other ceremonies were generally held in the most important administrative and religious centres, however, it is characteristic that suffragan bishops of Canterbury (as well as the archbishop of York) were

²⁵ *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar*, p. 325.

²⁶ On March 20, 1239 in Metz the local ordinary, Jacques de Lorraine, was anointed by the archbishop of Trier, who was assisted by two of his suffragan bishops, P. B. P i x t o n, *op. cit.*, p. 417; see also footnote 18 above.

²⁷ On September 21, 1225 the papal legate, the cardinal — bishop Conrad of Porto anointed the elect of Würzburg, Herman, in the cathedral in Magdeburg. The consecration ceremony took place at the time of the convention attended by the legate and seven other bishops. Almost a year later, on September 21, 1226, in the cathedral in Cologne the archbishop of Trier anointed the local metropolitan Henry von Müllenmark, a former provost of Bonn. Shortly before this solemn ceremony, possibly even alongside, two elects of Mainz, Lugolf von Holte of Münster and Conrad von Veltberg of Osnabrück, were anointed bishops, P. B. P i x t o n, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 351. Whereas in 1251 in Prague the elect of Pasawa was anointed. His metropolitan of Salzburg was present at the ceremony, he could not however, being only an elect himself, consecrate his suffragan, *Annales Bohemiae 1196–1278; Iohannis de Marignoli Chronicon Bohemorum*: <http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/FRRB/>.

²⁸ Besides the church of St. Paul in London and Westminster Abbey, the following churches can be listed: Waverley Abbey, Lambeth, Farnham, Merton Priory, Staines, Southwark, "Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300": vol. 1–9, 1968–2003, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.asp?gid=39>.

not anointed in their own cathedrals. Nevertheless, since the fourteenth century, especially in the fifteenth century, a significant rise in the number of permissions for anointment outside their own province (*licentia alibi consecrari*) can be observed.

It seems then that the practice of choosing places of consecration, generally oriented by the law, was determined by a few factors, one of which was the authority of a metropolitan. However, the prestige and will of the monarch and two factors generated by the place itself, such as its religious and political significance and easy access, played also an important role. What all these places generally had in common was that they were important centres from an administrative and religious point of view and most of them were episcopal sees. The right to hold ceremonies of bishops' consecration was reserved to cathedrals, which one can hardly find surprising. It seemed natural then that the most adequate place for ordaining a bishop was a bishop's church (that is in a cathedral). These were most often edifices distinguished by their outstanding dimensions and interiors and it should not be forgotten that ceremonies of consecration were, since at least three hierarchs were obliged to participate, at the minimum gatherings of a considerably bigger number of bishops, higher clergy, not mentioning sovereigns and lay elite of the community.

Against that background the practice observed in thirteenth century Poland seems to be peculiar, worth both notice and an attempt at explanation. Apparently no consecration of a Polish bishop in that century was held in a cathedral.

Till the very end of the twelfth century, there are no reliable sources concerning places of bishops' consecration held on the territory of the province of Gniezno. The only source informing us about this practice in this period is the series of bishop's catalogues by the most eminent historian of medieval Poland, Jan Długosz, written in the second half of the fifteenth century. Its abridged version can be found in his main work *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. He wrote also a separate dissertation *Vitae episcoporum Poloniae* with short biographies of hierarchs of six Polish dioceses belonging to the old metropolis of Gniezno²⁹. A lot of information included in these catalogues

²⁹ Both Długosz's works published in: Joannis Długossi, *Opera omnia*, vols. 1-14, ed. A. Przeździecki, Crocovie 1863-1887. New (almost complete) edition of *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (henceforth: *Annales*), lib.

should be considered as ordinary amplifications of scarce details found by the chronicler in earlier writings. For this reason they are often regarded as speculations based on false assumptions. This was the way Długosz tried to complete with information his own model of his *Vitae*, which, according to Urszula Borkowska, had nine points including the date of consecration³⁰. This model can be slightly broadened since the chronicler was definitely also interested in the place of consecration besides when it happened. Jan Długosz used his model consistently, even for biographies of the completely fictitious bishops which can be found in each catalogue. These were in the first place descriptions of the first, often apocryphal, Polish bishops written by the chronicler for moralizing purposes. The positively idealized ordinaries from earlier times were contrasted with shepherds of dioceses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries whom the author accused of nepotism, simony, accumulation of offices or neglecting their pastoral work³¹.

Długosz's catalogues give also quite a lot of information concerning the thirteenth century. However, it seems that the author, convinced of the subordination of individual dioceses to Gniezno, created simply a catalogue of towns located mainly on the territory of the archbishopric, where the archbishops ordained their suffragans. Besides Gniezno, he mainly mentioned the important religious centres of Great Poland, such as: Łęczyca, Kalisz, Łowicz, Uniejów and Żnin. Długosz was aware that even in his time suffragans from Gniezno were rarely consecrated in the metropolitan see, so he gave a more realistic picture, better fitting Polish conditions. These stories, reflecting the views of the fifteenth century chronicler, can hardly be trusted in details for high incidence of anachronisms and fabrications. However, it should not be forgotten that his works contain information from

1-11/12, ed. Consilium, Varsoviae 1964-2001; new edition of Długosz's *Catalogus episcoporum Cracoviensium, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova* (henceforth: MPH sn), vol. 10, pars 2, Warszawa 1974, pp. 125-281. See also U. Borkowska, *Models of bishops in the XVth century Vitae episcoporum Poloniae by John Długosz*, "Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae", vol. 8. *Colloque de Strasbourg, Septembre 1983 sur l'institution et les pouvoirs dans les Eglises de l'antiquité à nos jours*, ed. Bernard Vogler, Louvain 1987, pp. 148-149.

³⁰ U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, s. 150-151. See also E. Potkowski, *Fiktive Biografien in den Katalogen polnischer Bischöfe des Jan Długosz*, in: *Fälschungen in Mittelalter*, Hannover 1988, pp. 411.

³¹ E. Potkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-416.

sources lost today, so in justified cases, after careful examination, can be quoted as a reference. His descriptions of consecration ceremonies which took place in the fifteenth century can be considered, however, as reliable, especially during the period of Długosz's life (1415–1480).

Till the end of the reign of the Piast dynasty (1370) there was only one province which included (at least from the second half of the twelfth century) seven dioceses (Gniezno and its suffragan bishoprics: Cracow, Lubusz, Płock, Poznań, Włocławek, Wrocław). In the thirteenth century, about 50 prelates were consecrated for this area³². Omitting those few who, for various reasons, were anointed during their stay at the papal court we have information about the consecration of ten Polish ordinaries, which is a good representative sample. Only one of these sources is by Długosz, the remaining nine are reliable documents, chronicles or annals:

Archbishops of Gniezno:

Łęczyca (archbishopric of Gniezno) — 1232, Pełka (Fulco)³³;

Kalisz, Franciscan church (archbishopric of Gniezno) — 1283, Jakub Świnka³⁴.

Bishops of Cracow:

Lelów (diocese of Cracow) — Paweł of Przemykowo, 1267³⁵.

Bishops of Płock:

Kalisz (archbishopric of Gniezno) — 1245, Piotr II the Short³⁶.

Bishops of Poznań:

Mstów (archbishopric of Gniezno) — 1212, Paweł³⁷;

Kozłów Biskupi (diocese of Poznań) — 1253, Piotr³⁸;

³² See the list, J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski*, pp. 225–269.

³³ *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae* (henceforth: *CDPol*), vol. 1–3, ed. L. Ryzyszczewski, A. Muczkowski, I. Bartoszewicz, Varsoviae 1847–1858, vol. 1, N^o 21.

³⁴ *Rocznik kaliski, MPH sn*, vol. 6, ed. B. Kürbis, Warsaw 1962, p. 146: "in domo fratrum".

³⁵ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, in: *MPH sn*, vol. 5, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowska, Warszawa 1978, p. 94.

³⁶ *Annales*, lib. 7, p. 86. The chronicle's information is impossible to verify, the year given is incorrect. In *Vitae episcoporum Plocensium abbreviatae* (henceforth: *VEPloc*), ed. W. Kętrzyński, *MPH*, vol. 6, Kraków 1893, p. 605, his lives of bishops of Płock, saved in the late abridged version, give no details on the place of this consecration.

³⁷ *Codex diplomaticum Majoris Poloniae* (henceforth: *CDMP*), vol. 1, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1877, N^o 588.

³⁸ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, ed. B. Kürbis, in: *MPH sn*, vol. 6, p. 33.



Łąd, Cistercian church (diocese of Poznań) — 1255, Boguchwał of Czerlejno³⁹;

Pyzdry (diocese of Poznań) — 1265, Falenta⁴⁰.

Łąd (diocese of Poznań), Cistercian church — 1286, Jan Gerbic (the son of Gerward?)⁴¹

Bishops of Wrocław:

Strzelno, Premonstratensian church (diocese of Wrocław) — 1284, Wisław⁴².

³⁹ *Chronica Poloniae Maioris* (henceforth: *ChPM*), ed. B. Kürbis, in: *MPH sn*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1970, p. 102: *in ecclesia Landensi*, so in the Cistercian church.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

⁴¹ *CDMP*, vol. 1, № 564. The document was exhibited *in domo monachorum*.

⁴² *Rocznik kaliski*, p. 146: *in claustrum Strelnensi*.

There is no information concerning the consecration of bishops of Lubusz (Lebus) for this period. There is also no reliable source on ordaining the hierarchs of Wrocław. Only Jan Długosz's catalogue contains a lot of details on this issue. According to the canon of Cracow till the end of the thirteenth century the ordinaries of Wrocław were anointed only on the territory of the archbishopric of Gniezno, most often in the principal see (in the cathedral) or in Kalisz⁴³. Until the first half of the fourteenth century the fabricated places of consecration of ordinaries of Wrocław should be considered an expression of the author's belief that *ecclesia Wratislaviensis Gneznensem provinciam iure metropolitano subiecta est*⁴⁴. The only one that seems to be interesting is the description of consecration of the bishop Wawrzyniec who was said to have been anointed a bishop in the Benedictine nuns' convent in Ołobok near Kalisz⁴⁵. However, also this source cannot be accepted. The reason is the chronological inconsistency in the first place. Wawrzyniec was anointed with sacred oil definitely in October 1207, and the recent studies, as a matter of fact confirming earlier findings, set the date of the convent's foundation in Ołobok in the years 1211–1213⁴⁶.

⁴³ Jan Długosz, *Vita episcoporum Poloniae* (henceforth: *VEP*), in: *idem, Opera omnia*, vol. 1, ed. I. Połkowski, Ż. Pauli, Cracoviae 1887, pp. 445–447, 450–454, 457–458, 464.

⁴⁴ Długosz wrote that the bishop of Wrocław, Henryk of Wierzbno, was anointed in Uniejów (*VEP*, s. 465). Whereas the document signed by that bishop on Monday, March 19, mentions that he celebrated his first mass as a bishop on that day in Wrocław cathedral. This would usually happen on the occasion of enthronization, which often took place at some — frequently considerable — space of time after consecration. However, the presence of the metropolitan Jacob and his two suffragans of Włocławek and Lubusz could suggest unequivocally that the day before they anointed Henry a bishop, see: *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte, Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 16, ed. C. Grunhagen, C. Wutke, Breslau 1892, N^o 2704.

⁴⁵ *VEP*, p. 460; *Annales*, lib. 6, p. 203.

⁴⁶ Recently G. Kucharski, *Początki klasztoru Cystersów w Ołoboku (The Origins of Cistercian Convent in Ołobok)*, in: *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej. 900 lat Zakonu Cystersów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze OO Cystersów w Krakowie-Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Cystersów*, ed. A. M. Wyrwa, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 316–331; W. Baran-Kozłowski, *Wokół początków fundacji klasztoru Cystersów w Ołoboku (Around the Origins of Foundation of Cistercian Convent in Ołobok)*, "Nasza Przeszłość", vol. 102, 2004, pp. 449–460. The proposition of the latter author, *Arcybiskup gnieźnieński Henryk Kietlicz (1199–1219). Działalność kościelna i polityczna (Archbishop of Gniezno Henryk Kietlicz. Ecclesiastical and Political Activity)*, Poznań 2005, pp. 129, 167–170, that it could be Ołobok near Świebodzin in the Poznań dioceses cannot be accepted.

If we compare the number of ordinaries in the then province of Gniezno with the law which required the presence of the archbishop alongside at least two other bishops (preferably archbishop's suffragans) at the consecration ceremony then each such event could be treated as a gathering of the majority of the Polish episcopate. The sources, perhaps not too extensively, though to a satisfying degree, confirm that these regulations were generally not only followed but that usually even more bishops would come to this exceptionally solemn liturgy. In Poland these were often gatherings of the whole, or nearly whole, episcopate. The bishops would come in the company of their courts. Feasts were held and merry parties were organized for this occasion⁴⁷. Lay sovereigns also took part in these celebrations. If there is anything that clearly differentiated Polish practices from others this is the choice of the place of consecration. Why were they held outside bishops' churches? Why did not they take place in metropolitan Gniezno? The answer should be, in my opinion, looked for in the travel conditions of those times.

What should be realised in the first place is the diversity in size of bishoprics in medieval Europe⁴⁸. Alongside very small ones, having just a few or several square kilometres, located on the southern side of the Alps, there were much bigger bishoprics in the countries situated on the northern side, which had territories of several tens of thousands of square kilometres. Six Polish dioceses (excluding the small one of Lubusz) can be regarded, alongside German Konstanz, English Lincoln or York, Scandinavian, Czech and Hungarian bishoprics, as the biggest in the continent⁴⁹.

Taking a closer look at the list of locations which, according to the sources, hosted the ceremonies of consecration of Polish bishops in the thirteenth century, it can be easily noticed that they were concentrated in the central part of the Polish territory. Some of them (Kalisz, Łąd, Łęczyca, Mstów) were located in the archbishopric of Gniezno. Two of them, Łęczyca and Kalisz, places

⁴⁷ Like in Lent of 1267 at the time of the consecration of the bishop of Cracow, Paul, see footnote 35 above.

⁴⁸ C. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 219; K. Pennington, *Bishops and their Dioceses*, <http://faculty.cua.edu/pennington/BishopsDioceses.htm>.

⁴⁹ J. Szymański, *Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcje (Polish Bishoprics in the Middle Ages. Organization and Functions)*, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1. *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1968, p. 180.

of consecration of archbishops, deserve more attention. Both were the seats of dukes and both had churches with monasteries or canon congregations, suitable for the ceremony⁵⁰. Both were located close to archbishops' residences found mainly in the centre of Poland in the regions of Kalisz, Łęczyca and Sieradz⁵¹. In Kalisz the archbishops owned a residence⁵².

It can be assumed that the bishops' consecration ceremonies, which should be attended by all suffragans, were not held in Gniezno due to the peripheral location of the archiepiscopal see. For the same reasons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provincial synods were summoned in Łęczyca or towns nearby which were more easily accessible for ordinaries. This was to ensure good attendance and to prevent suffragans' complaints that they were summoned to places too distant⁵³. When Gniezno was chosen a place for the synod's meetings at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though it was in conformity with the synod's statutes of the legate Philip of Fermo from 1279, it significantly worsened the ease of travel within the group of Polish episcopate⁵⁴. For this reason, subsequent metropolitan synods were held again in central Poland in Uniejowo, Kalisz, Łęczyca and Piotrków⁵⁵. Mstów and Łąd, listed among places of bishops' consecration functioned quite differently. In the thirteenth century in the first of these locations there was a monastery of regular canons⁵⁶, the other one, already in the twelfth century,

⁵⁰ See (in reference to Kalisz): *Dzieje Kalisza (History of Kalisz)*, ed. W. Rusiński, Poznań 1979, p. 44ff; G. Kucharski, *Początki zakonu franciszkanów w Kaliszu w XIII wieku (The Origins of Minorites in Kalisz in the 13th Cent.)*, "Rocznik Kaliski", 1996/1997, p. 27ff; M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Św. Paweł na grodzie kaliskim (St. Paul in the Kalisz Castle)*, in: *Kościół. Kultura. Społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, ed. S. Bylina et al., Warszawa 2000, pp. 77–85. In reference to Łęczyca e.g.: S. Zajaczkowski, *Początki kolegiaty łęczyckiej. Przyczynek do dziejów osadnictwa ziemi łęczyckiej (The Origins of Collegiate Church in Łęczyca)*, "Roczniki Historyczne", vol. 24, 1958, pp. 145–176; *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich (Lexicon antiquitatum Slavicarum)*, vol. 3, 1967, pp. 116–119.

⁵¹ J. Warężak, *Rozwój uposażenia arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego w średniowieczu (The Development of Manors of the Archbishopric of Gniezno in the Middle Ages)*, Lwów 1929, pp. 12–13, 23–31.

⁵² *Kronika Jana z Czarnkowa (Chronicle of Jan of Czarnków — henceforth: KJC)*, ed. J. Szlachetowski, MPH, vol. 2, Lwów 1872, p. 672.

⁵³ CDPol, vol. 3, N° 9.

⁵⁴ J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski*, pp. 122–123.

⁵⁵ I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich (Provincial Synods of Archbishops of Gniezno)*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 57ff.

was chosen by the Cistercians. The abbey in Łąd played an important role in the political and cultural life of Great Poland at the time⁵⁷. In both places there were conditions for a comfortable visit of the participants of the ceremony, there was also a suitable church.

There is no doubt that travelling *causa visitationis* was an important part of the metropolitan function of the archbishops of Gniezno. In the thirteenth century the territory of the archbishopric of Gniezno covered the strip of land about half a thousand kilometres long from the sea shore almost up to Kielce. Visiting such an area required strong determination, good health and organizational skills; especially since the bishops were expected to visit not only their own diocese but the whole province. In the thirteenth century, when the state was divided, the archbishop of Gniezno was the only one who visited all the Polish territory⁵⁸. We cannot, however, reconstruct the routes of these travels. We can though, realize the scale of difficulties and problems that accompanied these journeys. It should be also remembered that the tours depended on the movable dates of the ecclesiastical calendar and associated with them canon law regulations regarding the times of residence at the cathedral. The tours had also an economic dimension and were connected with the necessity of using the production surpluses stored in different centres of the territorial domain of the Church of Gniezno. These different centres gradually became the places of residence of archbishops so that in the late Middle Ages the metropolitans seldom resided in the principal see⁵⁹.

If we take a look at other localities situated outside the archbishopric we can notice that they all were located in the area of an ordained hierarch but close to the border with the arch-

⁵⁶ P. Dettloff, *Kościół kanoników regularnych laterańskich w Mstowie (Lateran Canons' Church in Mstów)*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 43, 1998, № 4, p. 291.

⁵⁷ *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, vol. 2, ed. A. Wyrwa, J. Strzelczyk, K. Kaczmarek, Poznań 1999, particularly pp. 189–192, 194.

⁵⁸ A. Gąsiorowski, *Gniezno monarsze i Gniezno biskupie w średniowieczu. Problem rezydowania (Royal Gniezno and Episcopal Gniezno in the Middle Ages)*, in: *1000 lat archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Górny, Gniezno 2000, pp. 152–153; J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski*, pp. 146, 185–186.

⁵⁹ A. Gąsiorowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy w Polsce pierwszych Jagiellonów (Archbishops of Gniezno in the Period of First Jagiellonian Rulers)*, "Roczniki Historyczne", vol. 59, 1993, pp. 99, 103; *idem*, *Gniezno monarsze*, p. 152.

diocese of Gniezno. Some of them were near the archbishop's dominions, like Kozłów Biskupi which was situated close to the metropolitan's residence in a castellan's district of Łowicz in Mazovia⁶⁰, whereas Strzelno was near Gniezno itself. Pyzdry, on the other hand, lay on the shortest route to the properties of the Church of Gniezno in the Kalisz region.

In this period of our interest, the archbishops of Gniezno anointed their suffragan bishops in person⁶¹. In this way they jealously guarded their metropolitan rights both for their own prestigious position in the Church and the all-Poland significance of their office. It is easy to notice that the places of bishops' consecration on the one hand were planned to fit the archbishop's scheduled tours and on the other to make it possible for suffragan bishops, essential at these events, to come to the ceremonies.

This correlation between the place of consecration and the archbishop's itinerary is particularly well seen in two examples. As we know the bishop of Poznań, Piotr, was ordained a bishop in Kozłów Biskupi in Mazovia in late autumn of 1253, probably in November⁶². Several years later, in the autumn of 1324, one of the subsequent bishops of Poznań, Jan Doliwa, was ordained in Sochaczew. These two places were a few kilometres away from each other. As a matter of fact, according to a document produced soon afterwards, the bishops who had participated in the solemn liturgy went later to Kozłów Biskupi⁶³. In both cases described here the ordinaries of Poznań in order to get anointed had to go on a long journey to the place situated far away not only from Poznań but also from Gniezno. On the way to this part of their diocese located in Mazovia, however, they could visit their properties. Kozłów also belonged to the mensa of bishops of Poznań from

⁶⁰ J. Warężak, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶¹ Certain grounds exist for believing that in the thirteenth century the bishop of Cracow, Jan Muskata was the only one to get anointed by a different consecrator than the archbishop of Gniezno, however, doubtless, with his full approval, J. Maciejewski, *Czas i okoliczności objęcia rządów przez biskupa krakowskiego Jana Muskata (Time and Circumstances of the Beginning of John Muskata's Pontificate)*, "Studia Historyczne", vol. 43, 2000, N° 2, pp. 324–325.

⁶² At that time the metropolitan consecrated also the first bishop of Lithuania, a Dominican Wit, *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej (Annal of the Poznań Chapter)*, p. 33.

⁶³ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława (Diplomatic Code of St. Venceslaus Cathedral in Cracow)*, part 1, pub. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1874, N° 131.

the second half of the thirteenth century⁶⁴ and probably in both cases the guests were entertained to a solemn feast, as happened in 1267 in Lelów, when the hierarch of Cracow, Paweł of Przemykowo was consecrated.

The other case was connected with Falenta's appointment to the bishopric of Poznań in 1265. The chapter of Poznań chose their provost Pietrzyk a bishop on January 25 that year. The bishop-elect went to Żnin, where at that time the archbishop was residing, to obtain his approval. He did not receive it due to his poor education and relinquished his rights to the benefit of the duke's candidate — Falenta. The canons of Poznań gathered again because they did not like this candidature. The new bishop-elect, until then archdeacon of Poznań Jan, at the end of February found the archbishop in Gniezno. The archbishop refused again however. Apparently the metropolitan soon afterwards went to the south of his diocese since the consecration ceremony, which required the presence of at least two other bishops, took place in Pyzdry, the location, which, for the majority of the participants, was nearer than Gniezno⁶⁵. Apart from that it was located on the way to the archbishop's properties in the Kalisz region. It seems then that the metropolitan functions kept the archbishop constantly on the move and this reminds us of the complaints of the bishop of Wrocław, Henryk of Wierzbno, who tried to explain himself he could not appear before the archbishop because *dominus Archiepiscopus per suam dioc(esim) frequenter habeat diversis ex causis hinc inde pertransire, sic quod eius mansio ab ignotis si non exprimitur ignoratur*⁶⁶.

As long as an archbishop ordained his suffragan bishops in person it was he who chose the place suitable for a ceremony requiring the presence of at least a few members of the episcopate. Generally these were places situated in the central or southern part of the archbishopric, which could be considered as important centres of religious and church life. The situation was different when the metropolitan for some reasons agreed to move

⁶⁴ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 25; *ChPM*, p. 93; *Nowy kodeks dyplomatyczny Mazowsza*, (*The New Masovian Diplomatic Code*), part 2, pub. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Wrocław — Warszawa — Kraków — Gdańsk — Łódź 1989, N° 101.

⁶⁵ Description of these events, *ChPM*, pp. 118–119.

⁶⁶ *Das Formelbuch des Domherrn Arnold von Protzan*, hrsg. W. Wattenbach, *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 5, Breslau 1862, N° 128, p. 112.

the consecration ceremony to the diocese of the ordained bishop-elect. Then, for similar reasons connected with transport and travel, places close to the border were selected, however, it was unavoidable that these were locations of less significance. On the other hand they provided the dukes' protection and hospitality. This was the case in 1265 in Pyzdry, when the duke and duchess's protégé was anointed a bishop and since the bishop-elect's person aroused strong emotions in the local church community closely connected with the wealthy elite of the knighthood, the duke's protection was most advisable.

Another example is when the episcopate was hosted by the duke of Cracow, Boleslaus the Shy in 1267 in Lelów when his former chancellor was anointed a bishop⁶⁷. Even though it was Lent, a great feast with dances was held⁶⁸. It is possible the dukes graced the celebrations with their presence and their court. It is hard to verify whether it was a common practice and whether these guests were always welcomed. It seems even that the celebrations went well enough without their presence. What favoured this situation was the fact that the ceremonies were held outside the episcopal sees, which usually (Włocławek and Lubusz, later Górzycza were the exceptions), were also the seats of dukes. Even if the dukes' presence added glamour to the event, the dukes' opinion on the matter of place and time of the ceremony generally was not taken into consideration. This can be well illustrated with the example from 1283 when Jakub II Świnka was anointed with sacred oil on December 19 in Kalisz. The Duke of Great Poland Przemysł II four days earlier had buried his wife who had died in mysterious circumstances. Ludgarda, the duchess, died, according to K. J a s i ń s k i, between the 11th and 13th of December, the funeral must have taken place on the

⁶⁷ J. Wyrozumski, *Paweł z Przemankowa, biskup krakowski* (Paul of Przemankowo, Bishop of Cracow), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (henceforth: PSB), vol. 25, 1980, p. 391. Lelów belonged to the duke and in the thirteenth century it was a fortified location, often destroyed. The first mention of a parish priest in 1326 suggests there might have been a parish church already in the thirteenth century, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* (Historico-Geographical Dictionary of the Cracow Region in the Middle Ages), vol. 5, part 3 (Kraków 2003), p. 523.

⁶⁸ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, 94. It must have been believed that the consecration ceremony at which the bishop married his diocesan church justified the great joy. One can refer here to the *Gospel of St. Luke* (V, 34) and ask whether you can "make the guests of the bridegroom fast, while he is with them", J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski*, p. 212.

15th and straight afterwards Przemysł went to Kalisz *quantocius* to take part in the consecration ceremonies and to hand the archbishop a precious ring commemorating this special occasion⁶⁹. The rush was indeed advisable since Kalisz is about 100 kilometres to the south east of Gniezno. Normally at that time it would take the duke's court and bishops three days. Whereas the celebrations were to start already on Saturday (December 18) since the bishop-elect Jakub was ordained a priest. The rush could have been dictated by the duke's desire to win favour with the metropolitan since according to general opinion the duchess Ludgarda was murdered on the orders of the duke. It is also possible that the duke regarded his presence at the consecration ceremony as logical part of his program of the unification of Polish regions. Moreover, in this case it was the all-Poland metropolitan that made it so significant. Przemysł was also present in Łąd in 1286 at the consecration ceremony of the bishop of Poznań, Jan Gerbic.

As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century there were the first historically documented consecrations which were held in cathedrals of the ordained bishop-elects⁷⁰. Except Henryk of Wierzbno (1302) and Florian of Kościelec (1318), and in a way also Gerward of Ostrowo (1301) the following bishops were consecrated in their own cathedrals: Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1423) in Cracow⁷¹, Piotr Nowak (1447) and Jodok of Rožemberk (1457)

⁶⁹ *Rocznik kaliski*, p. 146; K. Jasiński, *Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich. Potomstwo Władysława Odonica (Genealogy of the Piasts of Great Poland. Władysław Odonic's Offspring)*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1995, № 2, p. 55.

⁷⁰ The events meant here are two consecrations of Henryk of Wierzbno in Wrocław from 1302 and Florian of Kościelec in Płock from 1318. The available evidence, however, that these two ceremonies were held in a cathedral, though strong, is indirect, see footnote 44 above and S. M. Szacherska, *Z dziejów kancelarii książąt kujawskich w XIII w. (From the History of Chancery of Princes of Mazovia in the 13th Cent.)*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", vol. 5, 1960, pp. 19–20. The consecration of Gerward of Ostrowo, which was held in Kruszwica collegiate church (the diocese of Wrocław) in 1301 can be, to certain extent, taken into consideration on account of its association with the cathedral chapter of Włocławek as a sister corporation in the thirteenth century. It was a reminiscence of the actual residence of the bishop and chapter in Kruszwica at the dawn of the diocese of Włocławek, *idem, Działalność kościelna Gerwarda z Ostrowa, biskupa włocławskiego w latach 1300–1323 (The Ecclesiastical Activity of Gerward of Ostrowo, Bishop of Włocławek 1300–1323)*, Bydgoszcz 1996, p. 19.

⁷¹ *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej (The Calendar of the Cracow Cathedral)*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, MPH sn, vol. 5, Warszawa 1978, p. 193; *Katalogi biskupów krakowskich (henceforth: KBK)*, MPH sn, vol. 10, part 2, ed. J.zymański, Warszawa 1974, p. 216.

in Wrocław⁷², Uriel of Górką (1479) in Poznań⁷³, the bishop of Lubusz, Piotr (1437), in Fürstenwalde, the capital of the diocese at the time⁷⁴, also the archbishops of Gniezno, Wincenty Kot (1437) and Jan of Sprowa (1453)⁷⁵. Whereas the following bishops were consecrated in a strange cathedral: the bishop of Płock, Paweł Giżycki (1439) in Cracow⁷⁶ while the ordinary of Cracow, Zawisza of Kurozwęki (1380) in Esztergom in Hungary⁷⁷. Next the hierarch of Płock, Stanisław Pawłowski of Gniatowo (1425) is believed to have been anointed in Gniezno⁷⁸. Altogether in the years 1301–1480 (including Gerward's ceremony in the former cathedral church in Kruszwica) there were ten ceremonies held in the elects' cathedrals and four others that took place in other episcopal sees (one of which was outside the province borders).

Apparently it was still the case that the metropolitans consecrated bishops in the old way in central Poland if they happened to be residing in their properties in the area⁷⁹. However, it

⁷² *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fuerstenthueemer im Mittelalter*, hrsg. C. Gruenhagen, H. Markgraf, vols. 1–2, Leipzig 1881–1883, N^o 68. *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich* (henceforth: KBW), ed. W. Kętrzyński, MPH, vol. 6 (Kraków 1893), pp. 582–583; K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi pomocniczy w diecezjach polskich w dobie przedtrydenckiej (Auxiliary Bishops in Polish Dioceses before the Council of Trent)*, Kraków 2002, pp. 197, 242–244, 248. ⁷³ VEP, p. 513.

⁷⁴ *Annales*, lib. 11/12, p. 176; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu (Organization of the Diocese of Lebus in the Middle Ages)*, "Studia Kościelnohistoryczne", vol. 1, Lublin 1977, pp. 56, 64.

⁷⁵ *Annales*, lib. 11/12, p. 170; VEP, p. 372, 375; K. R. Prokop, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy w tysiącleciu (Archbishops of Gniezno through Millenium)*, Kraków 2000, pp. 127, 135.

⁷⁶ *Annales*, lib. 11/12, p. 211; VEPloc, pp. 610–611; P. Chojnacki, *Biskup płocki Paweł Giżycki (1439–1463) i jego działalność (Paweł Giżycki, Bishop of Płock and His Activity)*, "Fasciculi Historici Novi", vol. 4, *Z biografistyki Polski późnego średniowiecza (Polish Late Medieval Biographics)*, ed. M. Koczerska, Warszawa 2001, p. 100.

⁷⁷ KBK, pp. 68, 103, 116, 202; KJC, p. 711.

⁷⁸ VEPloc, p. 610. This is the opinion of T. Żebrowski, *Pawłowski Stanisław*, PSB, vol. 25, 1980, p. 511. However, G. Lichończak–Nurek, *Wojciech herbu Jastrzębiec. Arcybiskup i mąż stanu (ok. 1362–1436) (Wojciech Jastrzębiec, Archbishop and Statesman, 1362–1436)*, Kraków 1996, p. 188 gives credence to the information given by Długosz (*Annales*, lib. 11, p. 213) about the consecration in *ecclesia Plocensī*. One way or the other, the ceremony was held in a cathedral.

⁷⁹ The consecrations of the following bishops can be listed here: the bishop of Cracow, Nanker (1320) in Łęczycza, KBK, p. 187; the bishop of Włocławek, Władysław of Oporowo in the same town, in a Dominican church, VEP, p. 538; G. Lichończak–Nurek, *op. cit.*, p. 188; the bishops of Poznań, Jan Doliwa of Sochaczewo (1324), see footnote 63 above, and Andrzej of Bnin (1439) in Kalisz, VEP, s. 511; *Annales*, lib. 11/12, pp. 198–199.

becomes clear that late consecration ceremonies started moving first to cathedrals, and then away from Gniezno not only literally in a geographical sense⁸⁰ but also through the fact that the metropolitan quite often did not lead the liturgy reserving himself only for the right of confirmation⁸¹.

Polish practice of holding bishops' consecration in churches other than bishops' cathedrals seems then to be characteristic of the period of the divided Kingdom, meaning, broadly understood, the thirteenth century. Preliminary observations presented here, requiring further careful verification, concerning the two subsequent centuries indicate the formation of two new tendencies in this regard. To some extent they were caused by political changes. The reborn Polish monarchy at the beginning of the fourteenth century did not include all the Piast territory, so that two episcopal sees (Wrocław and Lubusz) permanently and one (Płock) temporarily were located outside the state's borders. This weakened the church relations of these regions with Gniezno. What favoured this situation was also the political commitment of many bishops and re-involvement of the episcopate in the public state service⁸². In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

⁸⁰ Besides the ceremonies which were held in the elects' cathedrals the consecrations of the following bishops are worth mentioning: 1) bishop of Płock, Ścibor of Gościeszycy in Pułtusk in Mazovia (1464), *VEPłoc*, p. 611, K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi pomocniczy*, p. 278.; 2) hierarch of Wrocław, Konrad, duke of Oleśnica, in Otmuchów in Silesia (1418), *KBW*, p. 581; *VEP*, p. 472. 3) bishop of Poznań, Stanisław Ciołek, deputy chancellor of the crown. Probably for the reason that he was preoccupied with his services at the royal court, he was consecrated in the Franciscan church in Nowy Korczyn in 1428 by the bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, *VEP*, p. 509; *Annales*, lib. 11, p. 240; Z. Kowalska, *Stanisław Ciołek († 1437), podkanclerzy królewski, biskup poznański, poeta dworski (Stanisław Ciołek, Royal Chancellor, Bishop of Poznań, Poet at the Court)*, Kraków 1993, p. 71.

⁸¹ The bishop of Cracow, Zawisza of Kurozweki, approved first by his metropolitan, was ordained by the archbishop of Esztergom, see footnote 77 above. One of his successors, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, was consecrated by the metropolitan of Lvov, see footnote 71 above. The hierarch of Wrocław, Jodok of Rožemberk, was anointed by the bishop of Meissen, *KBW*, p. 583, the prelate of Poznań, Stanisław Ciołek, was consecrated by Zbigniew Oleśnicki, mentioned earlier, *VEP*, p. 509. The bishop of Lubusz, Piotr of Burgsdorf, was anointed a bishop by the hierarch of Brandenburg, Stefan, since the metropolitan of Gniezno, Wincenty Kot, had not been consecrated yet and did not have the *pallium*. After Piotr's death the archbishop Wincenty, still remaining only the elect, approved the hierarch of Lubusz, Konrad Krone and instructed him to get anointed by a bishop who would be accompanied by at least two other prelates, as canon law obliged; A. Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁸² A. Gąsiorowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnierścisci*, pp. 97-99; J. Kurtyka, *Odrodzone królestwo. Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świet-*

the position of the archbishops of Gniezno weakened in the subordinate suffragan bishoprics. It was the Polish monarch who started to play a dominant role in the process of installing bishops and the metropolitans began to have problems with exercising their visitation rights⁸³. Another issue was the structural growth of the Church which could be observed in Poland in the late Middle Ages. It forced the diocesan ordinaries to seek delegates to represent them. Polish bishops were not able to follow the orders of canon law announced at the synod in Wrocław in 1248 obliging them to reside at the cathedral in Advent and Lent⁸⁴. For this reason from the second half of the thirteenth century titular episcopate had begun to be more and more common. Those titular bishops, who helped the ordinary of the diocese, took part, sometimes as the main consecrators, in bishops' consecration ceremonies⁸⁵.

Our discussion can be summed up as follows. In the medieval Roman Church the dominant practice was to consecrate bishop-elects in the capital of the ecclesiastical province, in a cathedral. There are no reliable sources concerning the places of bishops' consecration in Poland before the beginning of the thirteenth century. In this century the archbishops of Gniezno anointed their suffragan bishops outside the cathedral churches. The ceremonies were held in different places, usually important religious and administrative centres, situated in central Poland. They were located in the territory of the archdiocese of Gniezno (usually close to the archbishop's estates) or very near its borders in the territory of the bishop-elect's diocese. The reason for preserving this practice was the peripheral location of Gniezno in comparison to other episcopal sees and the necessity to com-

le najnowszych badań (Restored Kingdom. The Monarchy of Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great in the Light of New Studies), Kraków 2001, pp. 105–107; M. Koczerska, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–120.

⁸³ A. Gąsiorowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnierscy*, p. 100.

⁸⁴ J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski*, pp. 182–184, 207–208; I. Skierska, *Obowiązek mszalny w średniowiecznej Polsce (Mass Obligation in Medieval Poland)*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 125–127.

⁸⁵ The following bishops were consecrated by titular bishops: 1) Piotr Nowak of Wrocław (1447), *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens*, N° 68; KBW, p. 582; K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi pomocniczy*, p. 244; 2) Ścibor of Gościeszycze, bishop of Płock (1464), see footnote 80 above. Also the bishop of Wrocław, Jodok, was consecrated in the presence of two auxiliary bishops of Wrocław, K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi pomocniczy*, pp. 243, 248.

promise between the archbishops' struggle to maintain their own prestigious position and the travel conditions for all of the episcopate of the time. However, preliminary analyses of customs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicate that in this period a solemn liturgy to celebrate consecration was held in the bishop-elects' cathedrals and the archbishops of Gniezno less often participated in anointing their suffragans than in the earlier period.