

NEGOTIATIONS OF POWER IN A MEDIEVAL SOCIETY: ECCLESIASTICAL  
AUTHORITY AND SECULAR RULERSHIP IN LITTLE POLAND, 1177-1320

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2008

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September 17, 2008

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## Abstract

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AUTHORITY AND SECULAR RULERSHIP IN LITTLE POLAND, 1177-1320

by

Sebastian Bartos

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This dissertation reconstructs the strategic aims and tactical methods of negotiating power by episcopal leaders of the Polish bishopric of Krakow between 1177 and 1320. It explains the mechanism of securing ecclesiastical privileges in an era of emerging regional lordships and provincial centers of authority. The interdependence of ecclesiastical and secular instruments of episcopal power forced the bishops to constantly negotiate their status with three agents of public power: territorial secular rulers, episcopal peers and the papacy.

The dissertation demonstrates that the unique methods of securing power by the bishops of Krakow were the product of a particular combination of local circumstances and general pan-European currents that affected Krakow's status in the hierarchy of

public power. These included competition within the Polish episcopal hierarchy, the influx of ecclesiastical reforms favoring papal centralization, dynamic economic expansion and the gradual transfer of the attributes of public authority to ecclesiastical courts during unstable ducal rulership. The bishopric's major objective in public discourse was the appropriation of effective instruments of enforcing power in both the ecclesiastical and secular dimensions.

In the course of exercising decisive leadership, the bishops of Krakow defended the elevated status of their see by obtaining concrete juridical rights and stressing religious patronage. Despite ideological pressure to confront lay leaders over ecclesiastical liberties, the bishopric favored a strong and stable secular authority. The recognition of the bishopric as a reliable ally by competing dukes led to the rise of the see's incipient military force. The bishops were able to exercise seigneurial powers in select districts, but these were never consolidated into a large sovereign territory.

The study illuminates the mechanisms of negotiating power between leading institutional authorities during the High Middle Ages, as well as the rise of privileged churches on the eastern fringes of Latin Europe despite their failure to create episcopal principalities. It also traces the distinct course of power relations in a large Polish province and demonstrates how the practical implementations of the ideas of the liberated church and clerical leadership depended on specific local circumstances and the personal qualities of individual bishops.

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**Introduction: Negotiations of Power in a Medieval Society: Ecclesiastical Authority  
and Secular Rulership in Little Poland, 1177-1320**

The structure and manifestations of power in a medieval society found paramount expressions in the dynamically changing relations between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Their practical ability to rule Christian communities often determined the nature of public discourse between these two traditional piers of Christian government. Ideological controversies, including theories of secular kingship and clerical prerogatives, played only a partial role in negotiations of exclusive rights to execute justice, tax local populations and build military forces sufficient to ensure liberty in political decisions. The bishops of major sees associated with secular authority demonstrated the qualities of effective local leaders while consistently emphasizing the elevated status of their bishopric within the church hierarchy. The competition for prestige in episcopal precedence was intertwined with the practical status of the bishops in the secular realm. The primacy of a bishopric in a church province provided additional arguments for its leadership in all local affairs. The splendor of the cathedral town as a center of ducal or royal power easily surpassed that of a see located in a secondary settlement beyond major political currents. The prestige of the bishopric in secular and ecclesiastical affairs underpinned bishops' practical abilities to manage, control and protect their dioceses, especially those estates that formally constituted ecclesiastical property. Participation in negotiations of power required from church leaders the complex ability to skillfully manipulate *sacrum* as well as *profanum*.

The authority of the bishops rested on a combination of theoretical and practical rights to govern Christian society. The intrusion of Gregorian ideals into the sphere of power relations between laity and the clergy placed the former under public pressure to allow greater ecclesiastical liberties. Nonetheless, despite frequent support from the papacy and sympathizing lay leaders, the bishops were forced to rely on their own skills and resources to assure the prominence of their sees as crucial centers of paramount power. It would be a mistake to overestimate the direct impact of the reformist and centralizing tendencies within the papal church, especially under Innocent III, in explaining the rise of confident episcopal authority during the High Middle Ages. Each bishopric encountered specific challenges in the course of securing and enhancing its prime position within the hierarchical church and state structures.

In the Polish duchies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries bishops were confronted with the decentralization of secular authority and political instability, conflicts and competition within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the rise of a market economy. The episcopal authorities struggled to acquire the practical means of exercising power and prevent the collapse of public order. Strong, pious and generous dukes were beneficial for religious institutions, but unenthusiastic about unrestricted ecclesiastical liberty within their realms. The concerns about power over specific categories of property and people coincided with conflicts over the territorial extension of exclusive power. The bishops negotiated access to secular patronage and minimized the danger of lay interference within ecclesiastical institutions. They also competed against each other for prestige by using the means that membership in the universal church and the institutional framework of their secular states offered them. The dominant religious practices and

ideological currents, such as the cult of saints and the idea of clerical supremacy within Christian society, had to be manipulated to produce tangible political gains and strengthen the position of the bishoprics in regional power-structures. Substantial resources in land and revenues allowed them to manipulate migration, land clearing and trade to their own advantage. None of these problems was unknown in other parts of Latin Europe. But the case of medieval Poland offers insight into unique methods of neutralizing or utilizing them to the advantage of a particular bishopric. The personal skills of ecclesiastical leaders and the particular political, ideological and economic circumstances in a given diocese determined the choice and effectiveness of those methods.

#### **A. Episcopal Power in Early Medieval Krakow and Objectives of the Study**

In the early twelfth century, the gradual decline of central authority in Poland anticipated the rise of regional centers of power. The bishops, as leading public figures in the province of Little Poland, supported by the institution of the hierarchical church and often by their own family associations, fully participated in the process of redefining power relations on the ruins of the former Polish kingdom ruled by the Piast dynasty. The lack of a solid territorial base and initial full dependence on the laity for material possessions were considerable disadvantages the bishops had to manage during the first decades of their assertive policies towards secular rulers. The formation of sovereign church structures and territorial lordships was often haphazard, slow, and uneven, demonstrating the increasingly unstable nature of local authority. During the rise of

regional duchies the local lords, secular and ecclesiastical, encountered suitable opportunities to mark their presence in the provincial power relations.

Provincial centers of secular power sprang into existence after the collapse of the institution of seniority, theoretically guaranteeing the unity of a state that had been divided among the sons of Duke Bolesław Krzywousty around the year 1138. The Duchy of Krakow in southwestern Little Poland became the core of the principal duchy of the realm, ruled by the oldest member of the entire Piast dynasty. The institution of dynastic seniority appeared untenable as soon as the barons of Little Poland were able to manipulate accession to the provincial throne. A critical event took place in 1177 when the local barons, including the bishop, elevated Bolesław's youngest son, Kazimierz the Just, to the ducal office despite the legitimate claims of senior members of the ruling dynasty. In exchange, the young duke issued certain important privileges for the bishopric of Krakow, setting the stage for future political developments in Little Poland. Krakow continued to be the object of violent struggle and diplomatic maneuvers among the branches of the Piast dynasty. Baronial families and church officials were frequently key participants in those conflicts. The two were closely interrelated, thus making the existing political situation even more fluid and complex. While the province of Little Poland, occasionally subdivided into the Duchy of Krakow and the Duchy of Sandomierz, formally preserved its territorial integrity, primarily due to decades of dynastic continuity and regional wealth, other areas of the former Polish kingdom saw progressive disintegration. By the late thirteenth century the expansion of the Piast dynasty led to rapid partitioning, especially in Silesia, west of Little Poland.

The bishops of Krakow, whose diocesan territory largely coincided with Little Poland, were compelled to reckon with specific local circumstances in order to obtain maximum profit from internal disputes and conflicts of interest among nobles and the Piast competitors to the ducal rulership in Krakow. The control of Little Poland continued to be the object of diplomatic and military struggle. All Piasts wanted to establish their rule in the capital of the province, but none was prepared to submit to the rule of its duke. For many ambitious dukes control of Krakow offered not only economic rewards drawn from populous regions, internal colonization and a market economy, but also a political stamp of supreme authority among other Polish rulers (*duces Poloniae*). The practically elective character of the ducal throne ensured that the local secular elite would manipulate political and economic relations to their own particular interests and thus threatened the duchy with permanent decentralization. In contrast, the bishopric was disadvantaged by feeble ducal authority and opted for a partnership with confident and able dukes. Such an approach gave the bishopric a legitimate patron and superior status of the see, because the legacy of a unified monarchy that had emphasized the primacy of Little Poland, especially Krakow, as a royal center of power and prestige never ceased to appeal to the Piast rulers. Not coincidentally the permanent revival of the Polish monarchy in 1320 took place in Krakow, with the coronation of Władysław Łokietek by Archbishop Janisław.

The baronial background of many prelates often placed bishops in the complex double role of ecclesiastical agents and aristocratic leaders, forced to maneuver and negotiate among various interest groups. Within the framework of the hierarchical church the bishops' authority was forced to transcend the abstract ideological principles of

clerical supremacy. The practical power of command enshrined in official privileges could offer an effective protection of the ecclesiastical structures against the jurisdiction of the dukes and the violence of local lords. Bishops with seigneurial powers were better equipped to influence the political situation in the province, rule over people living on episcopal land and compete in the process of internal colonization. In contrast to the Piast state structures, the hierarchical church followed a relatively stable course. At a time when secular central authority was reduced to the provincial level, ecclesiastical organization, at least formally, preserved its cohesion as the Polish archdiocese of Gniezno. This enduring unity facilitated the development of a clerical corporate identity and the gradual application of major church reforms introduced by a post-Gregorian centralizing papacy. The church venues of ideological exchange, religious practices and hierarchical traditions assured a reliable platform from which to enhance the prestige of the see of Krakow that in turn strengthened the negotiating position of the bishopric.

In contrast to the bishops in other Polish duchies, the ecclesiastical leaders who negotiated episcopal power in Krakow avoided confrontation and ideological obstinacy for most of the period of ducal Poland. Serious conflicts developed only in the course of civil wars and dynastic struggle. The excommunications of the secular rulers were extraordinary acts of episcopal solidarity with the few harassed bishops of Krakow whose property and personal liberty were openly violated by imprisonment. There was no compelling interest in turning the conflicts into a grand ideological struggle for abstract principles. The ideology of clerical liberties created suitable conditions for enhancing the political leadership of the bishops, but did not constitute a major element in the process of negotiating practical power. The struggle to redefine church liberties in the diocese of

Krakow usually had a milder character than the ideological and political crises in the West, which were fueled by the impact of centralizing tendencies of the post-Gregorian papacy and rising national monarchies. In the Early Middle Ages, the persistently strong royal authority in this relatively newly converted society of western Slavs and its fairly sporadic contacts with the apostolic see minimized the impact of Gregorian ideas pertaining to clerical powers.

It should be noted that the success or failures of negotiations that were to enhance the power of the bishops of Krakow did not directly correspond with the fluctuating strength of ducal power. As in Western Europe, strong secular rulers with an equal sense of sovereign authority and religious responsibility occasionally produced more trouble than benefits for reform-minded prelates.<sup>1</sup> But absolute political chaos also made the execution of particular episcopal objectives equally difficult. The bishops were not enthusiastic about factional conflicts among the barons and an ineffective ducal court. The implementation of Gregorian Reforms and ecclesiastical liberties became a prolonged and convoluted process in realms deprived of monarchy. Local issues, unrelated to the larger problems of the universal church, often defined the fate of the bishoprics. The bishops' practical power was immense as long as they remained resourceful political brokers and patrons with strong local ties, rather than mere agents of papal centralization. The see of Krakow's geographical location at the heart of Little Poland, the focal point of violent and diplomatic struggle among dukes and baronial

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<sup>1</sup> This issue seems to have troubled church-state relations since the early years of the Gregorian Reforms. The course of the Investiture Controversy in England effectively illustrates this point. See Michael Brett's *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975); Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley, 1983); Sally Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987). In the early thirteenth century Polish realm Duke Henry the Bearded of Silesia demonstrated a similar mixture of piety and firm protection of ducal prerogatives. See Benedykt Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy* (Wrocław, 1975).

factions, enhanced the bishops' ability to negotiate privileges benefiting their practical prerogatives and palpable jurisdiction within the diocese of Krakow. Episcopal leaders, with or without the cooperation of secular counterparts, successfully built powerful ecclesiastical structures of lordship and took advantage of the expanding range of instruments of territorial control.<sup>2</sup> Those bishoprics freed from all obligations towards the secular authority, but equipped with economic privileges and the exclusive right to judge and punish local populations, were to be a great asset to the Polish church in the revived kingdom. In 1320, when Duke Łokietek from the Piast dynasty was finally elevated to kingship in Krakow, the privileged social and political position of the ecclesiastical institutions was already well established. The bishopric of Krakow was able to secure wealth and influence, despite the spectacular fall of its bishop, who had opposed Łokietek's accession.<sup>3</sup> The revival of the monarchy and the advancing process of unifying Polish provinces paralyzed, however, the development of the see's instruments of territorial control and thus its ability to build a sovereign episcopal principality.

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<sup>2</sup> For the double meaning of the immunities granted by dukes, as a testimony of ducal weakness or to the contrary, as an effective method of pacifying baronial and ecclesiastical ambitions, see Kazimierz Tymieniecki, *Przywilej biskupstwa poznańskiego z roku 1232 na tle rozwoju immunitetu z XIII w.* (Poznań, 1934), and Kazimierz Jasiński, "Studia nad wielkopolskim stronnictwem książęcym w połowie XIII w. Współpracownicy Przemysła I do 1253 r.," in *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1981), 1:161. Also see Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa. Niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza społeczno-ustrojowej odrębności Polski* (Warsaw, 2000), 81-83.

<sup>3</sup> For a study of the socio-economic impact of colonization, especially in the best documented province of Silesia, see Walter Schlesinger, ed. *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte* (Sigmaringen, 1975); Benedykt Zientara, "Über ius Theutonicum in Schlesien," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 42 (1980): 231-46; Winfried Irgang, "Neuere Urkundenforschungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte Schlesiens und Kleinpolens," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 31 (1982): 361-84; Paul Knoll, "Economic and political institutions on the Polish-German frontier in the Middle Ages: action, reaction, interaction," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), 151-176. For the view of colonization and economic expansion from the perspective of lordship, see Richard Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław* (Philadelphia, 1989); and Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100-1250* (New York, 1992).

The ideological thrust for the assertion of power by the bishops in post-Gregorian Europe did not provide clear guidance for adopting appropriate strategies to exercise full jurisdiction in specific settlements or even entire areas that the bishopric claimed as its own property. The process of constructing sovereign ecclesiastical power required the close interdependence of various elements of public discourse. The historical processes affecting the bishopric of Krakow operated on a larger scale within the Polish duchies and across Latin Europe. The expansion of ecclesiastical liberties and the rise of banal lordship, the manipulation of the cult of saints by secular clergy, competition within the church hierarchy and internal colonization were all common in Latin Christendom, although not necessarily in all places at the same time. This dissertation will therefore help to strengthen understandings of the mechanisms of negotiating power between leading institutional authorities during the High Middle Ages. My analysis of the practical aspects of ecclesiastical authority will provide a more comprehensive picture of the Polish church that responded to challenges of a pan-European character, including clerical participation in power discourse. It will also reveal the distinct course of power relations in a large Polish province and show how the practical implementations of the ideas of the liberated church and clerical leadership depended on specific local circumstances and the personal qualities of individual bishops.

When assessing the responses of the Polish ecclesiastical elite to similar, but not identical, challenges that faced their western counterparts one needs to note particular strategies adopted by the bishopric of Krakow. The fact that the Polish bishops were not dependent at the time on secular authority through land tenure and direct military service and that the dukes retained most landed resources makes western patterns only partially

useful for studying power relations in Little Poland. The dynamically changing socio-political and economic contexts are therefore fundamental for explaining the mechanism of securing, concentrating and delineating prerogatives between secular and ecclesiastical leaders in an era of emerging regional lordships and provincial centers of authority. The choice of the methods the bishops of Krakow used to negotiate and expand ecclesiastical rights rested on the particular combination of political, religious, legal, economic and military abilities of the bishopric under unstable ducal rulership. Those local conditions determined the strategies of negotiating power and their ultimate results. Only the particular circumstances faced by episcopal leaders in southern Poland during the High Middle Ages can explain the paramount expansion of church liberties and privileges as well as the failure to create an independent territorial lordship parallel to the episcopal principality of the bishops of Wrocław in the Nysa-Otmochow district and the German ecclesiastical centralized territories that developed just to the west of the Polish duchies.

In the decentralized Polish realm the scope of episcopal power was negotiated in relation to ducal authority as the historical source of wealth and institutional authority. The context and chronological framework of my dissertation are therefore closely anchored in the political evolution of the secular rulership in Little Poland. They follow the development of a distinct ducal authority in Krakow after the expulsion of a legitimate senior duke from the capital of Little Poland and the installation of a junior member of the Piast dynasty with the assistance of the bishop of Krakow in 1177. The dramatic results of the episcopal involvement in the unification of the Polish duchies

under a foreign ruler at the turn of the thirteenth century and the victory of a duke who reinstated Polish monarchy in Krakow in 1320, close the scope of the dissertation.<sup>4</sup>

## **B. Power in the Historiographical Context**

The challenges to the sovereign powers of the bishopric of Krakow were generally familiar to many other sees across medieval Europe. Western scholarship has extensively analyzed the extension of theoretical and practical aspects of ecclesiastical authority that the bishops employed in public discourse. Historians have devoted much attention to the regional manifestations of the ideological struggle associated with a new model of clerical authority as redefined in the course of the Gregorian Reformation. The Investiture Controversy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the customary rights of the laity and monarchs who controlled ecclesiastical institutions and their property have been the focal points of complex research. The major challenge has always been to uncover the motives of the elites who negotiated the hierarchy of power and the particular context of the relations between the secular and ecclesiastical spheres of unified Christian society.

The extension of church liberties in the High Middle Ages has been examined in the context of secular affairs, in which violent power struggle and delicate negotiations took place both on a pan-European level and in smaller localities. Many decades of research on the political history of the German Empire and national monarchies have produced classic studies that are indispensable for the understanding of the fundamental

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<sup>4</sup> The 1320 coronation of Duke Władysław Łokietek in Krakow by Archbishop Janisław of Gniezno closed the particularly turbulent decades of outside interventions in Little Poland after the province's branch of the Piast dynasty died out in 1279.

ideological principles of the conflict and their political consequences.<sup>5</sup> To explain the economic and social aspects of power relations on a local level, historians have turned their attention to the phenomenon of seigniorial powers of command and constraint, known in western historiography as banal lordship. Ecclesiastical institutions could neither escape nor ignore the implications of the activities of local lords in the face of weakening structures of central government.

The character and evolution of secular patronage, economic and legal privileges of church institutions, and labor and military obligations to the secular rulers have all become objects of scholarly investigation. Banal lordship has been discussed in the context of land tenure and public order, both directly affecting ecclesiastical communities. It is interesting to note that English scholarship has followed the German tradition and focused on the constitutional, military and judicial elements of decentralized government. It has incorporated the discussion on the function of internal colonization and the rise of a market economy as a means of expending sovereign authority, particularly in the German Empire. French scholars have chosen a different path. The pioneering studies of Marc Bloch and Georges Duby have created a distinct school of thought that approaches the problem from socio-economic and cultural perspectives, in

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<sup>5</sup> The field has produced an immense bibliography in the course of its more than century-long tradition. However, it seems to have lost momentum in recent years, particularly due to the apparent decline of institutional history in current academia. For some of the best introductions to the subject, see Gerd Tellenbach *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* (Oxford, 1970); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (Philadelphia, 1982); Hermann Jacob, *Kirchenreform und Hochmittelalter 1046-1215* (Munich, 1984). For the theory of ecclesiastical authority and its political function during the period also see Robert Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968); Ian S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989). Despite the increasing criticism of the teleological perception of the history of the Roman Church, Walter Ullmann's *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Revolution of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1953) remains a valuable insight into the ideological ferments reshaping papal authority.

which lordship, by usurping previously public powers and utilizing the protection of castles, vassalage and the fief, defines various aspects of medieval life, especially personal and landed relations.<sup>6</sup> Thomas Bisson has narrowed the scholarly focus to the social meaning of lordship. His concept of arbitrary violence as the major method of exercising authority has produced long-lasting debate. Historians have either justified violence as socially constructive or flatly denied its novel private character.<sup>7</sup> Recent years have been marked by the dynamic development of micro-studies that shift scholarly attention to authority operating on a very local level and under specific regional circumstances. The detailed analyses of ecclesiastical power have usually focused on a few isolated problems.<sup>8</sup> In geographical terms, little east of the fragmented German Empire and its bishoprics has been presented in western historiography.

The limited interest in power relations between the secular and ecclesiastical institutions in medieval Poland has had three major reasons: like Scandinavia, the Slavic states in north-eastern Europe came into the sphere of Roman Christianity late, produced relatively few records during the Early Middle Ages and remained on the peripheries of grand events related to the development of the original Latin core of Europe. Western

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<sup>6</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago, 1961); Georges Duby, *La société aux XI et XII siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953).

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Bisson, "Medieval Lordship," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 743-759 and *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140-1200* (Cambridge, 1998). For the debate, see Dominique Barthélemy and Steven White, "Debate. The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present* 152 (1996): 196-223; and Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham and T.N. Bisson, "Debate. The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present* 155 (1997): 177-225.

<sup>8</sup> The pitfalls of local studies, which lack attention to broader ideological and socio-economic problems, are revealed in Benjamin Arnold's study, *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Regional Power, 1100-1350* (Philadelphia, 1991). Arnold's work does not extend beyond a narrative of dynastic and political connections of the local elites and does not offer a broad picture of ecclesiastical lordship. More successful were the studies of the military service rendered to ecclesiastical lords. For a comprehensive study, see John Freed, "Nobles, Ministerials, and Knights in the Archdiocese of Salzburg," *Speculum* 62 (1987): 575-611.

academia has therefore perceived the states to the east of the German provinces as a region with societies that were merely adopting, with delays, seeming inconsistency and frequent failures, the already established western models, such as the market economy, the intensification of agricultural production, territorial lordships, personal relations within the elite based on fief and vassalage, and the legal consolidation of nobles and peasants into social classes. Marc Bloch's and later George Duby's views of the societies on the eastern fringes of Latin Europe as absent from the paramount transitions of western Europe during the "second feudal age," with a tendentious focus on French evidence, has been particularly influential and durable.<sup>9</sup> Unlike in the case of medieval England, the differences in the course of historical development and peculiar complexities demonstrated by the Polish society of the High Middle Ages have not received the status of a legitimate "exception." As a consequence, the relevance of Polish history to the formation of medieval civilization, measured by the newly Christianized peoples' proximity to those generally articulated political and socio-economic models in Western Europe, has appeared insignificant.<sup>10</sup> The distinct and complex course of appropriating power by Polish bishops has never inspired extensive research. The other factor contributing to the isolation of the history of medieval Poland lies in the language barrier, enforced by political division in Europe during the Cold War. This has

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<sup>9</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago, 1961). Georges Duby developed the idea of a general socio-economic transformation of Europe between the eleventh and twelfth century in a regional context, but also accepted Bloch's view of the French model as the dominant blueprint for medieval civilization. Compare *La société aux XI et XII siècles* and *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard Clarke (Ithaca, 1974). Also, see Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> As Sławomir Gawlas' discussion of a transformation of rulership in early medieval Poland demonstrates, the idea of the direct reproductions of western, in his study German, patterns by a young Christian state in eastern Europe has found adherents also in Polish academia. Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa*, 65-96.

constituted a profound obstacle to the integration of the results of Polish research with western scholarship. In the United States the first steps to overcome the problem have already been taken by a few scholars investigating power relations based on landholding, economic activities and fiscal practices, especially in Silesia, which offers a greater number of records than other Polish provinces. Others have researched the interaction between Polish natives and the German colonists who were migrating in large numbers into Slavic territories during the thirteenth century and propagating their own legal and organizational practices in the Polish duchies.<sup>11</sup>

The striking dearth of primary sources for medieval Poland before the fourteenth century and an apparent break in the continuity of the unified Polish state during the High Middle Ages have effectively restricted enthusiasm about advanced research in the Polish duchies. Despite these difficulties, the field has produced a number of approaches to the problem of power, but almost exclusively from the secular perspective. Polish scholarly literature has dedicated much attention to selected juridical and socio-political problems related to the place of the early church reforms and ecclesiastical structures within the monarchy of the Piast rulers, ducal and baronial power struggles, the economic development of Polish provinces, land tenure and church privileges. The early twentieth-century training of interwar Polish historians and the Marxist ideology pervading academic life in Eastern Europe after 1945 have produced two different approaches. The older school has tended to focus on the jurisdictional and fiscal demarcations of authority between secular and ecclesiastical institutions during the process of state formation. It

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<sup>11</sup> Richard Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties and Lordship*; Paul Knoll, "Economic and political institutions on the Polish-German frontier in the Middle Ages: Action, reaction, interaction," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), 151-174; Piotr Górecki, "Viator to Ascriptitius: Rural Economy, Lordship, and the Origins of Serfdom in Medieval Poland," *Slavic Review* 42 (1983): 14-35 and *Economy, Society, and Lordship*, 123-284.

has traditionally had little interest in the socio-economic implications of lordship.<sup>12</sup> Marxist historiography, on the other hand, has emphasized the evolution of social structures in the context of ducal law (*ius ducale*), seigneurial exploitation and manorial economy.<sup>13</sup> According to this tradition, the church contributed heavily to the erosion of centralized authority and to the decline of peasants' collective rights.<sup>14</sup>

Legal and economic historians have favored the province of Silesia, for which the charters recording church possessions and immunities are much more extensive and comprehensive than those related to other Polish territories.<sup>15</sup> The crucial works on immunities merely list them according to categories of their objects, but without any

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<sup>12</sup> It is important to note that the most influential early historians of the Polish Church, Władysław Abraham, Jan Fijałek, and Adam Vetulani, specialized in Canon and Roman Law.

<sup>13</sup> For opposing views on the role of local lords commending castles in sustaining the formal state apparatus, see the debate between Karol Buczek and Karol Modzelewski. For their final polemical opinions see Buczek, "O ustroju społeczno-gospodarczym Polski wczesnofeudalnej (wiek X-XIII). Uwagi krytyczne na marginesie prac Karola Modzelewskiego," *Studia Historyczne* 22 (1979): 663-690; "Egzekwowanie świadczeń publicznych w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej," *Studia Historyczne* 25 (1982): 357-370. Also see K. Modzelewski, "Spór o gospodarcze funkcje organizacji grodowej. Najstarsze źródła i metody," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 28 (1980): 87-101; "Jurysdykcja kasztelanska i pobór danin prawa książęcego w świetle dokumentów XIII w.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 87 (1980): 148-173. Buczek questions the latter's concept of castles as a coercive force of the centrally organized ducal authority. For a distinction between older episcopal castellanies based on royal or ducal administrative structure and the later castellanies of seigneurial lords distinction, see Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 6, *Początki Polski. Polityczne i społeczne kształtowanie się narodu do początku wieku XIV*, (Warsaw, 1985), 352-398.

<sup>14</sup> For an influential exposition of this theory see Karol Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej* (Wrocław, 1987). According to the author, thirteenth-century immunities, ecclesiastical and later baronial, broke down the relative equilibrium between the demands of the state controlled by the ruling class, including the king, and newly exploited peasant communities. Throughout the century the process diminished the free and proprietary status of the latter and eventually produced seigneurial lordships independent from the public authority of the king (duke).

<sup>15</sup> For relations between lords and peasants in the changing economic circumstances produced by the new market forces and German migration into Silesia, see Richard Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship*. For lordship from the perspective of competition for tithes and expanding parish structures with the focus on the Duchy of Silesia, see Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland*.

context or their practical implications for building sovereign ecclesiastical power.<sup>16</sup> The most recent studies of the Polish episcopacy at the time of the territorial disintegration of the Piast state limit their focus to the canonical and social factors of episcopal elevation, issues of collective identity and administrative responsibilities of the high clergy.<sup>17</sup> Discussion of the patterns and motives of bishops' patronage does not extend beyond the early thirteenth century, shortly before the period that interests this dissertation most.<sup>18</sup> There is still no comprehensive political history of the diocese in ducal Poland and only one bishop of Krakow from this period has become the object of an extensive monograph.<sup>19</sup>

The various aspects of power pertaining to the bishopric of Krakow during the turbulent years of political instability in the historic province of Little Poland deserve more attention. The cathedral town was one of the oldest metropolitan sees in the Polish church and the locus of the highest secular power that between the twelfth and the fourteenth century was represented by dukes from the royal Piast family. Although the church of Krakow has attracted scholarly attention, all the aspects of power negotiations between episcopal and ducal authorities have not been sufficiently explored. Few studies have discussed the crystallization of local political relations and economic expansion into structures of authority in Little Poland. But it was this very process that placed the

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<sup>16</sup> Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce do roku 1381* (Poznań, 1936); Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk, *Immunitet sądowy w dobrach Kościoła w Polsce do końca XIV wieku* (Poznań, 1935).

<sup>17</sup> Jacek Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski doby dzielnicowej, 1180-1320* (Krakow-Bydgoszcz, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> Józef Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Poznań, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> The monumental study by Bolesław Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji karkowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 1 (Krakow, 1998), treats the history of the diocese before the fifteenth century only superficially, in an encyclopedic fashion. See, in particular, 113-141, 179-188. The bishop whose entire public career has been recently researched is Jan Muskata. See Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem. Biskup krakowski Jan zwany Muskatą* (Warsaw, 2001).

bishopric of Krakow in a crucial position within the power structures of the province. The approach to the interaction between clerical and lay institutions has often been reduced to general narrative accounts of the degree of involvement of select bishops in the wars of ducal succession and to the lists of particular immunities from secular jurisdiction that the see of Krakow obtained over the course of centuries. The most relevant publications either focus on the position of the bishops in the factional struggle within the provincial baronage who exploited the Piasts' dynastic conflicts or on the administrative and diplomatic activities of the last bishop before the revival of monarchy in Krakow in the early fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> To cast light on the evolution of ecclesiastical status in the structure of a medieval state, the interdependence of various attributes of authority in public manifestations of power still awaits a more analytical work than a biographical treatment of a single bishop.<sup>21</sup> The ensuing simplistic picture of either confrontations and permanent conflict of interests between the lay and clerical leaders or the bishops' complete dependence on their kin for political prominence calls for a revision. An attempt to initiate research pertaining to the episcopal seigneurial court has not cast any light on its practical operation to enforce bishops' authority. Reappearance of the same names as witnesses on ecclesiastical charters helped to determine the existence of nobles who served the see as the bishops' entourage at the

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<sup>20</sup> Bronisław Włodarski, "Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich w XIII wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 27 (1962): 29-62; Julia Tazbirowa, "Rola polityczna Iwona Odrowąża," *Przegląd Historyczny* 57 (1966): 199-211; Tomasz Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich w końcu XIII wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* (1991): 5-27; Władysław Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski, 1266-1292," *Nasza Przeszłość* 9 (1959): 157-246; Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem*.

<sup>21</sup> The already mentioned monograph on Bishop Muskata is the most notable exception.

episcopal court and the military arm of the see.<sup>22</sup> It has not been explained, however, precisely how this group managed to advance episcopal power, except obvious implications, such as the increased ability to defend strategically important episcopal holdings and strengthen the bishops' prestige in the province.

### **C. Sources and Structure**

Through the examination of the complex role and political circumstances of the bishops of Krakow, my dissertation casts light on the formation of independent ecclesiastical structures on the eastern peripheries of the Latin world. It also offers an explanation of the ultimate failure of a powerful bishopric to establish a sovereign territorial entity such as the well-known episcopal principalities in Germany, despite incipient signs of its construction. Although the episcopal court in Krakow developed substantial jurisdictional prerogatives and military capacity, only through purchase in the mid-fifteenth century did the bishopric acquire a sovereign territory with paramount princely authority. Through reading legal, diplomatic and narrative sources, this dissertation's goal is to demonstrate that the power of the provincial ecclesiastical hierarchy in Krakow was negotiated between secular rulers and church superiors under constantly changing circumstances. A combination of factors led to the evolution of episcopal prerogatives. These included: the succession crises and the struggle for ducal authority in Krakow, the ideological controversy over the clerical claims to govern

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<sup>22</sup> Marian Friedberg, *Klientela świecka biskupa krakowskiego w w. XII-XIV. Ze studiów nad organizacją społeczeństwa w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Krakow, 1938).

Christian society, the rise of a hierarchical church buttressed by economic and juridical liberties, and regional patterns of religious patronage and territorial lordship.

Episcopal power in Little Poland operated in many spheres of public relations and these should not be treated in isolation. My dissertation aims to demonstrate the distinct methods of negotiating episcopal power in both the secular and ecclesiastical dimensions. I discuss the particular course of those negotiations that created an extensive episcopal lordship with evident attributes of public authority, but restricted in its territorial form. My dissertation not only reveals the critical elements of episcopal power in Little Poland, a major province in the Piast state formations. Its prime focus rests on the question of how power was gained and utilized under a number of specific circumstances experienced by the bishopric of Krakow from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century. My study contributes to a better understanding of the role of the bishops in regional structures of power and the available methods of assuring ecclesiastical liberties in regions of unstable or collapsed central authority.

My dissertation makes use of three different types of sources: legal, diplomatic, and narrative. In order to reconstruct a portrait of the bishop of Krakow as a lord and official on the borderline between the spiritual and the temporal I examine the records of land transactions, economic privileges and grants of ducal immunities. These records concern the metropolitan see of Krakow, other religious foundations and new settlers in Little Poland. Legal exemptions and economic rights granted by the dukes to the bishopric illustrate the extension of lordship in specific localities and time. Open interpretation of the sources due to their imprecise legal concepts and the possibility of recording only selected liberties in a given time reveals the inherent weakness of the

charters as precise descriptions of existing legal structures. They must be treated with caution as meticulous records of a consistent movement to liberate episcopal estates from secular interference. It should also be noted that the charters only reflect the final result of earlier negotiations.

The grants alone do not explain the practical means to achieve compromises. The investigation of power relations within the structures of the Polish church demands research in the promulgations of provincial synods and papal letters addressed to Polish prelates and dukes. The administrative and diplomatic records provide invaluable insight into the assistance of the universal church in resolving conflicts between the bishops of Krakow and their peers within the church province of Gniezno and in assuring the permanence of ducal concessions. Surviving charters pertaining to seigniorial prerogatives, economic privileges and land possessions in Little Poland were originally edited in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries as diplomatic codices (*kodeksy dyplomatyczne*).<sup>23</sup> The content of many synodal decrees and the decisions of provincial church councils are unknown. Those that have been published still await a new critical edition.<sup>24</sup> Only the papal bulls related to Poland and edited in a form similar

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<sup>23</sup> Most charters pertaining to the ecclesiastical property and authority in Krakow were published in *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława, 1166-1366* (hereafter cited as KDKK), ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1, Monumenta Aevi Historica (hereafter cited as MMAH) (Krakow, 1874); and *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski* (part 1) (hereafter cited as KDM 1), ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 3, MMAH (Krakow, 1876); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski* (part 2) (hereafter cited as KDM 2), ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 9, MMAH (Krakow, 1886). One can also find a few foundation charters, grants of tithes and other ecclesiastical privileges as well as papal directives to assist monastic orders in *Zbiór dokumentów katedry i diecezji krakowskiej, 1063-1415*, ed. Stanisław Kuraś (Lublin, 1965) (hereafter cited as ZDKDK). For the privileges and diplomatic relations involving the dukes of Great Poland and their vital interest in Krakow, the decisions of select assemblies, and the text of papal bulls it is necessary to consult *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, 2 vols. (Poznań, 1877-78) (hereafter cited as KDW). *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa* contains additional charters defining the municipal authority in the cathedral town of Krakow. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa, 1257-1506*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 5, MMAH (Krakow, 1879) (hereafter cited as KDMK).

to the fundamentally important earlier German editions of papal records were reissued in 1982. In a somewhat more expanded form than its German predecessors, the Polish edition presents the bulls in a chronological order with brief summaries of their crucial contents.<sup>25</sup> The full surviving texts of most of the papal letters were printed in the same diplomatic codices that include the charters of privileges and land grants.<sup>26</sup> They thus remain dispersed throughout a number of publications, and no new critical editions appear to be on the horizon. The canonical proceedings, orchestrated by Archbishop Jacob Świnka of Gniezno and aimed against Bishop Muskata of Krakow, cast invaluable light on power relations within the church hierarchy at the turn of the thirteenth century. One can find records of the legal actions, including court testimonies, in the collection of the documents directly related to the ecclesiastical structures of the hierarchical church headed by the Apostolic See.<sup>27</sup>

For the contemporary context of the secular charters and ecclesiastical documents one needs to consult the collections of cathedral and monastic calendars (*kalendarze*) and short narratives edited as annals (*roczniki*). Some of the latter often compiled information from other sources and survived in a number of versions that differ in details.

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<sup>24</sup> *Antiquissimarum constitutionum synodalium provinciae Gneznensis*, ed. Romuald Hube (St. Petersburg, 1856); Jan Fijalek, *Najstarsze statuty synodalne krakowskie Biskupa Nankiera* (Krakow, 1915); Ignacy Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupow gnieźnieńskich* (Warsaw, 1981).

<sup>25</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae*, eds. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś, vol. 1 (Rome, 1982) (hereafter cited as BP). For the German lists of documents from the papal registry, contents of which had been condensed to a few synopses, see Philippe Jaffe, ed., *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum. natum 1198*, 2 vols. (Graz, 1956) (hereafter cited as Jaffe); and August Potthast, ed., *Regesta pontificum romanorum, inde ab anno post Christum. natum 1198 ad annum 1304*, 2 vols. (Graz, 1957) (hereafter cited as Potthast).

<sup>26</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* contains the text of the majority of papal bulls addressed to Polish dukes and bishops.

<sup>27</sup> *Analecta Vaticana 1202-1366*, vol. 3, *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, ed. Jan Ptaśnik (Krakow, 1914) (hereafter cited as AV).

None of these sources completely encapsulated the discussed time and region.<sup>28</sup> The annals have particular value for the chronology and factual information pertaining to the events most important, from an ecclesiastical perspective. The annals of the cathedral of Krakow are the most reliable source in this category, although those originating outside of the cathedral, especially in the communities of Krakovian friars, are also indispensable for studying ecclesiastical activities in Little Poland.<sup>29</sup>

The more developed narrative accounts directly related to Little Poland vary in style and attention to detail. The fully developed and highly stylized chronicle written by a former canon of a collegiate church and bishop of Krakow, Vincent Kadłubek, contains crucial information about the participation of the ecclesiastical elite in the formation of the Duchy of Krakow as a separate political entity.<sup>30</sup> As an active member of ecclesiastical circles in the major political centers of Little Poland, Vincent was also a

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<sup>28</sup> The origin of many surviving annals remains debatable. Their authors' extensive use of outside sources, open plagiarism and the destruction of manuscripts during Poland's turbulent history led to serious confusion among the annals' modern editors. *The Chronicle of the Krakow Cathedral* might well illustrate this problem. Only recently have scholars come to the final conclusion that its three parts, separately edited in the late nineteenth century, are in fact a single source. See Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow, 1964), 163-164. Also see Gerard Labuda, "Gdzie pisano najdawniejsze roczniki polskie?," *Roczniki Historyczne* 23 (1957): 79-97, and Zofia Budkowa, "Początki polskiego rocznikarstwa," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 2 (1958): 81-96. This problem should make one cautious in assessing the originality and general value of certain records.

<sup>29</sup> *The Annals of the Cathedral of Krakow* are particularly reliable for determining chronology of events in the diocese of Krakow. See "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," (henceforth RKK) in *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova (Warsaw, 1978), 5: 19-105 (hereafter cited as MPHsn). The Franciscans seem to have been particularly prolific. See "Rocznik małopolski," ed. August Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica (Lwów, 1878), 3: 135-202 (hereafter cited as MPH); "Rocznik Traski," ed. August Bielowski, MPH (Lwów, 1872), 2: 826-861; "Rocznik Sędziwoja," ed. August Bielowski, MPH (Lwów, 1872), 2: 871-880; "Rocznik Krasieńskich," ed. August Bielowski, MPH (Lwów, 1872), 2: 127-133; "Rocznik świętokrzyski," ed. August Bielowski, MPH (Krakow, 1878), 3: 53-86. The written records produced at the cathedral chapters in Gniezno and Poznań help to understand the impact of the authority of the archbishop and the duke of Great Poland on the course of events in Krakow. "Rocznik kapituły pozańskiej," ed. Brygida Kurbis, MPHsn (Warsaw, 1962), 6: 21-78; and "Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej," ed. Brygida Kurbis, MPHsn (Warsaw, 1962), 6: 1-20.

<sup>30</sup> Mistrz Wincenty zwany Kadłubkiem, *Kronika polska*, MPHsn, vol. 11 (Krakow, 1994) (hereafter cited as Kadłubek).

direct witness of many events described in his chronicle. However, the chronicle's termination around the year 1210 carries unfortunate chronological limitations. The absence of dates in the chronicle requires comparison of its text with corresponding and relevant passages in the annals. The Franciscan continuator of Vincent's chronicle, arbitrarily named Mierzwa by the nineteenth-century editors, returned to the annals tradition of short entries under specific dates.<sup>31</sup> He finished his work in the year 1288. The mid-fourteenth century anonymous *Chronicle of the Cathedral of Krakow* followed the same style. It lacks a sophisticated synthesis, but aims, nonetheless, to present a broader picture of public life in the diocese, with particular attention to the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the rule of the Piasts in Krakow.<sup>32</sup> Contemporary with the mentioned sources, structured as expanded annals, and occasionally narrating affairs in Little Poland, is the anonymous *Chronicle of Great Poland*.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, it ends in the year 1272, that is, before the most crucial period in the relations between the two provinces, when a duke of Great Poland successfully claimed Krakow and temporarily incorporated it to his extensive realm.

The most comprehensive narrative accounts of the greatest events pertaining to Little Poland and the diocese of Krakow can be found in the chronicle authored by Jan Długosz, a fifteenth-century canon of the cathedral of Krakow and royal chancellor. The chronicler delivers information in an erudite manner about most aspects of public life in the territories that in his time formed the Kingdom of Poland. Długosz's *Annales*

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<sup>31</sup> "Rocznik franciszkański krakowski," ed. August Bielowski, MPH (Lwów, 1878), 3: 46-52.

<sup>32</sup> The text of the chronicle was reconstructed by Wojciech Kętrzyński, "O rocznikach polskich," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 35 (Krakow, 1897): 185-190, 348-353.

<sup>33</sup> *Kronika wielkopolski*, ed. Brygida Kurbis, MPHsn, vol. 8 (Warsaw, 1970).

*Poloniae* represent the most advanced historical synthesis of medieval Poland, although its author rarely supplies basic factual information independent from the known older compilations.<sup>34</sup> It is Długosz's access to unknown sources and the delivery of unfamiliar details that constitutes one of the greatest assets of the *Annales*. The chancellor's historical writing is indispensable for studying the material base of the episcopal authority in Little Poland. He provided invaluable information about the history of land and tithes held by various religious centers in the diocese of Krakow. In a systematic way, his *Liber beneficiorum* presents the origin and material development of episcopal and monastic estates as well as ecclesiastical rights to them.<sup>35</sup> The *Catalogs* of the bishops of Krakow, written by anonymous authors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and also by Długosz himself, helps to establish the bishops' patronage activities and their family relations.<sup>36</sup>

To cast light on the manipulation of religious sentiments, popular piety and canonical procedures to enhance the prestige of the bishopric of Krakow and its ideological strength, one must examine contemporary hagiography and place it in a historical context reconstructed through reading legal and diplomatic sources. The narratives describing saints' lives, canonization processes and the installation of relics in

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<sup>34</sup> Jan Długosz, *Johannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa and others (Warsaw, 1973-1975), 4-6: libs. 5-9 (hereafter cited as DA).

<sup>35</sup> Jan Długosz, *Johannis Dlugosz, Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis*, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki, 3 vols. (Krakow, 1864).

<sup>36</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," ed. Józef Szymański, MPHsn (Warsaw, 1961), 10:5-124; and Jan Długosz, "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich. Katalog Długosza," ed. Józef Szymański, MPHsn (Warsaw, 1974), 10:125-281.

Krakow and rival bishoprics are particularly indispensable for understanding the role of ideology and popular piety in political negotiations.<sup>37</sup>

While the chronology of the succession crises precipitated by the collapse of the hereditary nature of the ducal office in Krakow helps to organize my study of the evolution of the bishops' status in the power-structure in Little Poland, a thematic approach to factors that often overlapped and carried less direct political implications appears more appropriate, although I have made a conscious effort to retain chronological order when possible. As a result, chapter one follows the periods of episcopal leadership, its decline, assertion and defeat, all according to the years of the bishops' tenures and changes of secular rulers in Krakow. The diplomatic records and narrative sources provide the most direct evidence of the bishops' effective negotiations at a time of succession crises in Little Poland. The extension of ecclesiastical power is cast against the bishops' social background and political circumstances. The former affected the ability of the episcopal leaders to construct reliable alliances in the province. Close and particularly amicable relations with selected dukes often compensated for the lack of prominent or local family association. The chapter demonstrates that in the course of negotiating power in Little Poland the bishops consistently opted for a single, stable and powerful secular rulership, even at the cost of conflicts with the local baronial oligarchy. Privileges for the bishopric came as rewards for support and loyalty. The free episcopal elections did not. They were the results of temporary succession crises that diverted the attention of the dukes who struggled over Krakow or, on the contrary, they were a useful

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<sup>37</sup> Wincenty z Kielc, "Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi. Vita maior," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH (Lwów, 1884), 4:362-438; Zbigniew Perzanowski, ed., "Miracula sancti Stanislai," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979):47-141; "Translatio sancti Floriani," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH (Lwów, 1884), 4:757-762; "Vita sanctae Hedvigis," MPH, ed. Alexander Semkowicz (Lwów, 1884), 4:501-655.

device of the Piasts in forming a counterbalance against the Krakovian oligarchy. The Gregorian ideal of a liberated church produced an additional motivation for the implementation of the basic postulates of church reformists.

The episcopal leadership during political upheavals at Krakow received official recognitions in the charters that conditioned ducal accession to the rulership in the province. It is argued that the most confident bishops, assisted by the local elite, did not avoid open confrontations with the pretenders to the Duchy of Krakow and in fact utilized rebellions to press the Piast rulers for concessions. Alternatively, a reliable service in the name of a foreign ruler was to strengthen episcopal power in Krakow. With the accession to Krakow through the last wills of the local dukes or through military force, the simple electoral role of the bishops and the ideal of partnership appeared inadequate to assure the primary role of episcopal authority during negotiations of power in Little Poland. Dependence on a foreign monarch without securing a reliable alliance with provincial barons was a critical miscalculation that caused the fall of the last bishop before the coronation of a new king of Poland at Krakow after two centuries of territorial disunity.

Chapter two shifts focus from the negotiations of power in the context of political instability caused by dynastic crisis and invasions to the relations within the hierarchical church of the Polish ecclesiastical province. The bishops' manipulation of historical traditions, canon law, the cult of saints and new papal prerogatives produced significant changes in the status of the bishopric of Krakow. The successful efforts to instigate cults of saints under the direct control of the bishops of Krakow was an integral part of their strategic negotiations to assure a leading role within the Polish church. In this chapter I

assert that political instability in Little Poland forced the bishops to seek compensation for their prestige in the ecclesiastical realm. The discussion is divided into two segments. The first segment analyzes relations between the see of Krakow and its most serious rival, the bishopric of Wrocław. Appeals to historical precedents for Krakow's primacy among Polish bishoprics and to the papal authority to resolve legal disputes countered Wrocław's growing strength, as is reflected in two fields: episcopal victories against the Silesian dukes and the see's status as a reliable reformist center during the thirteenth century. On exceptional occasions papal legal interventions, piety, and a powerful secular authority, like the Bohemian Premyslids, encouraged competing bishoprics to cooperate either as the members of a unified church or as administrative centers within a single secular realm.

In the second part of the chapter it is argued that the bishopric of Krakow needed to constantly change its methods of negotiating power, prestige and status in response to the increasing papal prerogatives in the Latin church and the inconsistent attitudes of Krakow's immediate ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishopric of Gniezno. The papal bulls confirmed Krakow's first position among Polish bishoprics only after the Archbishopric of Gniezno, as well as the bishops' right to consecrate archbishops-elect. The papacy often pacified the two sees and directed them to work in their common interest, such as the implementation of the Gregorian reforms and the propagation of new cults of saints. But the increasingly confident and active Apostolic See was also treated instrumentally. Both sides attempted to take advantage of the papal centralization to realize their own objectives. While the bishops of Krakow appealed from the legal decisions of the Polish canonical courts, sought papal legitimization of the cults of saints

in the diocese, and asked for intervention in disputed episcopal elections, the archbishopric ignored Krakow's privileges by sending their newly elected leaders to the Apostolic See for consecration, occasionally tolerated the inferiority of Krakow in ecclesiastical precedence and harassed a bishop whose political affiliations countered its own and papal interests. The dramatic conflict between the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishop of Krakow during the final phase of the revival of Polish monarchy is analyzed from the perspective of the crisis of hierarchical discipline within the Polish church rather than as a divergence of political objectives pertaining to the future of secular power in Little Poland. I demonstrate that the skilful manipulation of canon law and the increasing legal prerogatives of the papacy enabled the bishop to resist assaults from political enemies until the unequivocal alliance between his ecclesiastical superior in Gniezno and a Piast duke who successfully claimed Krakow.

Chapter three returns to the secular aspects of power relations and focuses on the attributes of authority that before the second half of the twelfth century were traditionally associated only with royal or ducal authority. With the decline of Krakow as the supreme center of secular authority in the Polish realm the temporal power of the bishopric was in particular need of assuring its high political status and the security of its material possessions and ecclesiastical tenants. The negotiations of practical means of rulership assumed a parallel course to the ideological discourse within the church hierarchy to assure Krakow's leading position. The charters of immunities contextualized by narrative sources demonstrate that the bishops of Krakow sought jurisdictional powers as the most effective means to manifest their practical power and control of ecclesiastical land.

In Little Poland a territorial entity never materialized in the form of an episcopal principality before the fifteenth century, but all the crucial elements of lordship, including legal and economic sovereign rights and a military force, successfully developed throughout the period. The chapter discusses the problem in four overlapping dimensions. The first one pertains to the process of negotiating the extension of episcopal obligations to secular authorities. Labor and fiscal immunities for the peasants living on ecclesiastical land tended to establish a two-tier power structure in which the dukes removed the prerogatives of local lords and through reservations retained their nominal superiority to the bishops. Another object of negotiations pertained to the sovereign rights of the bishop to exercise justice over the inhabitants of ecclesiastical land. It is argued that the dukes successfully maintained their ultimate superiority to the bishops through the preservation of appellate powers and the execution of the highest justice. The see's response to contemporary economic expansion is discussed in the context of both developments. The chapter additionally analyzes the impact of immigrants and their settlements for the delineation of public powers in Little Poland during the thirteenth century. The organization of colonized areas according to German legal and administrative practices ignored the customary rights of local lords claiming local resources. But it failed to alter the traditional imbalance between the ducal court and the bishopric in territorial control of cleared areas. Despite the privileges to colonize selective episcopal administrative districts, the bishops could only occasionally completely ignore ducal jurisdictional claims. The bishops simultaneously turned to religious patronage as an additional platform of enhancing episcopal control over local communities. Support for monastic and clerical communities accompanied legal

agreements with the ducal court. Episcopal patronage through the grants of land and tithes finds due attention as a method of controlling urban space and extending episcopal authority in strategically significant locations within the diocese. Finally, I discuss the course of acquisition of the military arms of territorial lordship by the bishops. Military command at their disposal directly buttressed episcopal territorial jurisdiction and demonstrated forceful leadership. The chapter demonstrates that despite a number of strongholds controlled by the bishopric, episcopal authorities held few strategically located castles that could have served as a base of a banal lordship with well defined compact territory where no secular authority, including the duke's, had any legitimacy. In fact, even the most determined bishop with extensive instruments of secular power was not able to defeat a Piast duke.

The major problems, as I argue, rested with the circumstances under which the see acquired military capacity and the bishops' lack of incentive to launch a comprehensive program of building episcopal defenses and armed forces. The liberation of peasants occupying ecclesiastical estates from military duties claimed by the dukes took place in the current of legal and economic privileges, and like them contained crucial safeguards for ducal emergency demands. Municipal walls protected a few episcopal towns, but castles of substantial strength were dispersed and rarely coincided with the episcopal districts concentrating ecclesiastical property. The bishopric obtained the castles as a result of various negotiations and they originally served the strategic interests of the secular grantors. Any expansion of episcopal defenses through the construction of fortifications and mobile armies required additional resources and the permission of the dukes who unwillingly relinquished their prestigious military

prerogatives. Open conflicts between particular bishops and the Piast rulers failed to endanger the long traditions of secular protection and religious patronage. The bishopric's difficulty in developing its military capability was also related to the formal allocation of legal and economic rights in regard to ducal grants. The prolonged presence of ducal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical land hindered the bishops' ability to acquire military service from dependent lords through distributions of episcopal estates in benefice. The bishops advanced the military capability of the see of Krakow only due to a close alliance with one or another major secular power aiming to rule Little Poland and in response to direct assaults on ecclesiastical property. It is demonstrated in chapter three that the episcopal methods and resources were inadequate and too tardily employed to succeed prior to a revived monarchy, which unequivocally reassured the monopolistic military prerogative of the highest secular power.

In my dissertation I argue that bishops were not only active participants in secular struggle for territorial control and the pragmatic agents of church reforms, but also powerful regional patrons of religious communities and territorial lords exercising jurisdiction, exacting obligations and assuring protection through military means. My analysis of the negotiation of power in Little Poland during the High Middle Ages contributes to a better understanding of the local representatives of the institutional church on the peripheries of the Latin Christendom in which diplomacy, war and lordship intersected with religious sentiments and ideological objectives. The dissertation reconstructs the strategic aims and tactical methods of negotiating power by episcopal leaders in a region of post-Gregorian Central Europe. It demonstrates that the bishops of Krakow responded to specific challenges produced by the secular lords and ecclesiastical

peers with distinct methods of negotiating the best assurance of power for their see. The study also participates in the scholarly debate on the sources of authority and the execution of power in medieval society. It casts light on the distinct patterns of lordship in an important province of medieval Poland. A better understanding of the structure of episcopal lordship in the bishopric of Krakow will ensure a more accurate perception of the regional variations of social relations during the High Middle Ages.

## Chapter One: Bishops between Secular Barons and the Dukes of Krakow

The accession of Kazimir the Just to the prestigious Polish Duchy of Krakow in 1177 marked the final defeat of the constitutional order established by Duke Bolesław III Krzywousty. Krakow was designated by Bolesław III Krzywousty as the core of the principal province when he divided the Polish dominion among his sons shortly before his death in 1138.<sup>38</sup> The principle of seniority was to guarantee undisputed succession to the throne of Krakow by the eldest male member of the entire Piast dynasty. Four decades after Bolesław's death, the Krakovian nobility, including the bishop, violated this principle and elevated Bolesław's youngest son, Duke Kazimir the Just of Sandomierz, to the Duchy of Krakow. As a result they united the two provinces of Little Poland. The Polish episcopacy confirmed Kazimir's accession to Krakow at the synod of Łeczyca in 1180. With the Krakovian barons' approval of Kazimir's son Leszek, the rule of pan-provincial seniority (*seniorat*) that gave every male member of the Piast dynasty a chance to claim the superior authority of the duke of Krakow (*principate*) turned into a

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<sup>38</sup> The centrality of Krakow as the capital of the senior province is amply testified to by Innocent III's bull issued in June 1210: "Significavit nobis dilectus filius nobilis uir dux Zlesie, quod cum (Boleslaus) quondam dux Polonie certam dederit singulis filiorum suorum in Polonia portionem, principalem ciuitatem Cracovie maiori natu reseruans instituit, ut semper qui esset de ipsius genere prior natu, ciuitatem teneret eandem, ita, quod se maior decederet uel cederet iuri suo, qui post eum de toto genere maior esset ipsius ciuitatis possessionem intraret," in KDM 1, no. 6, 12. The Province of Sandomierz obtained a special status within the senior province when Bolesław III Krzywousty decided to assign it to his son Henry as a lifelong possession. As a separate domain (Duchy of Sandomierz) it was gradually transferred to Kazimir, the youngest son, after Henry's death around 1166. In the future Sandomierz became the domain of the dukes of Krakow's widows, occasionally united with Krakow and the rest of Little Poland. See Gerard Labuda, "Testament Bolesława Krzywoustego," in *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki Septuagenario Dedicata*, ed. Antoni Horst (Poznań, 1959), 184; Józef Spors, *Podział dzielnicowy Polski według statutu Bolesława Krzywoustego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dzielnic seniorackiej* (Słupsk, 1978), 87-142; Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Poland's Administrative Structure in the Early Piast Times," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 44 (1981): 5-31; Tadeusz Lalik, "Sandomierskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Prowincja, księstwo, województwo," in *Studia Sandomierskie*, T. Wąsowicz and J. Pazdura, eds (Warsaw, 1967), 70-73; and Karol Buczek, "O dzielnicę Henryka sandomierskiego," *Przegląd Historyczny* 61 (1970): 696-703. The autonomous status of the Duchy of Sandomierz within Little Poland has been the object of a detailed study: Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego* (Słupsk, 2001).

succession within a provincial branch of the dynasty.<sup>39</sup> The barons appeared as the legitimate guardians of justice and order when they formally approved a new ruler in an act of election and sought new privileges. For over a century the members of the Piast dynasty and the provincial elites, secular and ecclesiastical, constantly redrew political configurations until in 1320 one duke formally revived the crown of the Polish kingdom with the capital at Krakow.

The physical location of the episcopal see in the political center of the province placed the bishops of Krakow at the heart of all political drama before a revival of the monarchy stabilized the situation and unified most Polish duchies. The bishops' involvement in the struggle for the ducal throne was thus inevitable. The degree and effectiveness of this involvement, however, were conditioned by a number of factors. It was the strength of battling dukes, the bishops' social background and their diplomatic skills in relation to secular lords that determined the outcome of their negotiation over ecclesiastical powers and privileges. The relations between the aristocratic elites of Krakow and Sandomierz and the political potency of the urban patriciate of Krakow were equally crucial for the rise of an episcopal power in a decentralized Polish realm. The chronic instability of ducal authority favored the episcopacy in Krakow if the bishops were able and willing to exceed the constraints of the hierarchical church and act as local

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<sup>39</sup> The collapse of the Krzywousty order should not be reduced to a single event. The rebellion of younger members of the Piast dynasty against the legitimate senior Władysław in 1144 placed the second oldest Piast on the supreme throne when Władysław fled the country. The election of young Leszek by the barons of Little Poland in 1194 and the beginning of his independent rule in 1202 consolidated the revolution started by his father Kazimir the Just in 1177. But equally compelling can be the argument that only when in 1197 the legitimate senior Mieszko the Old promised to make his young nephew Leszek his heir did the system designed by Bolesław Krzywousty finally come to an end. For a historiographical review of major schools of thought regarding succession in the post-Krzywousty Polish realm, see Jarosław Wenta, "O stróżach testamentu Bolesława Krzywoustego," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1996), 8: 67-77 and Gerard Labuda, "Zabiegi o utrzymanie jedności państwa polskiego w latach 1138-1146," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 66 (1959): 147-169.

political leaders. The elective character of the throne could only have worked for those powerful ecclesiastics who were openly recognized as baronial peers as well as the agents of a reforming church acting in the Gregorian tradition. Between Kazimir's accession in 1177 and the royal coronation of the Kujavian duke Władysław Łokietek in 1320, there were nine bishops in the episcopal see in Krakow. Some bishops had enough aristocratic ties to act as legitimate electors and a force among barons. Others who were either men of a lesser social background or outsiders appeared more dependent on previous service to secular rulers. The bishops' position in the provincial power structure rested therefore on three main elements: their membership in the baronial elective councils, their practical ability to present themselves as a legitimizing source of authority, and their relations with the papacy.

Due to dynastic good fortune, the province of Little Poland was to survive largely undivided, but the bishops of Krakow never created their own territorial principality within its boundaries.<sup>40</sup> On the one hand, the Krakovian church became well entrenched in the social fabric. It gained wealth and privileges despite periodic diplomatic crises and even the dukes' occasional assaults on the possessions and liberties of some bishops. Negotiations between ecclesiastical and secular authorities produced a greatly privileged church. On the other hand, the bishops could enjoy few attributes of territorial lordship. During the fourteenth century, their church became progressively dependent on the prestige of the papacy, the collective privilege of the clerical estate and the good will of the king. As a member of the royal council in the fifteenth century the bishop of Krakow

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<sup>40</sup> The integrity of the province of Little Poland profited from the survival of single heirs to the Krakow throne. Only Duke Leszek the White had an adult brother, for whom, however, their father Kazimir the Just had designated Mazovia and Kujavia, parts of the original principal province, just north of Little Poland. Kazimir obtained the two provinces in 1186 according to the will of his older brother Bolesław the Curly. Kadłubek IV, 13, 155.

continued to influence major decisions pertaining to the royal throne and the politics of the kingdom. But the opportunity of establishing an ecclesiastical lordship in the Province of Krakow had been lost.

The Gregorian Revolution that had resonated in Poland with lesser impact than in Western Europe armed the bishops with useful ideological arguments for episcopal leadership.<sup>41</sup> The Gregorian reformers explicitly redefined the hierarchy of power in Christian society. The lay members of Christendom were expected to stop interfering with the clerical realm and eventually recognize ordained clergy's claims to universal leadership based on the legacy of the Petrine commission, the doctrine of *plenitudo potestatis* and the theology of sacramental powers. It was far from certain that the freedom of clerical elections from lay authorities required a reciprocal freedom of ducal elections from church interference. If lay power derived from the church, the bishops deserved to judge the suitability of the candidates to the throne.<sup>42</sup> The succession crisis in Krakow along with the collapse of the centralized authority in the Polish realm provided the bishops of Krakow with new modes of political intervention. They joined the

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<sup>41</sup> The impact of the Gregorian Reformation on the medieval Polish church has found only superficial treatment in recent historiography. The focus of Anthony Czajkowski's unpublished dissertation "Poland and Gregorian Reform" (Fordham University, 1942), 162-170, and 177-179, does not reach beyond the early struggle between the imperial and papal camps and the martyrdom of Bishop Stanisław of Krakow in 1079, seen as a dramatic result of an attempt to implement the reformist decrees in the diocese of Krakow. Krzysztof Skwierczyński's *Recepcja idei gregorijskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Wrocław, 2005), has not only chronological limitations. The study does not address the important question of the practical influence of new ideological currents on the perception of public power after the eleventh century. Skwierczyński also restricts his discussion of Gregorian ideas in the political context to the death and canonization of Bishop Stanisław. The particular value of his work rests with a brief analysis of episcopicide in contemporary Latin Christendom. See especially pages 211-242.

<sup>42</sup> The idea of the church as a censor of secular authority is as old as the institution itself. Gregory VII assaulted the old Gelasian model of the symbiosis between secular and spiritual authorities by arguing that the two swords of power originate in the clerical realm and the pope's sovereign *sacerdotium*. For comprehensive studies of the problem see Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Revolution of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1955), 217-232; and Colin Morris, *Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 134-146.

electoral process in which the provincial elites negotiated power relations and determined the qualifications of the ducal competitors for the crown of Krakow.<sup>43</sup>

Blood relation to the Piast dynasty legitimated power in general terms, although the barons eventually disregarded the proximity to the last ruling duke as the crucial component of accession. The Krakovian baronage never felt comfortable with a transfer of power to an outsider. A new duke could have been manipulated had he arrived alone. That was rarely the case. The control of the offices of the province's palatine (*comes palatinus*) and the town's castellan, land grants, privileges and exactions quickly became the objects of either negotiations or violent struggle.<sup>44</sup> Baronial support for a son of the deceased duke promised the most benefits, especially when the heir was still a minor. It was the bishops who organized regent governments for the minor dukes. The time of regency was a time of opportunities that had to produce tangible gains before the young ruler could impose his will and counter the most obvious violations of ducal interests.

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<sup>43</sup> The notion of the public's power to legitimize new rulers finds an implicit emphasis in Vincent Kadłubek's *Chronica Polonorum*, Kadłubek, IV, 6, 144 and 152. For a discussion of Vincent's lay model of rulership in the context of the general decline of the ideology of the sacred Piast monarchy after the twelfth century, see Brigida Kurbis, "Sacrum i profanum. Dwie wizje władzy w polskim średniowieczu," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 22 (1977): 28-30. Baronial councils and general public assemblies always served as a venue of communication between the ruler and his subjects. The practical ability of masses to influence politics is less certain. Before the rise of the gentry in the fifteenth century the role of the latter appears passive. For a more positive view of general assemblies representing all segments of the society and regularly deciding about justice, foreign politics, fiscal matters and succession since the late eleventh century, see Roman Grodecki, "Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski XIII wieku," in *Polska piastowska* (Warsaw, 1969), 159-247.

<sup>44</sup> A palatine was the head of the ducal court and represented the duke in the most important aspects of his authority, including justice and military force. For the role of the palatines in medieval Poland, see Stanisław Zajączkowski, "Uwagi nad terytorialno-administracyjnym ustrojem Polski," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 7 (1955): 320-321; Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 90-98; Józef Spors, "Uwagi nad genezą urzędu wojewody dzielnicowego w Polsce XII i początku XIII w.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 82 (1991): 185-208, and "Wojewodowie Polski dzielnicowej w XII i XIII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 82 (1991): 353-370. For the castellans acting as provincial lords, see Karol Buczek, "Z badań nad organizacją grodową w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej. Problem terytorialności grodów kasztelańskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 77 (1970): 3-30; Stanisław Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa*, 74-75; and Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 98-100.

Every ducal election had serious consequences for the distribution of power among aristocratic factions and the status of ecclesiastical authority in Little Poland. Retaining and enhancing the oligarchical form of government was an obvious objective of the secular elites. The bishop demonstrated impressive flexibility in addressing the tension between the pragmatic goals of the provincial oligarchy and the Piast rulers' dynastic sentiments. On the one hand, the minority of dukes and the frequent changes to the Krakow throne gave the elites ample opportunities to exercise power directly. On the other, the legitimate claims to the throne voiced by other members of the Piast dynasty placed the province under constant danger of political instability and warfare unless a powerful lord gained recognition in Krakow. Those dukes with dynastic rights who provided the security of existing offices and new church privileges had better chances to gain the bishop's support and negotiate their entry into the capital. This is not to say that the local elites presented a unified front all the time. The recognition of ducal power rested on personal as well as group negotiations. Familial solidarity and distribution of landed possessions influenced political alliances, although they did not always determine them. The dukes who claimed Krakow as outsiders took advantage of this dissent within the baronial ranks in an effort to bring it under at least nominal control. The bishops, part of the local elite, could tip the delicate balance between the dukes and the secular aristocrats of the province. They did not oppose the secular power of their dukes. Instead, they aimed at creating a ducal rulership responsive to ecclesiastical needs.

Ecclesiastical leaders negotiated the autonomous status of the church of Krakow in the context of the crisis of central secular authority. For them privileges for the secular baronage were a secondary issue. A weak ruler dominated by the great baronial families

did not promise the stability and patronage expected by the church. In fact, during the thirteenth century the aristocracy did not demonstrate piety by patronizing the episcopal foundations. They preferred to focus on a number of monasteries, most of which had been founded on their own patrimonial estates.<sup>45</sup> Thus, during this period bishops often gravitated toward stable and hereditary rulership as the guarantor of ecclesiastical welfare and peace. Even bishops with aristocratic ties ultimately made political decisions that brought the episcopal and ducal authorities closer to each other. There were mutual benefits from this cooperation, although there was also the increasing danger of alienating the baronial ranks. This gravitation of the bishops to the dukes demonstrated the legacy of the early Piast monarchy in which the king was the crucial organizer, highest authority and patron of the Polish church.<sup>46</sup> Bishops who often enhanced ecclesiastical power through cooperation with secular rulers at the expense of the baronial oligarchy and their own relatives were not an unusual phenomenon. Their examples have confused historians who have persistently looked at the rise of the Polish hierarchical church from the perspective of a discourse between the secular aristocracy and the Piast rulers. Marxist historians viewed the bishops as a group that evolved from a predatory aristocratic establishment to a predatory self-conscious element of the hierarchical church that took full advantage of the historical processes associated with class struggle. That struggle was exemplified by the rise of the knightly class and townsmen, the weakness of

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<sup>45</sup> Waclaw Korta, *Rozwój terytorialny wielkiej świeckiej własności feudalnej w Polsce do połowy XIII wieku* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow, 1964), 546-547.

<sup>46</sup> The first significant aristocratic foundations appeared in Little Poland no earlier than in the 1140's, but failed to rival royal and ducal patronage. See Józef Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła*, 250-293. For the ecclesiastical organization under the early Piast kings, see Władysław Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku* (Lwów, 1893); Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Kościół monarszy w X-XII wieku i jego zwierzchnik biskup Polski," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 92 (1985): 747-768; and Zygmunt Sułkowski, "Nowsze badania nad budową polskiej organizacji kościelnej," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 10 (1961): 170-178.

the monarchs and the secular baronage's unscrupulous resistance to all political changes that might undermine its superior position.<sup>47</sup> For others, not class consciousness but family interests determined the bishops' political affiliations and decisions.<sup>48</sup> The cases of apparent inconsistency between the two models have not been explained. Bishops manifested loyalty to the traditional two-tiered structure of authority, where the secular arm had to be firm and reliable. Baronial oligarchy failed to offer a superior alternative to a cooperative duke in the service of the church. The attachment of the bishops of Krakow to their institutional church was stronger than has been commonly recognized. The crisis of the central authority in the late twelfth century forced them to act swiftly and decisively.

#### **A. The Bishops and the Formation of a Regional Ducal Power: 1177-1217**

By consenting to Kazimir the Just's rule in Krakow after his rebellion against Mieszko III the Old in 1177 the bishop and the secular barons of Krakow made the ducal authority determined by elections. While in Krzywousty's model power rotated among the members of the Piast dynasty according to age and blood proximity, Kazimir's victory incorporated the aristocratic elite into the process of constructing ducal authority. Dynastic relations were no longer sufficient to gain Krakow. Instead, popular consent was required for ducal election. At the turn of the twelfth century the episcopal authorities were not comfortable with this decentralization of the highest secular power.

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<sup>47</sup> See Stanisław Piekarczyk, *Studia do dziejów miast polskich w XIII-XIV w. Rola miast w walce o zjednoczenie ziem polskich i we wcześniejszym okresie monarchii stanowej do 1370* (Warsaw, 1955), 122-128; Stefan Krakowski, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce w służbie książąt* (Warsaw, 1956), 77-78, 116-119; and Roman Grodecki, "Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski," 67-71.

<sup>48</sup> In more recent historiography, studies by Janusz Bieniak have most prominently advocated this view; "Rody rycerskie jako czynnik struktury społecznej w Polsce XIII-XV wieku," in *Polska w okresie rozdrobnienia feudalnego*, ed. Henryk Łowmiański (Wrocław, 1983), 161-200.

Bishops Gedko and Pełka (Fulko) favored a stable hereditary line of succession to the throne of Krakow – a model that could not be easily reconciled with the secular lords' ambitions to control their dukes. The bishops' consistent support for Kazimir's line was a reaction to the increasing disintegration of central authority after Bolesław Krzywousty's death and the violent struggle for the superior authority of the duke of Krakow. Kazimir provided a chance to establish a new, firm and just rulership that would respond positively to the Gregorian ideals of ecclesiastical liberties. His premature death in 1194, however, shattered any chance for smooth dynastic succession. The elite had to elect another Piast or establish an oligarchic provisional government. While between 1198 and 1202 the lay leaders negotiated with a number of Polish dukes with legitimate rights to Krakow, the bishops demonstrated continuing support for Kazimir's sons. In turn, when the older son, Leszek the White, was finally confirmed in his ducal dignity in Krakow, he built a stronger and more privileged church in his duchy. Its leader, Bishop Vincent, was a reliable ally in contrast to the unpredictable secular lords. The episcopal authority did not perceive local lordships as reliable sources of security and patronage. Instead, it persisted in seeking a symbiosis with the duke's stable rulership even when rebellions, invasions and a vacancy on the ducal throne created a chance to form an oligarchic state. Family interests and baronial solidarity did not suppress or even weaken the bishops' collective identity as guardians of the Christian community in the diocese of Krakow.

In 1177 the youngest male of the Piast dynasty, Kazimir II the Just, arrived in Krakow as a result of a rebellion against his brother Mieszko the Old, who as the senior of the Piast dynasty had taken the town a mere four years earlier. The bishop of Krakow

actively intervened on behalf of the youngest member of the dynasty in an effort to create a new political reality on a local level.<sup>49</sup> Kazimir took Krakow when Mieszko the Old was still in the country. There were also other older members of the dynasty: Kazimir's first cousins, Bolesław I the Tall and Mieszko I Piłtonogi. By placing Kazimir in Krakow, Bishop Gedko (1166-1185) made episcopal authority a part of the electoral and censoring mechanisms.<sup>50</sup> In the future, able bishops negotiated power on behalf of both their ecclesiastical office and the baronial elite which jealously guarded their privileged position.

Mieszko the Old's autocratic style of ruling Krakow violated the ideal of a just and proper lordship and prompted Bishop Gedko's radical action. Either personally or through his officials, the duke provoked the local oligarchy to rebellious action by tolerating the abusive lordship of his representatives. Vincent, a contemporary chronicler, laments the harshness of penalties for violating ducal rights and thus the striking injustice caused by the new ruler's judges. His text strongly suggests that delegation of power did not release the duke from personal responsibility to ensure a just government.<sup>51</sup> If Vincent's words reflect a prevailing mood in Krakow, the local elite

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<sup>49</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, ed. Brygida Kurbis, in MPHsn, vol. 8 (Warsaw, 1970), 43; Kadłubek III, 24, 119; DAVI, 190. The legalistic sentiments of most Polish prelates have been recently discussed by Janusz Bieniak in "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku, arbitrarzy książąt – trudne początki" in *Spoleczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1996), 7: 11-44; and "Obóz obrońców statutu Bolesława Krzywoustego," in *Genealogia. Polska elita polityczna w wiekach średnich na tle porównawczym*, ed. Jan Wroniszewski (Toruń, 1993), 17-33.

<sup>50</sup> Mieszko's itinerary allowed Gedko to organize opposition against the duke in Krakow. He was absent at the formal gathering at the tomb of St. Adalbert in Gniezno that was attended by Mieszko, Kazimir, and Archbishop of Gniezno, among other dukes and prelates, shortly before the coup d'état.

<sup>51</sup> Kadłubek, IV, 2, 132-134: "Isti sunt tui iudices, isti tui consules, Cracouia! De hiis dictum puta: Consilium in suadela uniuersum est toxicum in pixide medicantis. Iudicium in lingua impii est gladius in manu furiosi." Vincent provides the examples of heavy fines for killing bears in ducal forests, acquisition of servants without ducal permission, assaulting Jews and using false coins. Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa*, 81-82, has viewed the problem from a more positive perspective. In his opinion,

tried to justify their action on moral grounds as resistance against arbitrary government.<sup>52</sup> Gedko, an active agent of political change as well as an educated member of the aristocracy and hierarchical church, must have been fully aware of the *iuris resistendi* that was prescribed when the ruler abused his authority. Such a ruler was a mere tyrant devoid of divine authority.<sup>53</sup> Resistance in the name of public justice reflecting God's order offered the bishop additional justification for abolishing Mieszko's rule in Krakow. The bishop's baronial background made his leadership credible and effective.<sup>54</sup> The

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Mieszko's autocratic form of rulership was a defensive struggle to monopolize justice, control over land and subjects in response to political challenges produced by the increasingly wealthy, independent and influential aristocracy.

<sup>52</sup> Jan Adamus, "Problem absolutyzmu piastowskiego," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 10 (1958): 19-74, sees the events of 1177 as an example of the Piast authority limited by popular assemblies, councils and the increasing sense of rightful resistance. His suggestion that the latter was a legitimate element of power relations recognized by the public seems exaggerated, at least in the context of Vincent's chronicle. See also "O mniemanej łączyczej ustawie sukcesyjnej roku 1180," *Collectanea Theologica* 17 (1936): 192; and *O monarchii Gallowej* (Warsaw, 1952), 80-97. In contrast, Stanisław Russocki, "Problem rady książęcej w Polsce dzielnicowej," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 27 (1975): 89-95, argues that the second half of the twelfth century witnessed an opposite process: the formation of an institutionalized ducal council at the expense of general assemblies. Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 1. (Warsaw, 1985), 185-187, has made a useful distinction between the legal and sociological dimensions of Piast authority. In his opinion, only the latter in the form of nobles' rebellions on behalf of other members of the Piast dynasty was able to impose serious restrictions on weak dukes, yet retain the dukes' legal and constitutional supremacy.

<sup>53</sup> The theory became well formulated during the Gregorian Revolution and served the papacy during its continuing conflict with the Hohenstaufen emperors. Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1939), 97-117; Karl Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church 300-1140* (Princeton, 1969), 213-288; and Ian Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978), 142-151. Gedko may have become more familiar with the ideology of lawful resistance when he studied in Italy. His legal interests were reflected in correspondence with Pope Lucius III and vivid contacts with Bologna. See Tadeusz Ulewicz, "O średniowiecznych związkach kulturalnych Polski z Bolonią," *Ruch Literacki* 30 (1989): 200-201 and Krzysztof Ozóg, "Formacja intelektualna biskupów krakowskich w średniowieczu," in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa*, ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski, (Krakow, 1995), 163-164. The two fundamental collections of canon law, Ivo of Chartres's *Collectio tripartita* and Gratian's *Decretum* were in the possession of the Krakow cathedral in the twelfth century. Before Gedko's tenure in the episcopal see of Krakow, communication between the Polish realm and the post-Gregorian Holy See was also maintained by at least four papal legates who visited the Province of Gniezno and ducal courts. See Krzysztof Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Wrocław, 2005), 263-268; Stanisław Szczur, "Kościół krakowski a Stolica Apostolska we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Anacleta Cracoviensia* 32 (2000), 43-66; and Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, 171-175, 433-437.

<sup>54</sup> It has been convincingly established that Gedko belonged to an aristocratic family who served Bolesław Krzywousty. Wojśław, Krzywousty's master of the pantry (*stolnik*), was probably Gedko's grandfather.

peaceful manner in which Kazimir entered Krakow, with only a small contingent, indicates that Gedko and his camp had prepared the ground for the coup d'état.<sup>55</sup> It also stressed the legitimizing power of the Christian community.

The bishop quickly utilized his social position and episcopal dignity to muster support for his duke. He undoubtedly stood behind the organization of the assembly of Łęczyca in 1180 that resulted in the approval of Kazimir as the new ruler of Krakow by the entire Polish episcopacy. The assembly appears to be a product of earlier negotiations in which the bishop moved to the forefront and took the initiative. Kazimir agreed to conditions that profited the bishopric and ducal authority more than the secular barons. The assembly intended to create a just and responsible dukeship, monitored by the institutional church as represented by Gedko. The bishop would act on behalf of a local Christian community.<sup>56</sup> At Łęczyca Kazimir renounced his right to *ius spoli*, an obvious loss of a traditional prerogative and source of revenue.<sup>57</sup> But he also promised to stop abuses in exacting the peasants' obligation to provide board and horses (*stan* and

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The bishop's father Trojan held an important ducal position at the court of Bolesław the Curly. See Jan Bieniak, "Heraldyka polska przed Długoszem. Uwagi problemowe," in *Sztuka i ideologia XV wieku*, ed. Piotr Skubiszewski (Warszawa, 1978), 176-180; "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku," in *Spoleczeństwo polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1982), 2:19-20; and Błażej Śliwiński, "Pogranicze kujawsko-pomorskie w XII-XIII wieku," *Prace Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych – Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe* 32 (1989): 15-16.

<sup>55</sup> Kadłubek, IV, 6, 145; and IV, 8, 147. Zbigniew Dalewski views Kazimir's entry to Krakow within the tradition of ceremonial *adventus regis*, that had been known in Carolingian Europe. There is no record of a specific coronation *ordo* practiced at that time; see Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremonia*, 111-121.

<sup>56</sup> For constitutional and practical reasons Kazimir's privileges could not carry practical implications in all Poland. As Roman Grodecki notes, it was too early for other Piast dukes to recognize the superior authority of the new ruler of Little Poland. Most of Great Poland, Mazovia and Silesia remained outside of his realm; see Grodecki, "Zjazd łęczycki z roku 1180," in *Polska piastowska* (Warsaw, 1969), 99-103.

<sup>57</sup> The problem of what precisely those rights meant is an object of a debate. The dukes appropriated goods from the deceased bishops. It is less clear whether those goods were movable or real estate. Compare Władysław Abraham, *Organizacja kościoła w Polsce* (Lwów, 1893), 229, and Alexander Gieysztor, "Nad statutem łęczyckim 1180 roku," in *Księga pamiątkowa 150-Lecia AGAD* (Warsaw, 1958), 181.

*podwod*) when lords (*potentes*) toured the country.<sup>58</sup> There is no indication that the duke contemplated the full abolition of the exactions that were indispensable for ducal communication and administration. Kazimir was prepared to demonstrate just rulership by assaulting predatory practices of men in his service and local lords that harmed the defenseless, including ecclesiastical tenants and church possessions. The duke's concessions were the price the duke was ready to pay for Gedko's support in 1177.<sup>59</sup> Under those circumstances Kazimir became the sole guarantor of ecclesiastical privileges and a partner of the hierarchical church outside the boundaries of the oligarchic power structure. Gedko held Kazimir responsible for the action of the barons in regard to the church tenants. While the duke only indirectly compromised his authority, the provincial barons were divested of important elements of their expanding lordship.

In 1194 Kazimir died without a son at a suitable age for succession. Leszek the White (c. 1186-1227) was less than ten at the time and the distribution of power had to be renegotiated. The next six years were a period of violent struggle for the throne of Krakow in which Gedko's successor, Pełka, reinforced ecclesiastical leadership. In theory, the inability of the young duke to exercise power should have resulted in a stable oligarchic government redefining the boundaries of authority and obtaining new privileges. In fact, the Krakow baronage and the bishop did not form a unified front. If

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<sup>58</sup> Kadłubek IV, 9, 149-150.

<sup>59</sup> Vincent and the papal bull record the presence of eight bishops, including Archbishop Zdzisław. Vincent's text summarizes the decisions of the council. See Kadłubek, IV, 9, 149. Pope Alexander III confirmed them in 1181: see KDW 1, no. 25, 31-32. Also *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 9349, Philipp Jaffe, ed. (Graz, 1957), 166. The papal bull refers to the practice of despoiling poor peasants not by random lords but by the duke's men during his passage. Władysław Abraham, "Pierwszy spór kościelno-polityczny w Polsce," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 32 (1895): 288, argues that the text of the bull is closer to the actual decisions made at the council. In his opinion, Kazimir could have only promised to spare the landless peasants who suffered during the passage of the duke's court. The two services were not terminated after Łęczyca. If Vincent indeed purposefully expanded the scope of Kazimir's promise, he wanted to stress the beginning of a new and just era that came to the province with the duke's accession.

the bishop aimed at securing more tangible gains for his church, regency or provisional rulership by a duke that did not represent Kazimir the Just's line was not an acceptable long-term solution. New rights and privileges as well as the confirmation of the old ones could not be legitimately given by a regent government. If bishops opted for a temporary oligarchic rule they had different objectives in mind. Power in the hands of the oligarchic elite seemed a better guarantee for a stable power structure during the minority of the deceased duke's son than the importation of foreign dukes with their own hereditary provinces, agendas and ambitious agents.

The period of Leszek's political incapacity due to age did not diminish the Krakovian church's determination to forge a separate and stable hereditary line of rulers of Krakow that had been initiated by Kazimir's rebellion of 1177. Bishop Pełka (1186-1207) defended the rights of Kazimir's son Leszek because the bishop found a young legitimate duke acceptable to the members of the provincial elites and in need of the stable support offered by the hierarchical church of Krakow. Due to his influential background Pełka was able to fully assert his own role within the province's oligarchy. If chronicler Długosz's information about the bishop's blood relation to Palatine Nicholas and the Lis family is correct, the bishop belonged to the uppermost knightly family that was able to secure the most important secular office in the province.<sup>60</sup> Pełka also established himself within the Krakow elite due to his long-time service to Duke Kazimir. Pełka possibly acted as chancellor and certainly as a defender of the ducal castle against

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<sup>60</sup> The contemporary sources do not provide information about Pełka's social background. Długosz clearly states that Pełka was Palatine Nicholas' brother. Both belonged to the powerful family of Lis: DA V, 223; VI, 158, 164. Only recently have historians traced the source of Długosz's information and determined Nicholas' origin. On this subject, see Gerard Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w "Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego" Jana Długosza. Próba rekonstrukcji* (Poznań, 1983), 38; and Błażej Śliwiński, "Ród Lisów w Rocznikach Jana Długosza. Przyczynek do zagadnienia zaginionej kroniki dominikańskiej z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 34 (1992): 41-49.

Mieszko the Old who, with the assistance of a substantial group of Krakovian nobles led by Castellan Kietlicz, tried to retake the Duchy of Krakow in 1191.<sup>61</sup> After Kazimir's death he and the palatine headed a group of barons who quickly asserted power at the center.

The sudden death of Duke Kazimir in 1191 forced the barons to improvise and experiment. Bishop Pełka quickly advanced to the forefront and opposed those within the baronial ranks who aimed at destabilizing the power structure still centered on the ducal office. It was he who first called the local barons for a council to decide the future of the throne.<sup>62</sup> The bishop chose to buttress the hereditary rights of Kazimir's son and thus restrict the electoral powers of the secular oligarchy. Since Leszek was still a minor, a regent government was formed, although not without difficulty. Even though Leszek the White was Kazimir's oldest surviving son, Leszek's immediate rights to the throne were not obvious. The dispute among the assembled barons demonstrated two different constitutional concepts, although both emphasized the barons' prime political role. One camp suggested the election of the oldest Piast duke, Mieszko the Old, who had lost Krakow to Kazimir in 1177. Had not Mieszko's nephew also been proposed as an alternative, one could even suspect a determination to revive the succession order based on the seniority within the Piast family.<sup>63</sup> The other group, led by Bishop Pełka and

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<sup>61</sup> The hypothesis about Pełka's administrative service to Duke Kazimir is based on a forged charter with the date 1176: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Polski*, vol. 1, ed. Antoni Helcel and others (Warsaw, 1847), no. 4, 11-13. In fact it records Kazimir's grant of tithes to the Cistercians of Sulejow in 1191. Pełka witnesses the document as chancellor. See also Krzysztof Ożóg, "Formacja intelektualna biskupów krakowskich w średniowieczu," in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa*, Krzysztof Baczkowski, ed. (Krakow, 1995), 104. In 1191 the rebels took advantage of Kazimir's participation in a campaign against a Ruthenian principality, see Kadłubek IV, 11, 23.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 175.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 176.

Palatine Nicholas, emphasized the hereditary rights of the young Leszek by proposing regency.

Pełka's ability to maneuver between his aristocratic peers and the interests of the bishopric was revealed during a debate after Kazimir's funeral. From the bishop's perspective, the assurance of Leszek's rights to Krakow demanded baronial cooperation. Representing the commonwealth, *res publica*, they had to protect the rights of the defenseless and exercise just lordship.<sup>64</sup> The regency had critical consequences for the distribution of power. The bishop, as a leading public figure in Krakow, buttressed by his distinct aristocratic background, had vital interests in determining the character of the secular authority at the very heart of his diocese. It was not, however, the appropriation of ducal prerogatives at which the bishop aimed. By championing Kazimir's line, he avoided potential turmoil associated with the arrival of a foreign duke and a redistribution of offices, but risked an invasion by those who claimed to have more right to rule Krakow than the ill-defined council of the barons. This is exactly what happened when the oldest member of the dynasty and the paternal uncle of the young Leszek, Mieszko the Old, claimed the Krakow throne in the name of his nephew.<sup>65</sup> Under such circumstances Pełka's status could be challenged. The installation of the new duke's own man on the episcopal see was a common practice in the Polish realm before the beginning

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 21, 177: "Aut ergo pupillis omnem omnino tutelam aufers, aut etiam rei publice tutores non negabis. Nec enim per se princeps rem publicam administrant, sed per administratorias potestates."

<sup>65</sup> It still remains unclear who, besides Mieszko the Old, preceded Kazimir the Just in seniority at the time of the rebellion in 1177. Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej*, vol. 2, (Krakow, 1999), 187, suggests that in fact it could have been Bolesław I the Tall of Silesia or even his younger brother Mieszko I Płatonogi of Raciborz. The latter asserted his claims to Krakow shortly after the battle of Mozgawa in 1195. See Jerzy Horwat, "Mieszko I Płatonogi, książę raciborski, opolski oraz krakowski 1131-1211," in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa*, ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski (Krakow, 1995), 215, 219.

of the thirteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Leszek's minority gave the bishop extra time to construct a symbiotic relation with the secular ruler in the future. Vincent's narrative illustrates the bishop's crucial role in the power structure of the Duchy of Krakow after the death of Duke Kazimir. According to the chronicler, while Bishop Pełka called for an assembly,<sup>67</sup> Palatine Nicholas took the barons' oath to honor the agreement regarding a regent government in the name of young Leszek.<sup>68</sup> This cooperation saved the province and the city from Mieszko's invasion.

The bishop successfully withheld power from Mieszko and preserved Krakow for Kazimir's son. Pełka's military leadership during Duke Mieszko the Old's invasion of Krakow in 1195 proved the practical abilities of the bishop as a lord of the realm. A political catastrophe would have been imminent if the Krakovians had not secured support from Leszek's home Duchy of Sandomierz.<sup>69</sup> Its Palatine Goworek joined the

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<sup>66</sup> The election of Cyprian to the bishopric of Wrocław in 1201 was a significant example of compromise between the tradition of the secular designation and investiture of church prelates and the mounting pressure of Innocent III's reform program. The chapter merely turned to Pope Innocent III for permission to translate Cyprian from his see in Lubus to Silesia. The appeal to the papacy underlined the increasing concern about canonical procedures. There is no good reason to believe that the canons' decision to elect Cyprian was completely independent from their duke's will. Cyprian did not have any apparent relations to the cathedral of Wrocław, but had advanced in his ecclesiastical career in the province of Lubus, which was controlled by Duke Henry the Bearded of Silesia. See Jacek Maciejewski, *Episkopat Polski doby dzielnicowej* (Krakow-Bydgoszcz, 2003), 47-48 and Benedict Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy* (Wrocław, 1975), 118.

<sup>67</sup> Kadłubek IV, 21, 175: "Igitur exequialibus rite peractis, uenerabilis ille Cracouiensium antistes Fulco, primo cum primatibus de regni successione tractatu habito, in contionem omnes uocat..."

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 21,175-76: "Propter quod eubagionum ille primus, comes Nicolaus, summe omnibus regratians, omnes de constantia, de forma fidelitatis et ammonet et instruit omnesque, ne cui suam in contrarium mutare liceat uoluntatem, iuris iurandi religione obstringit." In his famous monograph about Mieszko III the Old, Stanisław Smolka has suggested that a regent government in the name of young Leszek was for Palatine Nicholas the only guarantee to preserve power in relation to the baronial families who had been penalized for revolting against Kazimir in 1191; see Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek* (Warsaw, 1881), 366-367.

<sup>69</sup> The Province of Sandomierz remained in the hands of Kazimir's widow Helen and young Leszek before his coming of age. In the light of the succession system established by Krzywousty they had no legal right to claim it as a patrimonial possession after Kazimir's death. The Łęczyca and Sieradz areas at

Krakovian forces against Mieszko at Mozgawa.<sup>70</sup> The support of Sandomierz barons would be even more vital for the success of later competitors for Little Poland.<sup>71</sup> Doubts about the positive final outcome of the devastating battle prompted Pełka to immediately enlist the surviving troops of the Krakovian ally, the Ruthenian Prince Roman of Włodzimierz, for defense of the city now dangerously deprived of relieving forces. When the wounded Roman refused to continue the campaign, the bishop used his diplomatic skills to convince the Krakovian lords to return to Krakow instead of pursuing the retreating duke of Great Poland.<sup>72</sup>

Pełka acted in the capacity of a prime leader of the province. He did not initiate a conscious ecclesiastical struggle against secular authority in anticipation of gaining particular church privileges by crippling its powers. At the turn of the twelfth century Krakow was far from an ideological battleground between *sacrum* and *profanum*. It was a vital center of negotiations determining the powers of the duke in relation to the local secular lords and the bishop.

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the northern frontier of Little Poland became Leszek's possession after Mieszko's withdrawal from Krakow in 1202. *Kronika wielkopolska*, 54, 78-79.

<sup>70</sup> Kadłubek IV, 22, 179. Vincent uses the term *cracouiensis magnates prouincie*. It seems improbable that the chronicler would make no distinction between two provinces that had been evolving separate identities since the mid-twelfth century. The presence of the Sandomierz forces in the battle is well testified to by the sources, although there has been an unlikely suggestion that their Palatine Goworek purposefully delayed a battlefield appearance to prevent the Krakovians' victory. See Kadłubek IV, 23, 180; Agnieszka Teterycz, "Małopolska elita władzy wobec zamieszek politycznych w Polsce w XIII wieku," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warszawa, 2001), 9:65; and Roman Grodecki, "Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski," 176.

<sup>71</sup> The correlation between the location of the barons' estates and their political interests is difficult to prove in the context of Little Poland. In the late twelfth century, the leading baronial families, including Pełka's, already held estates in various regions of Little Poland, with no clear indication of its concentration in the Province of Krakow. This fact produces methodological problems, as revealed by Błażej Śliwinski, "Ród Lisów. Problem pochodzenia wojewody krakowskiego Mikołaja i biskupa krakowskiego Pełki," in *Genealogia. Studia nad wspólnotami krewniczymi i terytorialnymi w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, ed. Jan Wroniszewski (Toruń, 1987), 45-46; and by Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 120-122, 129.

<sup>72</sup> Kadłubek IV, 23, 181-182.

The Krakovian secular elites were unable to act arbitrarily. They needed the bishop's cooperation and a mandate from the widowed Queen Helen and her sons, Leszek and Conrad. Having repelled the aggression of senior Mieszko, the barons of Little Poland seem to have publicly demonstrated their support for Kazimir's sons by entering the city in the minors' company. Vincent mentions that they "even more solemnly than before renewed the celebration of establishing the prince (*princeps*)."

Helen's presence in Krakow formally initiated the regent government. Vincent notes Duchess-Dowager Helen's guardianship (*tutela*) over her young sons.<sup>73</sup> Her practical ability to govern seemed less certain. Vincent suggests uneven relations between the dowager and the baronage. According to him, dignities and offices were distributed according to the duchess's wishes.<sup>74</sup> The transfer of executive powers to local nobles and their practical ability to distribute offices was a matter of time and came as no surprise. The bishop remained a major powerbroker. According to the chronicler, "Bishop Pelka and Comes Nicholas, with the dignity of the palatine, with some certain barons took upon themselves the government of the commonwealth, distributing it among the able and loyal men."<sup>75</sup> Vincent suggests a gradual but certain decline of the queen's practical ability to exercise power.

The widowed Helen provided leadership only to those who resented not so much Leszek's claims to the throne, but rather the increasing power of the duet of the bishop and the palatine. To rule the duchy independently from the entrenched oligarchy was the

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 23, 182.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 23-24, 183.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 23-24, 183: "... presul Fulco et palatine comes excellentie Nicolaus, cum quibusdam procerum rei publice curam suscipiunt, cuius administrationem idoneis ac fidelissimis potestatibus distribuunt."

object of Helen's attempt to renegotiate power relations in Krakow. In 1198, the dowager tried to free herself from Pełka's camp by negotiating with Mieszko the Old of Great Poland. In appealing to Mieszko, her brother-in-law, she was following the customary law and sentiments that favored the oldest male relative of the minor to provide guardianship and exercise authority. Vincent puts the following words in her mouth: "It will be safer to respect the paternal uncle like a father rather than constantly to have him as an enemy, and it is better to rule by the grace of the paternal uncle rather than to be always dependent on the will of the people."<sup>76</sup> It is doubtful, however, that Mieszko could have entered Krakow without a consensus among the local barons. There is no record of Mieszko taking the town by force. Pełka and Nicholas either lacked sufficient support or political will to prepare the defenses of the town. Mieszko was not a bad alternative after all. For propagandic reasons the duke emphasized the potential instability of a government based on capricious popular will, rather than on hereditary rights.<sup>77</sup> Mieszko's conditional tenure at Krakow could prevent other dukes from pressing their rights to the province. The duke, the oldest among the Piasts and Krzywousty's only living son, carried the aura of legitimacy. Under pressure, the bishop accepted Mieszko when the duke promised to knight young Leszek and make him his heir in due time.<sup>78</sup>

Political stability depended on the continuation of offices and privileges. A new crisis began when Mieszko clearly refused to uphold the succession agreement and did

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 25, 188: "Tutius patris loco fore patrum uenerari, quam hostem perpetuo sustinere; satius esse patrum regnare munere, quam ex uulgi semper pendere arbitrio."

<sup>77</sup> Mieszko, according to Vincent, used the term "the common people" (*vulgus*) in reference to the unstable foundation of Leszek's authority: "... quod uulgu strepitu proclamatur, a quibus quod summa uix difficultate construitur, facillime dissoluitur." Kadłubek, IV, 25.6, 187.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 25, 187.

not allowed Leszek to co-rule the Duchy of Krakow. Even more disturbing was the increasing insecurity of the Krakovians' possessions and dignities. In an effort to consolidate his authority Mieszko began to confiscate the estates of unreliable local barons and transfer them, along with offices, to his men from the Duchy of Great Poland. In response, the disillusioned barons led by Palatine Nicholas expelled him from the province.<sup>79</sup> But an unexplained difference of interests between the palatine and Queen Helen led to Mieszko's reinstatement in Krakow.<sup>80</sup> As a result of negotiations held, according to Długosz, at Sandomierz, Helen and the barons advised by Nicholas allowed Mieszko to take Krakow again on the additional condition of transferring the Kujavia Province to the Duchy of Krakow.<sup>81</sup> Leszek could remain in Sandomierz. Vincent clearly states that the oath cementing the agreement was taken by the "great men" (*proceres*) representing both sides.<sup>82</sup>

Mieszko's return to Krakow was a manifestation of a more workable compromise that publicly stressed the superior dignity of the senior Piast and ensured the security of the province without challenging the Krakovian elites' electoral position. Mieszko formally proclaimed Leszek his heir without delay, but Leszek's ultimate succession to the throne of Krakow would now be made by the senior Piast's own decision, not any

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<sup>79</sup> DA VI, 179; Kadłubek IV, 25, 187, 189.

<sup>80</sup> Vincent does not offer any other explanation besides a plot against him by some invidious men: "Hoc autem de comite significabat Nicolao, quem nouerat eidem femine tunc temporis exosum. Quamuis alias utpote uirum discretum et strennum per omnia et omnium amicissimum non modicum dilexerit, inuidorum tamen fabricante dolo causas odii contra illum conflata et quasi ueras atrocissime cum illo persequitur." Kadłubek IV, 25, 189.

<sup>81</sup> Długosz's *Annals* note only one set of negotiations in which Mieszko's adoption of Leszek and the transfer of Kujavia were discussed together, see DA VI, 183-184; Kadłubek IV, 25, 187-189.

<sup>82</sup> Kadłubek IV, 25, 188.

oligarchic council's.<sup>83</sup> In fact, according to Vincent, before his death Mieszko neither annexed Kujawy to Little Poland, nor officially made Leszek his heir.<sup>84</sup> Mieszko's violation of the basic points of the agreement disunited the old tandem of the bishop and the palatine. It did not harm the interests of the bishop and Helen in the long run, for Mieszko's arrival provided a hope for future rule by her son without the constant approval of baronial factions.

Bishop Pełka was able to preserve the throne within the hands of the provincial branch of the dynasty and pay lip service to the primacy of Krzywousty's last surviving son as well as to the electoral claims of the secular barons. In contrast to the palatine, Pełka had less reason to stage an open opposition to the ambitious duke of Great Poland. Unlike Nicholas, he had an alternative source of power: the bishopric and the status of one of the most important ecclesiastical positions in the entire Polish realm. Nicholas' situation was more complicated. The palatine was Mieszko's nemesis at Mozgawa, the battle responsible for the death of the duke's own son. Thus the bishop and the palatine began to drift apart.

One can suggest that the pro-Mieszko camp in Krakow, headed by Helen, prevailed and that Nicholas, as a leader of the group opting for baronial regency, became its obvious enemy. In order to survive the transfer of power from the local oligarchy of which he was part to a new legitimate ruler, Nicholas had to ostensibly make peace with his former enemy. His embassy to Mieszko was a pragmatic act of survival in the fluctuating situation in the duchy. It was still the same Nicholas who dictated conditions

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 25, 190.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 25, 189-90.

under which Leszek could access the Krakow throne after Mieszko's death.<sup>85</sup> The sources do not indicate a clear-cut situation in which the provincial barons arbitrarily exercised power by taking advantage of their duke's minority. Leading nobles did not monopolize power as a uniform group countering ducal authority. Helen was able to rally some of the barons to her cause, in opposition to the bishop's original plan to prolong the regency. Mieszko's failure came from the simple mistake of disregarding those who allowed him to take Krakow as an outsider. His death in 1202 prompted the Krakovian barons to negotiate with Leszek again.

Leszek's final accession to the duchy long promised to him by the local elite revealed certain advantages that the bishop enjoyed in provincial power relations. Unlike the palatine and other secular barons, Pełka's position could only have been seriously threatened if the duke compelled the bishop to resign and forced the cathedral to elect his own candidate, a move that was profoundly difficult for a duke coming from outside the local power base.<sup>86</sup> Only a vacancy in the episcopal office offered the dukes a promising opportunity to nominate their candidates. Relying on his episcopal position Pełka was thus more politically secure in the event of changes on the ducal throne and, in contrast to Nicholas, able to remain loyal to Leszek's cause. By this time, he had been championing Leszek's cause for almost a decade. From the palatine's perspective, however, the arrival

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 26, 190. Leszek was asked to remove Goworek from the ducal palatinate.

<sup>86</sup> Bolesław II the Generous paid a devastating political price for killing Bishop Stanisław in 1079. It fueled the nobles' already increasing dissatisfaction with their king's aggressive foreign policy and violent punishment of critics. Bolesław was forced to flee the country. For recent interpretations of the bishop's death see Krzysztof Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku* (Wrocław, 2005), 113-146; Gerard Labuda, *Święty Stanisław biskup krakowski, patron Polski. Śladami zabójstwa-męczeństwa-kanonizacji* (Poznań, 2000), 95; Jan Powierski, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego. Polityka i jej odzwierciedlenie w literaturze średniowiecznej* (Gdańsk, 1992), 211-224; Tadeusz Grudziński, *Bolesław Śmiały-Szczodry i biskup Stanisław. Dzieje konfliktu* (Warsaw, 1982), 164-203.

of new men with a now fully empowered Leszek presented a danger. The already mature duke no longer required regents in Krakow. Nor did he seem to have trusted the same faction of the secular oligarchy that had been championing his rights to the throne. He had to import his loyal followers from the Duchy of Sandomierz where he resided. At this point the interests of the ecclesiastical elite including the bishop and those of the secular lords led by the palatine diverged even further. For the first time it became apparent that Pełka's episcopal office afforded him a different political perspective. For Bishop Pełka the prospect of Leszek's arrival at Krakow did not mean a revolution in power relations. The status of the Sandomierz church was much lower than that of Krakow in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Polish ecclesiastical province. Its collegiate church of the Holiest Virgin Mary was a suffragan to the See of Krakow and as such unable to compete against its superior. In theory, Leszek might bring with him his court *capellanus* and install him as bishop at the Krakovian cathedral. That would have required a direct strike, however, against Pełka, the duke's reliable and influential ally. If the duke had also planned to introduce his loyal canons to the cathedral chapter, the extension of its authority as a corporate entity remained too insignificant to challenge the bishop.<sup>87</sup> In contrast, Leszek's arrival from Sandomierz would alter the secular branch of the local authority. At Sandomierz Leszek was served by his own palatine, who might move with him to Krakow. Nicholas saw the end of his dominant position if he allowed Leszek's arrival.

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<sup>87</sup> In contrast to their western counterparts, the chapters in Poland never had opportunities to become powerful political entities despite their corporal wealth. Stanisław Zachorowski, *Rozwój i ustrój kapituł polskich w wiekach średnich* (Krakow, 1912), 70-156; Andrzej Radziński, "Związki rodzinne duchowieństwa kapituł katedralnych w Polsce średniowiecznej jako czynnik awansu i kariery na tle porównawczym," in *Genealogia. Rola związków rodzinnych i rodowych w życiu publicznym w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, eds. Andrzej Radziński and Jan Wroniszewski (Toruń, 1996), 242-243; and Józef Szymański, *Kanonikat świecki w Małopolsce od końca XI do połowy XIII wieku* (Lublin, 1995), 5-14.

Leszek's defense of basic ducal prerogatives provoked opposition to his rule in Krakow and temporarily marginalized the episcopal authority. The duke naturally demanded the recognition of his Sandomieran Palatine Goworek in Krakow, a matter unacceptable to Nicholas' camp. In the end, Leszek declined to sacrifice Goworek for the throne of Krakow.<sup>88</sup> His argument, as noted by Vincent, reveals the duke's resentment of the local baronage, ready to reject the rightful dukes who potentially threatened the power of the provincial oligarchs: "What do those offer who desire a reward for the most innocent man, for the selling of dignities creates a grievous result, and there is no respect for a free man."<sup>89</sup> When in 1202 Leszek refused to abandon his palatine, a faction of the Krakovian nobles, probably led by Nicholas, offered the throne to a duke who did not intend to alter local secular power relations.<sup>90</sup> Having been invited by the Krakovian barons, Mieszko's only surviving son, Władysław Laskonogi of Great Poland, did not feel compelled to make concessions to the episcopal authority. Leszek's protection of traditional ducal powers also prevented Pełka from building a responsive ducal authority under the bishop's supervision.

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<sup>88</sup> Stanisław Zachorowski's assumption that the issue of the new election caused the barons to split into two well-defined camps led by Pełka and Nicholas comes from the silence of the sources. Zachorowski, "Wiek XIII i panowanie Władysława Łokietka," in *Dzieje Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 1, ed. Roman Grodecki and Stanisław Zachorowski (Krakow, 1926), 231. While the idea of calling Leszek to Krakow always remained popular among some barons, the bishop consistently avoided an open conflict with the palatine. Vincent's *Chronicle* does not mention Bishop Pełka as an agitating opponent of other dukes. Pełka waited till Nicholas' death to reintroduce Leszek to Krakow; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 53, 78; and DAVI, 199.

<sup>89</sup> Kadłubek IV 26, 192: "Quid enim offerunt, qui hominis innocentissimi pretium querunt, cum luctuosi plena sit euentus dignitatum uenalitas et liberi capitis nulla sit estimatio."

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 190. Vincent uses the general term *primi* describing the Krakovian lords, with no specific reference to their leader. According to Długosz, it was Nicholas whose council, including his brother Bishop Pełka, ensured Laskonogi's election to the Krakow throne. His information is particularly credible in the context of the palatine's earlier appeal to Mieszko the Old, Laskonogi's father, for protection against Leszek's mother, Helen. His animosity to Goworek and the end of Laskonogi's rule in Krakow following the palatine's death are too much of a coincidence. DA VI, 185-187.

Władysław Laskonogi ignored the bishop and made no concessions to the bishopric. The duke looked for legitimization from an alternative source. Such a state of affairs created even more opportunities for the local oligarchy than Helen's regency had ever done. Unlike the widow, Laskonogi lacked direct hereditary rights to Krakow. Neither was he the oldest ruling Piast.<sup>91</sup> As a result, Laskonogi promised the secular barons political stability by having gained approval from Leszek himself, proof that Leszek was perceived as a duke whose rights to Krakow had not completely expired. According to Vincent, Laskonogi pledged guardianship over Krakow for a limited period.<sup>92</sup> He also generously distributed gifts among the local lords.<sup>93</sup> For the time being, the dominant baronial faction led by Palatine Nicholas became the main partner of the incoming duke. Leszek's stubborn defense of an essential element of his authority after years of a regent government indirectly opened Krakow's gates to Laskonogi and threatened Bishop Pełka with political isolation.

The bishop's new political opportunity came with the death of the palatine and the strong stand of the Polish hierarchical church led by Archbishop Henry Kietlicz of Gniezno. The increasing conflict between the archbishop, who assertively fought for ecclesiastical liberties, and the duke of Great Poland, who jealously guarded customary ducal prerogatives in his hereditary province, offered an unparalleled opportunity if Bishop Pełka demonstrated institutional rather than social solidarity and acted as a church leader concerned with ecclesiastical rights.<sup>94</sup> As a skilful politician, Pełka was able to

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<sup>91</sup> The oldest was Mieszko Płatonogi of Opole-Raciborz, born c. 1146.

<sup>92</sup> Kadłubek IV, 26, 194: "Non ut illo perpetuo pomiatur, set ut promptior, cum nostro insederit arbitrio, ad illum uobis per nos paretur facultas."

<sup>93</sup> *Kornika wielkopolska*, 52, 78.

take advantage of Archbishop Kietlicz's assertive policy to finally place his own ducal candidate in Krakow when Laskonogi left Krakow shortly after the death of Palatine Nicholas, his devoted champion in Little Poland, merely a few months after his accession to the throne of Krakow in 1202.<sup>95</sup> From the reformist perspective, his action was fully justified because Laskonogi had levied exactions from the ecclesiastical estates and had arbitrarily distributed benefices. This appeared contrary to the principles of a just rulership that respected ecclesiastical freedoms. The *Chronicle of Great Poland* narrates the events as follows: "After the death of the Nicholas, the Comes Castellan of Krakow, who had freely removed dukes, and selected others for their place, the barons of the Province of Krakow along with Bishop Pełka renounce fealty to Duke Władysław and firmly refuse to recognize him as the duke."<sup>96</sup> Once Laskonogi refocused his attention from Krakow to his hereditary Duchy of Great Poland and clashed with the archbishop there, Pełka could hope for Leszek's return to Krakow. The open conflict with Kietlicz that even caused papal reaction in 1206 made Laskonogi's rulership in Little Poland practically impossible. The bishop learned how to manipulate the political situation produced by reforming currents in the Polish church to his advantage. He appealed to new universal principles advocated by the archbishop and the papacy to determine new secular power in the diocese of Krakow.<sup>97</sup> In the fluid situation in Little Poland, only

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<sup>94</sup> For Kietlicz's dramatic struggle against Władysław Laskonogi, see Józef Umiński, *Henryk arcybiskup gnieźnieński zwany Kietliczem* (Lublin, 1926), 24-58; and Alexander Wymiański, *Arcybiskup Henryk Kietlicz* (Krakow, 1973), 88-147.

<sup>95</sup> A reliable local source, "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," does not even record Laskonogi's brief presence in Krakow that year. After recording the death of Mieszko it notes Leszek's accession; RKK, 69.

<sup>96</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 53, 78: "Mortuo itaque Nicolao castellano comite Cracouiensium, qui iuxta votum duces ammovebat et alios subrogabat, pociores terre Cracouiensis cum Fulcone episcopo ipsorum, duci Wladislao fidelitatis obsequia denegant et expresse ipsum pro duce habere recusant."

dukes who understood the potential benefits offered by close relations with the reforming church were able to succeed. Leszek was one of them. The ideal of harmonious cooperation between the bishop and the duke of Kazimir's line had another opportunity to materialize.

Once Laskonogi departed, the bishop could again assert his leadership. With Pełka's support Leszek returned to Krakow and finally united Little Poland. His decade-long rule positioned the bishops of Krakow between two socio-political forces: the ambitious baronial families on one hand, and the demanding hierarchical church on the other. The church reforms directed from Rome forced Polish ecclesiastics to redefine their political and social allegiances. This process was not without an effect on ducal authority. Leszek wisely allied himself with a force that, due to its increasingly cosmopolitan character, offered a certain counterbalance to the traditional power web of provincial baronage. He offered the hierarchical church important concessions. Those concessions allowed him to stabilize his authority and rule unchallenged for over a decade.

The revival of Leszek's authority was only possible due to the duke's association with ecclesiastical reformers and an aggressive policy towards Pomerania and Ruthenian principalities. Leszek's recognition of Rome's overlordship in 1207, although undefined in practical terms, indicated that the reformist papal church could no longer be ignored in power struggles in the Duchy of Krakow.<sup>98</sup> The papacy also promised valuable

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<sup>97</sup> Oskar Balzer, "Walka o tron krakowski w latach 1202-1211," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 30 (1894): 302-307, has even argued that Kietlicz struggled with Laskonogi only in the context of ducal power in the archdiocese of Gniezno and the bishopric of Poznań. This local conflict gained a universal ideological character only gradually, when Kietlicz presented it to the Innocentian papacy as a grand clash of fundamental principles.

assistance when Pełka's death that same year deprived the duke of an influential ally at the heart of his realm. To counter the local oligarchy and place his own man in the episcopal see Leszek sought support from outside of Little Poland. The reformist archbishop appeared to be a perfect ally. From 1206 he had been in violent conflict with Laskonogi, who threatened Leszek's long-term perspective of returning to Krakow. As an outsider with no local ties to the provincial baronage of Krakow, Kietlicz offered invaluable assistance and the additional backing of the extraordinary prestige of Innocent III's authority.<sup>99</sup> The archbishop excommunicated Laskonogi in 1206.<sup>100</sup> Leszek's official submission to papal authority a year later and his permission to hold a formally free canonical election of the bishop of Krakow in 1208 helped the duke find an alternative power to the unpredictable baronage of Little Poland. In 1210 and 1215 the duke signed privileges for the hierarchical church. These privileges had limited effects on a local level but contained the crucial ideological message of Leszek's unyielding support for a liberated church.

The first free canonical election in the Polish realm that took place with the duke's permission was not a complete capitulation of secular authority to the hierarchical church. It was rather an opportunity to combat aristocratic influence on the cathedral

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<sup>98</sup> The protective bull that was issued on January 4<sup>th</sup> 1207 refers to Leszek's person, his duchy and goods (*bonis tuis*): KDM 1, no. 5, 11; Potthast I, no. 2956, 252. Bishop Pełka died on September 11<sup>th</sup>. "Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej," in *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, MPHsn (Warsaw, 1978) 5: 169.

<sup>99</sup> Contact between the apostolic see and the Polish church was exceptionally intensive in 1207. Innocent sent over twenty letters to Polish elites in that single year. Four of them addressed the matter of ecclesiastical liberties, including free episcopal elections. See KDW 1, nos. 41-62, 50-61.

<sup>100</sup> Innocent III's bull addressed to Laskonogi in 1207 lists the grievances against the duke as reported by Archbishop Kietlicz who attended the Curia shortly before. It includes appropriation of a deceased bishop's goods, imprisonment of clerics, control over church treasuries and the distribution of benefices; KDW 1, no. 42, 50-52.

chapter and to control the episcopal office in a less direct fashion.<sup>101</sup> Installing a compliant bishop in the Krakow cathedral was a distant possibility if Leszek had to rely on the local oligarchy. The issue of the office of the palatine had already polarized the local barons.<sup>102</sup> In order to consolidate power the duke needed not only to control the secular offices, but also to place someone loyal in the episcopal office.

Pełka's successor in Krakow was not unfamiliar to Leszek's court. If Vincent Kadłubek (1208-1217) was not already serving Leszek's father Kazimir in the capacity of the head of the cathedral school in Krakow, he was certainly the first *praepositus* of the Sandomierz collegiate church at the time Leszek resided in the town.<sup>103</sup> His election, which was free from direct ducal intervention, seemed to represent the church reformers' great victory. It was a crucial precedent welcomed by Kietlicz, who had been struggling for the practical implementation of Gregorian reforms in the Polish church.<sup>104</sup> Vincent's

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<sup>101</sup> Collegiate churches and cathedrals were populated by the members of the aristocracy who naturally viewed their prebends as the outlets of their families' wealth, prestige and influence. As a result, the attempts of the baronial families to manipulate episcopal elections were as natural as the forceful dukes' pressure on the chapters to choose their candidates. The reforming hierarchical church tried to penalize the violators of the chapters' independence. The council of Mstow in 1212, attended by Vincent in the capacity of the bishop, threatened cathedral canons with excommunication if they revealed the secrets of their debates to outsiders; KDW 1, no. 588, 548. For the freedoms and constraints of episcopal electors see Julia Tazbirowa, "Pierwsze elekcje kanoniczne biskupów w Polsce," in *Wieki Średnie – Medium Aevum*, eds. A. Gieysztor, M.H. Serejski, S. Trawkowski (Warsaw, 1962), 119-120; Józef Szymański, "Czy kanoniczna elekcja biskupa w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku była wolna?," in *Kultura średniowiecza and staropolska*, ed. Danuta Gawinowa (Warsaw, 1991), 614-623; and Andrzej Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studium nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu* (Toruń, 1995), 173-182.

<sup>102</sup> Wyrozumski, 156.

<sup>103</sup> KDM 1, no. 4, 9. Jacek Maciejewski suggests that Vincent may have also been known to Kazimir as a canon of the cathedral chapter in Krakow, for the members of the Sandomierz collegiate church served the cathedral canons as residents. Maciejewski, *Episcopat Polski doby dzielnicowej, 1180-1320* (Krakow-Bydgoszcz, 2003), 232. The only document in which the title *magister* is affixed to Vincent's name is dated to 1189, see KDKK, no. 4, 9.

<sup>104</sup> Innocent III reminded the Polish dukes of their responsibility, as he believed, to ensure free elections in a bull from January 4, 1207, see KDW 1, no. 41, 50; Potthast I, no. 2955, 252.

episcopal authority was to rely on the prestige and power of its ecclesiastical superior, the archbishop of Gniezno.

The free election produced a great ideological victory for the archbishop, but Leszek also drew immediate benefits from it. The disputed double election was decided by Pope Innocent in favor of someone who was already familiar to the duke.<sup>105</sup> Bishop-elect Vincent was known in Sandomierz as well as Krakow. He had demonstrated an amicable attitude towards secular authorities and came from a reasonably distinguished and politically reliable although not baronial family. Vincent was probably related to Stephan from the family of the Lis who had supported Leszek's cause from the very beginning.<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, Leszek's submission to the papal church did not entail important restrictions of traditional ducal prerogatives. The duke remained cautious about overpaying for Kietlicz's alliance, although he needed to make a grand gesture of good will toward the church reformists. This policy produced mutual benefits. The same year

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<sup>105</sup> Vincent's opponent was the bishop of Płock, Gedko, an outsider. *KDKK*, no. 7, 11-12.

<sup>106</sup> The prosopographical studies suggest that the bishop was at least directly related to the famous Palatine Peter Włast in the service of Leszek's paternal uncle Władysław II. The palatine supported Kazimir's brothers in a rebellion against their oldest brother Władysław, senior of the dynasty, in 1144. For Leszek, whose own legitimacy depended on the superiority of hereditary rights over seniority, the candidacy of Vincent must have been particularly pleasing. On Peter Włast's brother Bogusław as Vincent's father, see Jan Bieniak, "Mistrz Wincenty Kadłubek. Pierwszy uczony Polski," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 20 (1976): 123-124 and "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Arbitrarzy książąt – krąg rodzinny Piotra Włostowica," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1990), 4: 49. For the arguments supporting the theory of Bogusław as Vincent's paternal grandfather, see Brygida Kurbis, "Wstęp," in *Mistrz Wincenty (tzw. Kadłubek), Kronika polska*, ed. Brygida Kurbis (Wrocław, 1992), xi-xiii. If both Pełka and Nicholas belonged to the same family of Lis, their kinship, as in the cases of other aristocratic families during the thirteenth century, did not prevent their divergence as political leaders. Therefore, Vincent's Lis origin does not reveal any uniform and specific political allegiance the family may have had. It merely proves the political prominence of a few baronial families. For a critical view of the scholarship reconstructing family affinity according to names or the location of their estates found in sources, see Jan Adamus, *Polska teoria rodowa* (Łódź, 1958), 164. One can also question the very concept of aristocratic clans as interest groups whose political solidarity and allegiance were determined by the location of their patrimonial estates. This idea, popularized by Stefan Russocki, "Grupy interesu w społeczeństwie feudalnym," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 70 (1963): 901-911, and recently elaborated by Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 110-136, is weakened by many instances to the contrary.

Innocent III granted the protection of St. Peter to Leszek and his realm, Vincent took the bishopric.<sup>107</sup> Thanks to this technically free election, the bishopric went to someone outside the Krakow oligarchy. Vincent's elevation in 1208 indicated the oligarchy's different priorities. Negotiations over the bishopric were not necessary because the barons' gains lay elsewhere.

Leszek's aggressive policy in pagan Prussia, Ruthenia and Pomerania compensated the barons' concessions regarding the ecclesiastical authority. It also promised potential gains for the Polish church. The idea of the Christianization of Prussia to the north of Polish duchies contained an irresistible appeal to the barons as well as the duke and ecclesiastical authorities, especially Archbishop Kietlicz, whose archdiocese of Gniezno lay not far from the pagan territories.<sup>108</sup> The crusading campaigns offered the organizers and participants the prestige of acting as Christian warriors. For some they also produced opportunities to gain land.<sup>109</sup> Baronial support for the duke's expansionist policy was also unwavering in regard to the Ruthenian principalities east of Little Poland. The ducal forces defeated the powerful Prince Roman of Halicz as early as 1205 but ultimately failed to occupy the principality. The

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<sup>107</sup> The protective bull for Duke Leszek dates from January 4 1207. See KDM 1, no. 5, 11. Pope Innocent III confirmed Vincent's election on March 28 1208; see Potthast I, no. 3347, 286; KDKK, no. 7, 11-12. Roman Grodecki, "Mistrz Wincenty, biskup krakowski," *Rocznik krakowski* 19 (1922): 47-48, doubts that there was any connection between the two. In his opinion, Innocent merely wanted to confirm Leszek's rightful possession of Krakow in exchange for the duke's submission to the Apostolic See.

<sup>108</sup> It was Kietlicz who initiated more organized efforts to convert the Prussians and establish the first bishopric in the region. Leszek continued these efforts by participating in three crusades against the Prussians. Józef Umiński, *Henryk arcybiskup gnieźnieński zwany Kietliczem* (Lublin, 1926), 97-102. Julia Tazbirowa suggests that Leszek settled the Dominicans in Krakow and Gdansk for the very purpose of embarking on missionary campaigns and diplomatic missions in the east. Tazbirowa, "Rola polityczna Iwona Odrowąza," *Przegląd Historyczny* 57 (1966): 204-205.

<sup>109</sup> The family of Gryfita was one of the families from Little Poland whose members settled on the Prussian frontier in the early thirteenth century. See Marek Wójcik, *Ród Gryfitów do końca XIII wieku. Pochodzenie-genealogia-rozsiedlenie* (Wrocław, 1993), 45-47.

neighboring Ruthenian Principality of Włodzimierz became Little Poland's satellite for almost a decade – too short a period of time to transplant Polish nobles and expand the diocese of Krakow. In Pomerania, Leszek's efforts to reinstate the authority of the duke of Krakow were only terminated by his death.<sup>110</sup> The Krakovians also negotiated with the Silesian Duke Henry I the Bearded and Duke Władysław Laskonogi of Great Poland over a planned campaign against Laskonogi's nephew Odonic and the Pomeranian duke, Odonic's close ally. The nobles' decision to assist Leszek in supporting his predecessor on the Krakow throne was not a capricious act of making another major change on that throne. In return for helping Laskonogi, Leszek was promised that he would succeed the duke of Great Poland.<sup>111</sup> Positive results of the negotiations regarding ducal succession would have strengthened the bishop's position if his devoted ally Leszek could unite the two great duchies.

The Polish church hierarchy with Archbishop Kietlicz in Gniezno and Bishop Vincent in Krakow became a solid instrument for strengthening Leszek's authority, despite the papacy's fluctuating attitudes. Leszek's permission for a free episcopal election in Krakow that elevated Vincent to the bishopric was an important first step. It responded positively to Kietlicz's reformist program, but failed to guarantee permanent support for the duke from the papacy.<sup>112</sup> Merely three years after Innocent's formal

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<sup>110</sup> In 1205, shortly after his campaign against Prince Roman, Leszek marched across the country to the Baltic shore to stress his overlordship in East Pomerania. On the Pomeranians' relations with Polish duchies, see Karol Legowicz, *Pomorze w okresie rozbitcia dzielnicowego* (Wrocław, 1977), 67-139.

<sup>111</sup> It was during the negotiations at Gąsawa that Biały was attacked and killed, probably by the order of Świętopełk. See Józef Umiński, "Śmierć Leszka Białego," *Nasza Przeszłość* 2 (1947): 3-36.

<sup>112</sup> Innocent III supported Kietlicz in his conflict with Duke Władysław Laskonogi. But in contrast to the archbishop, the pope eventually preferred a less confrontational policy in regard to the duke, whose

recognition of Leszek's authority in Krakow, the papacy delegitimized it. The strange episode of Innocent's reinstatement of the *seniorat* that negated Leszek's rights to Krakow proved the need for constant negotiations with the barons and the hierarchical church in Poland to maintain stable rule. By reviving Krzywousty's succession order based on seniority in the Piast dynasty, Innocent empowered the oldest Piast, Mieszko Płatonogi of Opole-Raciborz, in his claims to Krakow. Innocent's motives are not particularly clear. Probably the duke who requested the bull was not even Mieszko but his nephew the powerful Duke Henry the Bearded.<sup>113</sup> The restoration of Krzywousty's model would require the barons' consent each time the senior of the dynasty claimed Krakow. There were undoubtedly beneficial aspects to being ruled by a duke whose authority in Krakow required additional legitimization. Mieszko's Duchy of Opole-Raciborz comprised too small a province to satisfy the Krakow nobility who sought influence outside of Little Poland.<sup>114</sup> But his potential successors, Henry the Bearded and Władysław Laskonogi, who in 1210 were next in seniority, ruled over extensive and rich holdings with plenty of

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Christian leadership remained indispensable for the welfare of the church. See Innocent's letters from January 4 1207 and January 12 1207: KDW 1, no. 42, 50; and KDW 1, no. 61, 61.

<sup>113</sup> KDM 1, no. 6, 12; Potthast 1, no. 3117, 265. The authorship of the intervention has been a debatable issue in Polish historiography. Roman Grodecki, "Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski," 239, points at Laskonogi who was the next duke in seniority and thus eligible for the throne after Mieszko's death. More recently, Maciej Przybył, *Władysław Laskonogi książę Wielkopolski, 1203-1231* (Poznań, 1998), 98-103, supports this thesis by arguing that the Duke of Silesia, Henry the Bearded, participated in the council of Borzykowo, which, according to the author, assembled opposition to Innocent's decision. The papal document mentions the "duke of Silesia" (*dux Zlesie*), a title, as Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej*, vol. 2 (Krakow, 1999), 180-181, asserts, was used only by Henry the Bearded. Mieszko controlled the province that was not considered Silesia before the Luxembourgs' incorporation of the entire region to the kingdom of Bohemia in the 1340's. Probably direct diplomatic contacts between Rome and Henry's court helped the matter. The duke could count on his seniority to claim rights to the crown of Krakow. He and Laskonogi were next in line after Mieszko. Władysław Laskonogi was forced to remain in Great Poland under the pressure from the reformist Archbishop Kietlicz and his rebellious nephew Odonic, who demanded his own patrimony within the province. In contrast, Henry's authority was stable and he had a good chance of gaining the neighboring Little Poland after the death of Płatonogi who was advanced in years (born c.1146).

<sup>114</sup> The Opole-Raciborz was a small area in the eastern part of the original Duchy of Silesia. Mieszko Płatonogi secured the entire region for good in a war against his nephew Henry the Bearded in 1202.

land and offices. Their accession to Krakow would be negotiable and conditional. Leszek needed to find a new source of support. Approaching the head of the Polish hierarchical church, the archbishop of Gniezno, was a promising diplomatic maneuver.

Leszek's dynastic concerns and the interests of the reforming hierarchical church headed by Kietlicz coincided at the councils of Borzykowo (1210) and Wolborz (1215). These councils approved the first important ecclesiastical judicial privileges and the dukes' renunciation of the *ius spoli*.<sup>115</sup> The aggressive archbishop secured those concessions from four dukes seeking cooperation against the powerful duke of Great Poland. The councils did not revolutionize the position of the hierarchical church in the Polish duchies. The results appeared much less immediate and tangible when applied to particular provinces.<sup>116</sup> In fact, the introduction of certain ecclesiastical liberties in localities was to be the object of tedious negotiations for centuries to come. It seems that Kietlicz aimed at creating an ideological precedent, with practical details to be worked out in due course. Negotiations at Borzykowo created a more concrete result in the formation of a coalition that countered Laskonogi, the archbishop's enemy in Great Poland and Leszek's potential rival to Krakow. Leszek's role in defending the reforming church allowed him to resolve his political problems in Little Poland. Laskonogi, preoccupied with the war against his nephew in Great Poland and excommunicated by the charismatic archbishop, was in the midst of an embarrassing crisis. Leszek sought a source of power in ecclesiastical circles less to counter Laskonogi than to enhance his

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<sup>115</sup> If the council needed to discuss the issue of *ius spoli* again, Kazimir's pledge did not set new standards. According to chronicler Długosz, Kietlicz was also able to obtain the guarantee of clerical legal immunity; DA VI, 231.

<sup>116</sup> See KDM 1, no. 7, 12-13; KDKK, no. 10, 14-15; KDW 1, no. 66, 64-65; KDW 1, no. 68, 66-67; KDW 1, no. 70, 68; KDW 1, 174, 150-151; KDW 2, no. 381, 77.

position in relation to his capricious barons, especially those directly controlling access to the city of Krakow and monopolizing the episcopal office.

Between 1177 and 1206 the ecclesiastical authority provided the foundation and the practical source of secular power in Krakow. The ecclesiastical legitimization of Kazimir's rebellion against his older brother and later support offered to his son by the bishops of Krakow who came from baronial families was crucial to assure the formation of a distinct ducal authority with its own hereditary line. The perception of Mieszko III's rulership as unjust gave Bishop Gedko an opportunity to claim the role of the guardian of justice and creator of a lawful ducal authority. The minority of Kazimir's son during the vacancy on the ducal throne required from the episcopal leadership particularly efficient negotiating skills to ensure stability in the duchy and future prosperity for the diocese of Krakow. Bishop Pełka was able to elevate Leszek to the throne of Krakow despite temporary setbacks dictated by factional conflicts within the local baronial oligarchy. It was not Leszek's allegiance to the Innocentian papacy that finally secured him the Duchy of Krakow, but the duke's close alliance with the aggressive Archbishop Kietlicz of Gniezno and with his modest but consistently loyal Bishop Vincent of Krakow. The expansionist policy of the new duke promised substantial benefits for the bishop of Krakow, whose influence could grow along with Leszek's diplomatic and military successes. Close relations with Kazimir's son compensated for Vincent's less distinguished origin. The formally free election of 1208 opened a new period of mutual support between the ducal and episcopal authority that met Archbishop Kietlicz's reforming standards. Vincent's tenure accompanied by ducal formal privileges for the

church helped Leszek consolidate his authority in Krakow and demonstrate his legitimacy as a suitable Christian ruler.

## **B. The Consolidation of Episcopal Power and a New Succession Crisis: 1217-1229**

Bishop Vincent's unexplained resignation in 1217 vacated the see at a time when Duke Leszek was already well established in Krakow.<sup>117</sup> Since it had never been the Piasts' conscious policy to neutralize the baronage with the service of lesser nobility, Leszek enrolled the assistance of a powerful aristocratic dynasty to fill the bishopric. He chose to promote Ivo, a member of the Odrowąż family, with more than a decade of service to the duke as chancellor, to the bishopric.<sup>118</sup> With the loyalty of another baronial family, the Awdaniecs, holding the castellany of Krakow - now the highest secular office - Leszek's authority again gained two-tiered support.<sup>119</sup> As was the case during his

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<sup>117</sup> Vincent's mysterious resignation from the bishopric produced many theories, all unsupported by direct evidence. Those arguing that Vincent became exhausted by prolonged political crisis caused on the local level by Palatine Nicholas, who demanded the resignation of Leszek's own palatine, and on broader ground by the declining position of the reformist Archbishop Kietlicz, seem reasonable. See Brygida Kurbis, "Wstęp," in *Mistrz Wincenty (tzw. Kadłubek)*, *Kronika polska*, ed. Brygida Kurbis (Wrocław, 1992), xi-xiii; and Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, "Rezygnacje biskupów krakowskich Wincentego i Iwona," *Nasza Przyszłość* 33 (1970): 40-41. Others offered less credible explanations. According to Alexander Gieysztor, "Wincent i kapituła krakowska," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 5 (1960): 201, Vincent's lower social background became a major political impediment resulting in his isolation and eventual resignation from the episcopal office. If Vincent had to resign under pressure from the Krakovian oligarchy, it was due to the new objectives of Leszek, who became more receptive to the interests of the local barons, especially the Odrowąż family, in order to consolidate his authority in Krakow. But it is difficult to accept Julia Tazbirowa's suggestion that Ivo Odrowąż was personally responsible for the change in the episcopal see in the process of enhancing his own diplomatic position. "Rola polityczna Iwona Odrowąza," 203.

<sup>118</sup> In this capacity Ivo surfaces as a witness in the charter for the Cistercian monastery of Sulejow in 1206: see KDM 1, no. 4, 9.

<sup>119</sup> The Odrowązs and the Awdaniecs formed a common front in making the Ruthenian Prince Daniel of Włodzimierz submissive to their duke without the need for war. The rise of the Awdaniec family during Leszek's rule in Krakow was related to its active role in Leszek's aggressive policy in the Ruthenian principalities east of Sandomierz. The transfer of Pakoslaw Awdaniec from Krakow to the strategically

childhood, the bishop and the first secular lord in the province protected the duke's interests. If Vincent resigned under pressure, that pressure must have come from the duke's court. The bishopric became a testing ground for Leszek's power. The precedent of the free election in 1207 restrained the duke from direct intervention in the election of Vincent's successor. But the new bishop, like Vincent, was not a stranger to the duke. This time Leszek, long established in Krakow, did not have to promote a man of lesser prominence and less directly related to his court in order to pacify the local oligarchy.

Bishop Ivo (1218-1229) was an influential baron with substantial estates in both provinces of Little Poland.<sup>120</sup> Ivo's political attitudes further revealed the lack of a common cause between the ecclesiastics and the secular baronage to wrest power from the duke. During Leszek's rule in Krakow the bishop never allied himself with the oligarchy acting against ducal authority. Only when the throne became vacant with the death of Leszek in 1227 did the bishop orchestrate the efforts to retain privileges for the local baronage as a crucial factor of political stability.

Ivo's support for Leszek ensured a symbiosis between the bishop, the duke and certain local barons. This symbiosis was especially indispensable after Leszek had introduced his controversial Palatine Goworek of Sandomierz to the castellany of

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important castellany of Sandmierz in 1224 was a recognition of the Awdaniecs' reliable service to the duke. See Władysław Semkowicz, *Ród Awdanców w wiekach średnich* (Poznań, 1920), 56-59.

<sup>120</sup> The family's ancestral possessions were located around Kielce, to the west from Sandomierz. When Ivo made his public career, the Odrowąż family already held land around Krakow, Sieradz and even the northern province of Kujavia. For the origin of the family and its geographical expansion, see Karol Górski, *Ród Odrowążów w wiekach średnich* (Krakow, 1927), 33-77. Ivo's chancellorship can be dated from at least 1206, when he appears as a witness to Duke Leszek's confirmation of the donation of two villages to a Cistercian monastery by Vincent, the future bishop and chronicler; KDM 1, no. 4, 9. His very vigorous chancellorship eclipsed Vincent's public activities and has produced the suggestion that Vincent's resignation from the episcopal office was a direct response to Ivo's increasing influence on Duke Leszek. See Julia Tazbirowa, "Pierwsze elekcje kanoniczne biskupów w Polsce," in *Wieki Średnie. Medium Aevum*, ed. Alexander Gieysztor (Warsaw, 1962), 120.

Krakow.<sup>121</sup> The preservation of the palatinate in the hands of the Krakovian elite was a compromise that did not satisfy either side.<sup>122</sup> In order to compensate his authority Leszek began to rely on the castellan's assistance. After 1218, in most documents issued by Leszek's court, the castellan precedes the palatine. The extant documents reveal a correlation between the time of the new episcopal election and that of Goworek's first place on charters' witness lists.<sup>123</sup> The Gryfita family who controlled the office of the palatine and gravitated towards the Silesian Duke Henry became a threat to Leszek's rule. When the alleged flight of a Gryfita during a battle against the Prussians led to the family's loss of offices in Krakow, their leader Palatine Mark resorted to a rebellion.<sup>124</sup> Its failure in 1225 helped the bishop eliminate the competing secular authority of the unreliable palatine. Mark's appeal to Henry the Bearded of Silesia produced a campaign against Leszek that peacefully terminated on the fields outside Krakow.<sup>125</sup> For victorious Leszek and Ivo it was no longer necessary to negotiate and compromise their authority in Little Poland. The prospect of political instability was now caused by Leszek's lack of a male heir.

A potential crisis of succession in Little Poland provided the bishop with a new opportunity to decide the future of the throne of Krakow and make it more responsive to ecclesiastical authority. Bishop Ivo skillfully negotiated his political power between the

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<sup>121</sup> Kadłubek, IV, 26, 190-192.

<sup>122</sup> Jerzy Wyrozumski, "Goworek," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (1975), 8: 389-390.

<sup>123</sup> For examples, see KDM 1, no. 14, 21; KDM 1, no. 17, 23; KDKK, no 16, 15.

<sup>124</sup> DA VI, 241, 466.

<sup>125</sup> The 1225 rebellion organized by the Gryfitas had minimal impact on Leszek's rule, for the conspirators quickly fled to Silesia: RKK, 74; DA VI, 241-242.

regent government, aristocratic factions and the Piast pretenders from outside of the province. The assassination of Leszek in 1228 left his minor son Bolesław V the Chaste as the obvious choice for the ducal throne. Like his father, Bolesław needed regents; as in 1191 the Krakovian oligarchy revealed conflicting interests. A regency formally headed by Leszek's widow Grzymisława and her followers became unworkable under pressure from Leszek's brother Conrad, who demanded the guardianship over Bolesław for himself. He invaded Little Poland to press his claims against the Dowager's and Duke Henry the Bearded's claims. The latter did not hesitate to arrive with his troops at Krakow.<sup>126</sup> Another struggle to preserve privileges and offices that were in the hands of the episcopal elite and the provincial secular baronage began.

Conrad, known for his autocratic tendencies, inspired the barons' reasonable fear of losing power at the time of his arrival. Krakow needed a duke who would promise to preserve the political status quo and found him again in Great Poland. Mieszko the Old's son, Władysław Laskonogi, appeared acceptable for Bishop Ivo after the duke's amicable conclusion of an embarrassing conflict with Archbishop Kietlicz at the meeting of Głogow in 1211.<sup>127</sup> The final victory against his nephew Odonic, who fled to Hungary, proved his military and diplomatic skills. To stress Laskonogi's hereditary rights to Krakow through his father the barons even resigned from a formal election.<sup>128</sup> Laskonogi's supporters could also recall Leszek's close contacts with the duke in order to bring Little Poland and Great Poland closer together. Leszek met Laskonogi and Henry the Bearded

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<sup>126</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 61, 82; DA VI, 250-251; RKK, 75.

<sup>127</sup> Laskonogi's consent to a free episcopal election to the see of Poznań in 1211 was a firm conciliatory gesture cementing peaceful relations.

<sup>128</sup> Kadłubek IV, 26, 192: "Ideoque in ipso locum electioni non esse, quem ad paternam uocat successionem iuris ratio et fides exigit."

of Silesia in Gąsawa in 1227 to negotiate a joint campaign against Świętopełk of Pomerania and a response to Odonic's offensive that had deprived Laskonogi of the important towns of Poznan and Kalisz, the latter of which was also claimed by Henry.<sup>129</sup> Bishop Ivo took part in those negotiations, as Leszek's loyal advisor.<sup>130</sup> What ultimately secured the Krakow throne for Laskonogi was his explicit promise to preserve all the existing laws and rule in Krakow in consultation with local lords, including the bishop. This promise, which resulted from negotiations in Cienia in 1228, gave the duke of Great Poland authority in the name of young Bolesław. The eastern part of Little Poland with the town of Sandomierz became a separate duchy under the authority of the widowed queen Grzymisława. Laskonogi promised not only the union of Great Poland with Bolesław's domain after his death but also a just lordship guarded by the oligarchy of both provinces of Little Poland. Laskonogi stated the following: "...I completely forbid unjust verdicts, and I will uphold just and noble laws according to the advice of the bishop and the barons..."<sup>131</sup> For the first time the bishop is mentioned as both a part of the local power group and a lord in his own right. In a separate document Laskonogi generously confirmed ecclesiastical liberty from a number of services traditionally owed to the duke.<sup>132</sup> With the council of Cienia, the episcopal office itself placed the bishop on the same constitutional ground as the secular lords of the province. Laskonogi reinforced

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<sup>129</sup> DA VI, 244; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 60, 81.

<sup>130</sup> His presence at Gąsawa is recorded by the annals of the cathedral of Krakow: see KDKK, no. 64, 88. Also see KDM 2, no. 405, 150; and DA VI, 249.

<sup>131</sup> KDKK, no. 19, 26-27: "Iudica iniusta penitus interdicto Iura iusta et honesta secundum Episcopi et Baronum consilium tenebo..." The official consent of the Krakovian and Sandomierz baronage is testified to by the presence of their palatines, Mark and Pakoslaw.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 20, 28.

the curious combination of the reformist ideology advocated by Kietlicz and the elevated role of the local baronage. These two elements produced the model of the Lord Bishop who made major decisions about the throne and politics in Little Poland.

It was not conflict with the bishop or secular lords that removed Laskonogi from his newly acquired province. For the second time, his failures in Great Poland undermined his position in Krakow. Leszek's younger brother Conrad, who had obtained support from a few unnamed Krakovian barons and two Ruthenian dukes, struck against Laskonogi. The 1228 invasion of Great Poland and Odonic's subsequent rebellion forced Laskonogi to leave the city to defend his hereditary province. Laskonogi was never able to return to Krakow. Bishop Ivo lost a duke who formally guaranteed recognition of episcopal authority as an essential component of the power structure in Krakow and provided hopes for the continuation of Kazimir's line in the person of Leszek's son in the future.

The actions of the secular barons under these dramatic circumstances were dictated by a major objective, unchanged since the death of Kazimir the Just: choosing the guardians of the young heirs to the Krakow throne from among those remaining Piast dukes whose power in Krakow required additional legitimization by the local oligarchy. The bishop's assistance became indispensable. Conrad was Leszek's only brother and thus his legitimate successor, but was gravely stained by the blinding and execution of his own Palatine Christian of Płock in 1217. He had to be resisted even at the cost of inviting a duke whose relations with ecclesiastical authorities were far from exemplary.<sup>133</sup> To make the ducal authority responsive to baronial interests, the Gryfitas, led by Palatine Mark, sought support from another powerful family in Little Poland, the Odrowąż,

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<sup>133</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 64, 85; RKK, 79-80; "Rocznik Traski," 838.

represented by the bishop.<sup>134</sup> Both began negotiations with Henry the Bearded on behalf of Dowager Grzymisława and probably Laskonogi, who could not return to Krakow.<sup>135</sup> The bishop again took the role of duke-maker.

The competition between the Duke of Mazovia and the Duke of Silesia for the throne of Krakow resulted in a polarization of the province's elites. Negotiations began. The bishop decided to opt for the Silesian. In exchange, Duke Henry the Bearded and his Krakovian supporters tolerated Grzymisława's autonomous status in the Duchy of Sandomierz and protected Krakow. The Silesian duke did not invalidate the dynastic rights of young Bolesław. Bishop Ivo also obtained Henry's guarantee to defend Krakow against Conrad's invasions.<sup>136</sup> In order to strengthen Krakow's defenses, the bishop even permitted the duke to build castles on episcopal land. By constructing strongholds in Przegonia, Skała and Miedzybórz at his own cost, Henry armed his bishop with an important element of lordship in a close proximity to Krakow.<sup>137</sup> One can safely assume that Ivo perceived Henry as a temporary ruler in Bolesław's name, whose efforts to repel Conrad's army were genuine. Although Henry defeated Conrad at a close distance to the

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<sup>134</sup> Marek Wójcik, *Rod Gryfitów do końca XIII wieku. Pochodzenie-genealogia-rozsiedlenie*, 54-56, argues that this Mark should not be confused with his like-named predecessor, although the two were closely related.

<sup>135</sup> Grzymisława issued documents as the duchess of Krakow and Sandomierz in 1228, 1229 and 1231. KDM 1, no.11, 17; no. 12, 18-19; no. 13, 20; KDM 2, no. 393, 37-38; no. 395, 38-39. Julia Tazbirowa's assertion that Duke Henry "removed" Laskonogi from Krakow appears unfounded: Tazbirowa, "Rola polityczna Iwona Odrowąża," 209. Palatine Mark's continuing use of the title "the Palatine of Duke Laskonogi" when Henry officially held Krakow proves Henry's acknowledgment of his position as temporary. See KDKK, no. 18, 30.

<sup>136</sup> According to Oskar Halecki, Henry's ability to defend Grzymisława against Conrad was fully realistic. The Silesian Duke was not only an unchallenged ruler of his hereditary realm, but also soon became a new master of the Duchy of Opole that separated his duchy from Krakow. "Powołanie księcia Władysława opolskiego na tron krakowski w 1273 roku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 27 (1913): 223-224.

<sup>137</sup> RKK, 75.

new fortresses, those military and administrative centers could hardly remain in ducal hands in the future. Frequent changes on the ducal throne sharply contrasted with the relative stability of the episcopal leadership. The castles in fact remained in episcopal hands for the rest of the Middle Ages.<sup>138</sup> The bishop proved his effectiveness in securing a legitimate protector for Leszek's son and laying foundations for an episcopal lordship.

What had been achieved by the bishop during the turbulent years after Leszek's death was endangered when Conrad arrested Henry at Spytkowice in 1229. The collapse of Ivo's faction in support of Henry led to Conrad's accession to the throne of Krakow. Ivo sought assistance from the same authority that helped his former duke, Leszek the White, retain the throne of Krakow: the papacy. Ivo left for Italy and died there shortly afterwards. There is no evidence that Conrad exiled the bishop. *Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej* notes that Ivo "in exilio obit." But that might merely mean that he died away from home.<sup>139</sup> The bishop probably fled Krakow when the news of Henry's captivity demoralized his camp.

Ivo Odrowąż's episcopal tenure in the diocese of Krakow was a turbulent period that finally proved the politically independent position of the bishop in negotiations regarding power and succession in Little Poland. Ivo's support for the Krakovian oligarchy after the death of Duke Leszek the White reflected the bishop's effort to find the most stable form of government and preserve the throne of Krakow for the deceased

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<sup>138</sup> KDKK, no. 21, 34. All three places belonged to the cathedral chapter. See Jan Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis*, vol. 3, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki (Krakow, 1864), 254.

<sup>139</sup> RKK, 75. Długosz mentions that Ivo fled from "tirannidem etiam Cunradi Mazowie ducis, qui in Cracouiensi et Sandomiriensi ducatus tutorio nomine principatur, cum quo tum pro Ecclesie, tum pro militari iniuriis in plures simulates devenerat..." without providing any more details, but he also emphasizes the bishop's attempt to revive the primacy of the see of Krakow among the Polish bishoprics as the main purpose of Ivo's journey. DAVI, 255.

duke's son. When the secular lords began to form two opposing factions, Ivo supported a duke who willingly, formally approved the consensual rights of the bishop. An unpredictable foreign ruler, like Leszek's brother, threatened the privileged position of the Krakovian lords. Duke Henry the Bearded of Silesia had fewer direct hereditary rights to Krakow, but enough political flexibility to accept the role of the protector of Krakow and his rightful ruler, Leszek the White's young son.

### **C. Episcopal Authority Constrained: 1229-1242**

The period between 1229 and 1242 was particularly difficult for the bishopric and the stability of ducal power in Little Poland. During this time the bishopric was first vacant and then led by a bishop who was largely ignored until a conflict between one of the ducal claimants to Krakow and the provincial secular baronage rather unexpectedly made the duke look more favorably at the episcopal authority. When the province became the object of a prolonged diplomatic negotiation and military struggle between Henry and Conrad, resulting first in the imprisonment of Henry, then of Grzymisława and her young son Bolesław, the bishopric lacked firm leadership. A temporary eclipse of the great Odrowąż family appeared more harmful than beneficial for the episcopal authority. The war over the throne of Krakow encouraged the separatist tendencies of the Sandomierz clergy. The latter, along with the local baronage, ultimately followed the Mazovian duke, who offered offices in exchange for loyalty. The hereditary rights of Grzymisława's son were tolerated only as long as Conrad still had the chance to consolidate his position in Krakow. But Conrad's ability to occupy Krakow was quickly

restricted by uncooperative Krakovian barons led by the Gryfitas and Henry the Bearded, who claimed Krakow soon after his release from Conrad's prison.<sup>140</sup> The Mazovian duke had no choice but to focus on Sandmierz. In 1232 near Skaryszew he renounced his rights to Krakow in exchange for Henry's consent to incorporate two northern territories of the Duchy of Krakow, Łęczyca and Sieradz, to the Mazovian realm.<sup>141</sup> In order to bring eastern Little Poland closer to his realm, Conrad removed Grzymisława and Bolesław from Sandomierz with impunity, installed his son there, also Bolesław, and then imprisoned the Duchess of Sandomierz and her son.<sup>142</sup> For the first time, Kazimir's line in Little Poland was seriously threatened when left unprotected by the episcopal authority.

In Krakow, the struggle between Conrad of Mazovia and Henry the Bearded of Silesia had another dimension related to the episcopal office. The dukes lacked sufficient power and time to press the cathedral chapter to choose their candidates to the see. As a result, the chapter could elect its own candidate, free of ducal pressure but under oligarchic sway. In 1229, at the time of Bishop Ivo's death, Henry's position remained fragile as long as Laskonogi was alive and his oath given to Conrad upon his release from imprisonment stayed valid.<sup>143</sup> When the chapter elected Wisław (1231-42), a competing claim to the bishopric by a certain Andrew destabilized episcopal authority for over two

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<sup>140</sup> For his loyalty to Henry the Bearded, Palatine Theodore Gryfita was rewarded in 1234 with the right to colonize land in a mountainous region to the south of Krakow. KDM 1, no. 15, 21.

<sup>141</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 75, 92, 208; KDM 2, no. 406, 150.

<sup>142</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 61, 82; DA VI, 266-267. See also KDM 2, no. 399, 147, a charter where Conrad grants Grzymisława's Duchy of Sandomierz to his son Bolesław; and Pope Gregory IX's bull of December 1233 that orders the release of the imprisoned couple; Potthast I, no. 9350, 799.

<sup>143</sup> The Silesian duke was officially released from his oath of fealty to Conrad by Pope Gregory IX; DA VI, 253. When in 1229 Henry regained Krakow from Conrad, he formally ruled the city in the name of Władysław Laskonogi.

years. Andrew, who unquestionably belonged to the Gryfita family, allegedly possessed a special papal provision elevating him to the office.<sup>144</sup> How he could have obtained such a document remains a mystery, although one can suggest that the Gryfitas' close relations with the diplomatically skillful Henry may have played a role. The situation was only resolved when Henry contacted the archbishop and with his help secured Wisław's consecration in 1231.<sup>145</sup>

Henry's involvement in the bishop's consecration proved that the bishopric of Krakow was vulnerable during tension within the Krakovian oligarchy that prevented an election of a member of a powerful baronial family to the episcopal office. The bishopric clearly needed a strong secular power to reestablish its stable authority. Duke Henry, who was now established in Krakow, had realized that the holding of highest secular and ecclesiastical offices by the Gryfitas would dangerously concentrate power in one baronial family. By supporting the chapter's candidate, the duke broadened the pool of local supporters and upheld the principle of free episcopal election. But that was the only concession the ambitious duke was ready to make for the episcopal authority in Krakow. Wisław possessed relatively modest patrimonial wealth and no known influential relatives beside his brother Pełka, who was a deacon of the cathedral chapter.<sup>146</sup> The new

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<sup>144</sup> DA VI, 256-57, 262; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich. Katalog Długosza," in MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:169-70; and "Katalogi biskupow krakowskich," in MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:61, 92.

<sup>145</sup> RKK, 66; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński and Stanisław Smolka (Lwów, 1875), no. 12, 15. In the study by Józef Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcje," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski (Krakow, 1966), 622, he has suggested that Wisław's consecration was related to the increasing presence of the Mazovian forces in the vicinity of Krakow in 1230. The fact that Henry remained strong in the city till the end of 1231, well before Wisław's formal installation in the bishopric, undermines this view.

<sup>146</sup> Długosz mentions Wisław's single patrimonial village of Kościelec near Proszowice; see "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 60-61; and "Katalog Długosza," 169-171.

bishop thus had a limited ability to compete for power within Little Poland and to influence a future election to the ducal throne. There are no charters of grants and privileges issued by Henry for the bishop between 1232 and 1238. The bishopric under Wisław did not enjoy the patronage of the Silesian duke, despite a lack of apparent conflict between the two authorities. The process of developing the instruments of episcopal lordship was stalled. Henry was able to determine the outcome of the cathedral elections and thereby demonstrate his effectiveness as the new ruler of Krakow. The bishopric was no longer vacant, but was represented by a much less powerful leader than it had been under Ivo Odrowąż.

Wisław's tenure marked the first time since the death of Kazimir the Just that the duchy was directly transmitted from a father (Henry I the Bearded) to his son (Henry II the Pious) with no visible episcopal intervention. In contrast to the events of the 1190's, there was no baronial faction that opposed the dynastic continuation. The bishop remained silent and inactive. With this temporary break in the bishopric's aristocratic pedigree, the process of building episcopal power stagnated. The bishopric faced additional difficulties when the eastern part of the diocese in the Duchy of Sandomierz fell under Conrad's control.

Conrad, having been forced to relinquish Krakow to Henry, refocused his attention to the Duchy of Sandomierz, closer to his Mazovian domain. Henry the Bearded had been tolerating the presence of Leszek's widow and son there, but Conrad was less scrupulous. He brought Grzymisława's formal custody over young Bolesław to an end by claiming regency for himself. In 1230 the local political opposition was

quickly suppressed while supporters of Conrad were rewarded.<sup>147</sup> As early as 1231 the duke promoted Pakoslaw the Younger of the Awdaniec family to the palatinate of Sandomierz, which had been vacated by his exiled brother.<sup>148</sup> The duke was not interested in harming church interests in his newly acquired province. Yet, his presence in Sandomierz had a negative impact on the bishopric as a whole. It partitioned the diocese into two secular jurisdictions and polarized the elites. Conrad followed the steps of his grandfather Kazimir the Just who, having built his lordship in Sandomierz, struck against the legitimate ruler of Krakow. Under these circumstances, the bishop's dignity, supported by neither land resources nor family prestige, was rendered a mere office entirely reliant on the prestige and power of the universal church -- a still fragile power-base that required an extended period to solidify itself.

Wisław had little chance to build episcopal power despite the notorious absence of the Silesian Henries from the diocese. Duke Henry had been having problems with his Silesian bishops: with Wawrzyniec over tithes and with Thomas I over the jurisdiction over tenants on episcopal estates.<sup>149</sup> In Krakow there was no need to stage a confrontation, or simply no time to create one. For years Henry campaigned in Great Poland against Odonic, Laskonogi's enemy and Kietlicz's close ally. Perhaps for that

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<sup>147</sup> The extent of Conrad's persecution of local opposition in the Province of Sandomierz at that time is difficult to determine. Grzymisława's later document from 1234 mentions the exile of a few noble leaders; KDM 2, no. 401, 147. Pakosław the Older also left Sandomierz, but reappeared on the list of witnesses to Conrad's documents in 1231 and 1232; Kmog, 12, 16; and KDM 2, no. 404, 149. Bolesław Włodarski's opinion that Conrad's arrival broke down the Awdaniecs' solidarity is based on the questionable premise that the two brothers should be expected to present the same political interests. Włodarski, "Polityczne plany Konrada I księcia mazowieckiego," *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 76 (1971): 37. A similar disunity within a baronial family can be observed among the Odrowążs in the 1240's. Sąd Odrowąż witnessed Conrad's grant to the monastery of Jedrzejow: KDM 2, no. 423, 157. His brother Sądek was imprisoned by the duke: KDM 2, no. 401, 147. \

<sup>148</sup> Kmog, no. 12, 16.

<sup>149</sup> Benedykt Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy* (Wrocław, 1975), 45-78.

reason there is no record of the duke's personal relations with Wisław after the disputed election in 1231.<sup>150</sup> Under different circumstances the bishop could have taken advantage of the duke's absence to play the major role in the Krakovian elite. Wisław's low social background and the lack of local connections prevented such an occurrence. The bishop was unable to assert control over the barons who governed the duchy in Henry's name. Wisław's absence from the ducal council or any other assembly that influenced the fate of the province and its bishopric reveals his political weakness.

The bishop could only briefly reassert leadership after Henry the Bearded's death in 1238 when he negotiated with Conrad of Mazovia about the future of Bolesław V the Chaste's rights to the Duchy of Krakow. A year later Wisław appeared in the presence of Dowager Grzymisława, her son Bolesław and Duke Conrad at the council of Przedborz.<sup>151</sup> If Conrad wanted to regain Krakow legitimately, he needed the bishop's assistance and Grzymisława's consent. The title of the duke of Sandomierz, used by Bolesław the Chaste on his first documents issued in 1239, indicates Grzymisława's hesitation over pressing Bolesław's rights to Krakow when Bolesław's paternal uncle mustered substantial forces.<sup>152</sup> Wisław lost this brief moment of opportunity when Conrad did not arrive at Krakow after Henry's death.

In Little Poland Henry I the Bearded had appeared parsimonious. So did his son Henry II the Pious. Henry's preference for his patrimonial Silesia and his engagement in

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<sup>150</sup> Instead of the duke, Palatine Theodore Gryfita was the major secular patron of the ecclesiastical holdings in the Duchy of Krakow. He granted fiscal exemptions for episcopal and Cistercian villages. See KDM 1, no. 16, no. 17, no. 18, no. 20, 22-26. At the same time the palatine was a recipient of ducal generosity. See KDM 1, no. 14 and no. 15, 21.

<sup>151</sup> KDM 2, no. 417, 152.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 421, 156.

conflict with the Brandenburg margraves were welcomed by the Krakovian barons at first, for it left them in charge of their province. The secular aristocracy, especially the Gryfitas led by Palatine Theodore, dominated power relations. Wisław profited less from their supremacy. Henry the Pious, no less than his father, forcefully guarded ducal prerogatives against ecclesiastical demands for privileges and exemptions, both in Silesia and in Little Poland. But the very absence of the duke from Krakow became problematic when Little Poland appeared unprepared for the Mongol invasion in 1241. When the armies of Krakow and Sandomierz were crushed at Chmielnik and Tarczek, Henry the Pious organized Christian forces in Silesia. The duke's death on the battlefield there left the throne of Krakow vacant and deprived the bishop of any quick recuperation of his losses by ducal donations. The destruction was serious. The invaders were able to devastate the major centers of Little Poland, including Sandomierz, Wiślica and Krakow and to kill their inhabitants.<sup>153</sup> Krakow also lost Castellan Clemens and Palatine Włodzimierz in battle. The regent government quickly formed by Silesian dignitaries representing the widowed Duchess Anna was not capable of providing church patronage or renegotiating power relations between episcopal and ducal authorities. They did not have time to stabilize politics in Krakow, for Conrad quickly moved to the town.<sup>154</sup>

The Mazovian Conrad returned to Krakow the very same year Henry the Pious died. That his accession to the duchy was not formally agreed upon with the local secular elite at a council also appears obvious. Conrad immediately resulted to force to ensure

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<sup>153</sup> RKK, 70; DA VII, 9-16.

<sup>154</sup> Bolesław the Chaste was curiously inactive during this crucial moment. According to Długosz, the Mongol invasion forced him to flee with his mother to the Pieniny Mountains. DA VII, 22. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej*, vol. 2, 225, suggests that he may have been imprisoned by Conrad because he stopped issuing documents between 1241 and 1243.

obedience.<sup>155</sup> For their support, Mściwoj of the Pobog family and Śmił of the Starże family were rewarded with offices: Mściwoj became Conrad's palatine of Krakow, Śmił obtained the office of the Master of the Hunt.<sup>156</sup> The opposition existed, but needed time to gain momentum. The former palatine, Clemens of Ruszcza, from the Gryfitas, acted in open defiance by holding the castle of Skała, one of the strongholds of the Silesian Henries, and after losing the palatinate to Mściwoj he organized an open rebellion against Conrad.

Only Conrad's difficult relations with the Krakovian lords enabled Bishop Wisław to gradually increase his political presence. The fact that Wisław's family was not part of the provincial oligarchy began to work to the bishop's advantage. Conrad, too afraid of the leading local families, especially the Gryfitas, tried to play one baronial faction against another and to rely on lesser knightly families like those in the social background of Bishop Wisław.<sup>157</sup> In order to counter the disloyal baronage Conrad also displayed an amicable attitude towards the ecclesiastical authority. In May of 1242 he granted privileges to the three known monasteries in Tyniec, Staniacko and

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<sup>155</sup> Local contemporary annals testify to heavy taxes and frequent arrests of local knights who opposed Conrad's rule. An annalist of the cathedral of Krakow recorded: "Dux Conradus Cracoviam tenens milites quos sibi adversarios credebat, captivat et incarcerat": RKK, 804.

<sup>156</sup> Mściwoj's loyalty was particularly valuable for the Mazovian duke. For years he had been serving Grzymisława and young Bolesław in the capacity of castellan of Wiślica. In 1228 he participated in the negotiations between Grzymisława and Laskonogi at Cienia. He was also present in Przedbórz in 1241, where Conrad probably obtained the Dowager's consent to his attempted campaign to capture Krakow; KDKK, nos. 19-20, 26-28. For discussions regarding the pro-Mazovian forces in Little Poland during the Silesian rule, see Franciszek Sikora, "O rzekomej dominacji politycznej Lisów w Małopolsce w XIII wieku, czyli kilka uwag o rodzie Pobogów," *Studia Historyczne* 26 (1983): 5; and Jan Kurtyka, *Tęczynscy, studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu* (Krakow, 1997), 53-54.

<sup>157</sup> Bronisław Włodarski, "Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich w XIII wieku," *Nasza Przyszłość* 27 (1962): 45.

Andrzejów.<sup>158</sup> Conrad, sensitive about the Krakovian elites' attitude to his rulership, did not have to feel threatened by the bishop, who was marginalized from the aristocratic network. To the duke's disadvantage, the Krakow episcopacy soon lost stability. Wisław died merely a year after the Mazovian arrival at Krakow, before any new negotiations defining ducal and episcopal powers in the province could have even started.

The fate of the bishopric after Ivo's death and Wisław's eleven-year long tenure in the episcopal office proved how dangerous a break in the close cooperation between the bishops and the dukes of Kazimir's line was for episcopal authority. The vacancy in the see of Krakow unfortunately coincided with the vacancy on the ducal throne. Leszek the White's young son needed a stable regent government that the local secular oligarchy of Little Poland was unable to assure. The two competing foreign dukes, Conrad and Henry, claimed Krakow without formal negotiations and elections. Their struggle also created divisions within aristocratic elites. Their temporary weakness in 1229 allowed the cathedral chapter to elect its own candidate, but this choice was immediately challenged by an influential baronial family. Only Henry the Bearded's intervention resolved the problem of the disputed election. It did not, however, rebuild close relations between the ducal and episcopal authorities. Having faced no significant opposition, Henry the Bearded and his son demonstrated reserve towards the bishop of Krakow, whose assistance was not needed to rule the Duchy of Krakow. When Conrad of Mazovia took Krakow after the tragic death of Henry the Pious, he might have also ignored Bishop Wisław, had not the baronial opposition to his rule in Krakow forced him to look for a new ally outside of the local oligarchy. Although the bishop still remained inferior to the duke and the secular barons, he at last left the sphere of political oblivion.

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#### **D. Seeking New Stability and Harmony: 1242-1266**

Wisław's successor further enhanced the role of the bishop in power relations in Little Poland. Once elected by the cathedral chapter, Prandota (1242-1266), a member of a known baronial family who had served Kazimir's line in the past, defended the rights of Leszek the White's son. Conrad of Mazovia fought for his rights to Krakow as the paternal uncle of the latter, but lacked the diplomatic patience to create cordial relations with the bishop. This failure ultimately led to Conrad's excommunication and inability to isolate the powerful Gryfita family. Prandota did not want to forge a common front with the secular barons of Krakow against the Mazovian duke. Nonetheless, the ecclesiastical sanctions weakened Conrad in Krakow. His catastrophe quickly led to the elevation of Leszek's son Bolesław, the duke of Sandomierz, to the throne of Krakow. Once again the two duchies were unequivocally reunited. Like his father, the young duke decided to buttress his authority with closer relations with the bishop. Prandota enjoyed not only the duke's favors, but also the power of saintly remains. The relics of a bishop who had died at secular hands warned against assaults on episcopal authority. From a superior position Prandota recreated symbiotic relations between the bishop and the duke. His young protégé rewarded his influential bishop with broad privileges. Prandota was thus able to expand the foundations for the bishopric as a potential lordship.

When Wisław died in 1242, Conrad was in no position to impose his own candidate in the Krakow bishopric. The duke was threatened by a rebellion of Krakovian barons. The new bishop, Prandota of Bialaczow, was a member of the powerful

Odrowąż family. His aristocratic background afforded him economic independence and his position was additionally strengthened by unanimous election by the cathedral chapter.<sup>159</sup> Sąd Odrowąż, who assisted Conrad during his brief presence in the Duchy of Krakow, was probably his father.<sup>160</sup> For the first time, as a Krakovian canon, he appears in the presence of Bishop Ivo during the consecration of a church in Sączów in 1224 and at the council of Skaryszewo in 1228.<sup>161</sup> After his uncle's death he also participated in the negotiations between Conrad and Grzymisława at Przedborz in 1239. Documents record him as a canon of the cathedral chapter, the *praepositus* at Tarczek and Kielce.<sup>162</sup> Shortly before his election he served the prestigious Sandomierz collegiate church.<sup>163</sup> A bishop with such a pedigree was a difficult but promising partner for the duke. Through his family network the bishop might have become another counter-force to the rebellious Gryfitas and a solid tier of the Mazovian rulership in Little Poland. But if Conrad indeed contemplated enrolling the bishop into his service, the cooperation between the two never materialized.

It was probably Prandota's persisting solidarity with the now mature Duke Bolesław the Chaste of Sandomierz that led to an open violent conflict with the aggressive Mazovian duke. Conrad's devastation of episcopal properties and the burning of the bishop's palace in an unidentified location led to the bishop's excommunication of

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<sup>159</sup> RKK, 98.

<sup>160</sup> Stanisław Trawkowski, "Prędotą, biskup krakowski," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław, 1985), 28: 447.

<sup>161</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, eds. Stanisław Kuraś and Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś (Wrocław, 1969), 4: no. 871, 54; and KDM 2, no. 21, 31.

<sup>162</sup> KDM 1, no. 11, 17-18; and KDM 1, no. 24, 30-31.

<sup>163</sup> DA VI, 202.

the duke.<sup>164</sup> The excommunication was reversible if Conrad demonstrated remorse and compensated the bishopric's losses in an act of penance.<sup>165</sup> However, in the context of paramount unpopularity of the Mazovian authority in Krakow the excommunication had a particularly immediate and devastating effect. The last moral impediment to the abolishment of an abusive power was removed and rebellion gained moral justification. As an effect of Prandota's act, the barons of the provinces of Krakow and Sandomierz formed a united front. The leader of the forces that, after releasing Bolesław the Chaste from prison, inflicted a crushing defeat on Conrad at Suchodol in 1243 and brought about the final collapse of the Mazovian rule in Little Poland was Palatine Clemens Gryfita.<sup>166</sup> Conrad had underestimated the determination of the bishop and the dissatisfied secular baronage. The election of an Odrowąż allowed the office of the Lord Bishop to rejoin the power struggle on equal footing.

Conrad's disastrous battle allowed Leszek the White's son, Bolesław the Chaste, to take Krakow and unite Little Poland, with critical consequences for the bishopric.<sup>167</sup> Bolesław needed reliable friends in order to avoid Conrad's fate. Bishop Prandota

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<sup>164</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska*, 74, 89; RKG, 6. In Paweł Źmudzki's opinion, that location was the town of Kielce. *Studium podzielonego królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny* (Warsaw, 2000), 35.

<sup>165</sup> Conrad's foundation of a Dominican cloister at Płock, in his patrimonial duchy, staffed with friars from Krakow may have been related to the excommunication. DA VII, 47. The duke's son Bolesław's grant of two villages to the bishop and the cathedral chapter in 1244 should be viewed as a diplomatic gesture rather than a formal act of penance for his father's sins. KDKK, no. 32, 132.

<sup>166</sup> RKK, 80; and "Rocznik Traski," 838. Grateful Bolesław granted the palatine an extraordinary privilege in 1252. According to the document, Clemens obtained full legal and economic rights on his estates, see KDM 1, no. 34, 111.

<sup>167</sup> Bolesław's control over this vast territory was never fully secure before Conrad's death. The military strength of the Mazovian remained formidable. Shortly after Suchodol Conrad invaded Little Poland, pillaged the important town of Kielce and constructed three strongholds in a close proximity to Krakow; RKK, 81-82. This military control was not sufficient to regain control over the region. There is no trace of Conrad's efforts to form new alliances there, either with the local secular aristocracy or with the bishop. Conrad's inability to remain in Krakow's environs made his gains temporary.

championed the legitimists' policy to secure the throne of Krakow for Leszek the White's son. Prandota did not have to demonstrate an aggressive championship of church sovereignty to enhance the episcopal possessions and buttress them with immunities. He merely needed to take advantage of Bolesław's political imperative to survive in Krakow. The councils frequently called by the new duke placed restrictions on the ducal authority and became the peaceful platform of negotiating power in Little Poland. One can even argue that they were the main condition under which Bolesław was accepted as the duke of Krakow.<sup>168</sup> The ecclesiastical leadership offered stable support for ducal authority. Bolesław quickly forged close relations with the bishop by endowing newly created foundations at Zawichost and Skała.<sup>169</sup> In the 1250's his reliance on Prandota's assistance was so fundamental that he decided to exempt the bishopric from all services due to the duke, except for the defense of the country against invasions, and to arm the bishop with ducal authority in the episcopal castles.<sup>170</sup> He also granted near-sovereign status to two episcopal territories at Tarczek and Kielce.<sup>171</sup> The cathedral received tithes from the salt mines in Bochnia.<sup>172</sup> The first instances of the reorganization of episcopal towns according to German models of municipal organization and law also date from that

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<sup>168</sup> For the councils in the Province of Krakow in the middle of the thirteenth century see Stanisław Zachorowski, *Colloquia w Polsce od XII do XIV w.* (Krakow, 1927), 213-221; and Franciszek Bujak, *O wiecach w Polsce do końca XIII w. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wielkopolski* (Krakow, 1938), 87-91.

<sup>169</sup> KDM 1, no. 57, 165.

<sup>170</sup> KDKK, no. 41, 56.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 59, 79. The bishops of Krakow had enjoyed special rights in the two castellanies since Leszek the White who gave Ivo the privilege of settling German colonists on special rights: see *ibid.*, no. 17, 25.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 31, 39-40.

period. In 1253 Bolesław permitted Prandota to relocate the settlement of Lagow and to monopolize the access to the revenues generated by the townsmen.<sup>173</sup>

Episcopal lordship had a crucial spiritual component that Bishop Prandota carefully cultivated and expended in the context of the political struggle for Krakow. His predecessors, Vincent and Ivo, had already promoted the cult of Bishop Stanisław of Krakow, whose murder by Duke Bolesław II's men contributed to that duke's ultimate downfall in 1079.<sup>174</sup> Due to the political resonance of Stanisław's death, the canonization of the unfortunate bishop could provide Prandota and his successors with an agent of sacred authority. The weakness of the bishopric under Prandota's predecessor seemed very proper. The relics of the saint were a reminder of the consequences produced by crimes against the clerical order, and more specifically, against episcopal authority. In 1245 the bishop translated Stanisław's remains into a new *sarcophagus*.<sup>175</sup> In 1253 Pope Innocent IV canonized Stanisław and designated May 8 as the day of his feast.<sup>176</sup> A year later the bishop could demonstrate his exclusive control over access to the relics when in

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<sup>173</sup> KDM 2, no. 227, 74.

<sup>174</sup> The Krakovian Dominicans, who were brought to Krakow by a relative of Bishop Ivo, were particularly active in the promotion of the cult. The major hagiographer of Saint Stanisław was Dominican Vincent of Kielce who had been active at the episcopal court before he wrote the two *vitae* of the saint. Marian Plezia, "Wincenty z Kielc historyk Polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* (1962): 15-22; Gerard Labuda, "Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincenty z Kielc," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* (1971): 92-109.

<sup>175</sup> DA VII, 80.

<sup>176</sup> In Stanisław Trawkowski's opinion, the papacy responded positively to Prandota's petition because the canonization was to enhance the bishopric's effectiveness in missionary work among pagans in Lithuania and in an attempt to bring the orthodox Ruthenian church into a union with the Roman church. Trawkowski, "Prandota," PSB, vol. 28, 449. Although the dukes of Little Poland had been very active in the east, their religious successes were modest before the territorial expansion of the Polish Kingdom a century later. It is difficult to see the role of the cult of St. Stanisław as a useful tool of conversion. The cult of St. Adalbert, the bishop of Prague, martyred by the pagan Prussians in the tenth century, appears more suitable for that purpose. But Adalbert's relics were carried away by the Bohemian King Bretyslav during his invasion of Poland in 1038.

the presence of Bolesław and four other Polish dukes they were translated from a tomb to an altar.<sup>177</sup>

The relics not only enhanced the bishop's standing in relation to the ducal authority in Krakow. They also opened new venues of international contacts that could be controlled by the bishop. When in 1253 King Premysl Ottokar II of Bohemia sought an alliance with Polish dukes, he requested some relics of Saint Stanisław.<sup>178</sup> It was to the shared cult of Saint Stanisław that the Bohemian king appealed when he offered specific conditions of peace and his protection for the Polish realm.<sup>179</sup> In the past the saint brought divine wrath on sinful dukes and their realm. Now he could guarantee peace and prosperity. The bishop who held his relics could decide the fate of his community.

The sacred powers placed Prandota in a difficult position. If he abandoned his duke, he could independently negotiate with the Bohemian ruler over ecclesiastical and baronial rights in the Province of Krakow. But the betrayal of Duke Bolesław would have altered the old tradition of cooperation with the dukes of Kazimir's line. The Bohemian king had not demonstrated sufficient power to convince the bishop and the Krakovian baronage to upset the ducal throne. Prandota, like Ivo during the time of Leszek the White, returned to a model of legitimate and harmonious rulership. A year after Przemysł's letter to Prandota, the bishop offered special protection to Bolesław's foundation of a monastery of St. Clare.<sup>180</sup> The baronial origin of the bishops was not an

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<sup>177</sup> DA VII, 95-96.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>179</sup> KDKK, no. 44, 88-90.

impediment to the development of the church in Krakow. It helped the episcopal authority reclaim its position as a foundation of a legitimate government with spiritual and secular powers. Only when Kazimir the Just's line expired with the death of Bolesław the Chaste in 1279 and the expansion of towns added a new element in political struggle was the bishops' position changed and their ability to negotiate power radically declined.

#### **E. Political Assertion and Defeat: 1267-1320**

The tenures of Prandota's successors, Paul, Prokop and Muskata, produced increasing corrosion and even a termination of the close cooperation between the episcopal authority and a provincial branch of the Piast dynasty in Little Poland. Paul and Prokop sided with the rebellious barons of Sandomierz against their dukes in Krakow. Muskata's dramatic fate was on the other hand a result of his isolation from the secular aristocratic elites in both provinces of Little Poland. The bishop sided with the German town oligarchy and negotiated with the king of Bohemia whose claims to Krakow threatened the local barons with rule by foreigners insensitive to its political ambitions. Historical irony became apparent when Muskata more effectively than any bishop of Krakow before him secured advanced forms of territorial authority, but his political dependence on the secular power of a foreign monarch weakened the effectiveness of his lordship. In the formation of a new unified Polish kingdom based on Krakow its bishop lost the political competition to his rival the archbishop of Gniezno

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<sup>180</sup> KDM 1, no. 69, 131.

and the secular barons of Little Poland who opted for another Piast duke as the king of Poland.

Prandota's successor in the episcopal see was Paul of Przemankow (1267-1292) who managed Bolesław the Chaste's chancellery for at least four years before his election to the bishopric.<sup>181</sup> Bolesław's motivation for promoting his chancellor is not completely apparent. Were the chancellorship and later episcopal dignity rewards for earlier loyal service or an extorted price Bolesław had to pay to the Krakovian baronage for accepting him on the ducal throne? Paul's background, although not baronial, had already entrenched him in the provincial power network. His sister was probably married to Prandota, son of Warsz, the castellan of Krakow. The castellan of Sandomierz, Pełka, may have also been his relative.<sup>182</sup> His brother's wife was Prandota's sister.<sup>183</sup> The family's importance in Little Poland had been recognized in 1263, when Paul became Bolesław's chancellor.<sup>184</sup> It is safe to assume that the cathedral chapter elected him with the support of his kin and Bolesław's consent.<sup>185</sup>

Paul's relation with his duke appeared peaceful at first. The bishop was able to gain Bolesław's privileges for the Cistercians' colonizing efforts at Koprzywnica, Jędrzejow and Wąchock.<sup>186</sup> But soon after, he came to open conflict with the duke over

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<sup>181</sup> As Bolesław's chancellor, Paul witnessed the duke's grant to the Benedictine monastery of Tyniec in 1263, see KDM 2, no. 470, 288.

<sup>182</sup> Władysław Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski, 1266-1292," *Nasza Przeszłość* 9 (1959): 162.

<sup>183</sup> Żmudzki, 234.

<sup>184</sup> KDKK, no. 67, 92.

<sup>185</sup> Because Paul's election was originally disputed, three arbiters had to decide the matter. One of them was canon Wysz from the family of Półkozice. See DA VII, 152.

<sup>186</sup> KDKK, no. 32, 40-41; no. 36, 45-46; no. 37, 46-48.

some ecclesiastical estates.<sup>187</sup> Between 1271 and 1274 Paul was absent from the lists of witnesses to his duke's charters. He ambitiously attempted to exercise power in disregard of negotiation between the secular aristocracy and the Piast dukes. If he indeed supported the rebellion of the Krakovian nobles against Duke Bolesław in 1273, he broke from the traditional episcopal policy of the church of Krakow, which had promoted Kazimir the Just's hereditary line. It was the first time since Gedko when the bishop may have contemplated leading a coup d'état against the throne of Krakow to oppose an abusive rulership. According to Długosz, the rebels acted against Bolesław's decision to designate Duke Leszek the Black of Sieradz-Łęczyca, his distant relative, as his successor in Krakow, without consultation with his barons at a formal council.<sup>188</sup> The duke, like Mieszko the Old in the past, also allegedly demonstrated unjust lordship by arbitrary verdicts and the extortion of services.<sup>189</sup> The rebels attempted to place Władysław I, the duke of Opole-Raciborz, on the throne of Krakow. An almost contemporary annalist states that they acted under the advice of the bishop.<sup>190</sup> Długosz's text also makes it clear that Paul supported the rebels, although only passively.<sup>191</sup> Paul acted independently as a

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<sup>187</sup> RKK, 102-103.

<sup>188</sup> DA VII, 181. Długosz states that Leszek even "adaptatur in filium." Bronisław Włodarski, "Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich w XIII wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 27 (1962): 51, has rightly suggested that the designation would make Leszek less obligated to the Krakovian elites. Paweł Żmudzki has recently questioned this tradition. In his opinion, the tension between the duke and the bishop was mainly dictated by Bolesław's pro-Hungarian policy, while Paul supported the Bohemian king. Żmudzki, *Stadium podzielonego królestwa*, 232-233.

<sup>189</sup> DA VII, 146, 181-183.

<sup>190</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 147. Piotr Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemiankowa Biskup Krakowski," 157-247, argues that Paul merely served as a moral force whose consent was sought by the rebels to legitimize their cause. Thus, the bishop did not betray his duke in any practical sense. In contrast, Bolesław Włodarski suggests that Paul's action could be explained by the conflict between Hungary and Bohemia. Duke Bolesław supported his Hungarian father-in-law. The Krakovian barons who opposed the ducal policy sought Paul's moral approval; Włodarski, 48-49.

self-confident local lord whose ecclesiastical status and family relations allowed him to make independent political decisions. The lack of Bolesław's heir made the succession open to negotiations in which the bishops used their particular diplomatic skills and energy. There is no record that Bolesław consulted with the baronage of Little Poland at any formal assembly about his decision to designate his successor.<sup>192</sup> It appeared arbitrary and signaled a defective rulership that Bishop Paul, like Gedko, Pełka and Prandota before him, tried to oppose.

Duke Bolesław suppressed the rebellion at Bogucin the same year it started. But the victorious duke was in no position to remove Paul from his office. That Bolesław wisely chose reconciliation with the opposition instead of confrontation is reflected in the terms of peace with Duke Władysław of Opole-Raciborz, who received from Bolesław substantial territories just west of the Benedictine monastery of Tyniec. Bolesław's attitude toward the bishop became suspicious. The duke isolated the bishop by ignoring Paul's presence, while he remained ostentatiously generous to religious institutions. The duke made sure that the public would distinguish between the cold relations between the two authorities and his pious patronage. Because Paul's isolation persisted till Bolesław's death, the bishop played no active role in the elevation of the new duke.

The accession of Leszek the Black of Łęczyca-Sieradz was publicly confirmed by the barons' election in 1279. The bishop did not oppose the duke. According to Długosz, in accord with the barons Paul consented to Leszek's accession.<sup>193</sup> Grateful

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<sup>191</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 842: "... milites ... processerunt ad ducem Opoliensem Wladislaum cum tota potentia sua de consilio episcopi Pauli Cravovie..." Oskar Halecki believes that monastic communities that held estates in Little Poland and the Duchy of Opole also welcomed Władysław's candidacy to the throne of Krakow. Halecki, "Powołanie księcia Władysława opolskiego na tron krakowski w 1273," 261-262.

<sup>192</sup> Długosz stresses the unprecedented character of Bolesław's decision. DAVII, 182-183.

Leszek often called for general assemblies to legitimate his authority in Krakow.<sup>194</sup> This was not the bishop's resignation from his forceful position within the Krakovian oligarchy. Perhaps the bishop could not find suitable allies. The dramatic collapse of the rebellion in 1273 revealed the futility of a struggle that lacked broader support from leading aristocratic families.

Paul nonetheless consistently opposed ducal ambitions to rebuild a ducal power superior to the ecclesiastical authority. He defended the monastery of St. Clare's autonomy in the Sącz region against Duke Leszek's legal claims. The bishop's relation to a family who had already held extensive estates in the region caused Leszek's concerns about ambitious secular barons who might employ the prestige and influence of episcopal power to enhance their possessions on the expanse of ducal territory.<sup>195</sup> Paul's involvement in the conflict between Bolesław's widow Kinga (Kunegund), who had founded the monastery and granted it a territory with all jurisdictions, and Duke Leszek, who tried to regain at least some ducal rights there, had, however, more immediate ideological and political dimensions.<sup>196</sup> Kinga did not have children.<sup>197</sup> If the monastery's jurisdiction could be defended, the bishopric might eventually obtain an

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 207. See also "Rocznik Traski," 143.

<sup>194</sup> Stanisław Russocki, "Consilium i consensus otoczenia książęcego w dokumentach polskich XIII wieku," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1995), 5: 197.

<sup>195</sup> Władysław Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa, biskup krakowski," *Nasza Przeszłość* 9 (1959): 199, 245.

<sup>196</sup> KDM 2, no. 487, 245-246; KDM 2, no. 491, 250-251; "Rocznik Traski," 846.

<sup>197</sup> According to Alexander Semkowicz, "Walka o monarchię," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 5 (1891): 763. Kinga's foundation found support in the bishopric of Krakow to prevent the Duchess' brother, the Hungarian king, from claiming it after her death. The diocese of Krakow had indeed been experiencing territorial disputes with the archbishopric of Esztergom since the 1230's.

ecclesiastical territory fully exempted from secular authority.<sup>198</sup> This dispute probably contributed to Paul's imprisonment, although an almost contemporary source also records an anti-Leszek rebellion of the Sandomierz barons shortly before his arrest.<sup>199</sup> Długosz made an explicit connection between the two events. In his chronicle, the bishop committed treason by organizing the Lithuanians' attacks on Leszek while other rebels tried to install Conrad II of Czersk, a Mazovian duke, in Krakow. Those were the direct reasons for his internment.<sup>200</sup> The text of the two agreements between the duke and the bishop after Paul's release reveals the latter's commitment to defend his bishopric against ducal belligerence. In both, Leszek pledged to protect the church of Krakow and to compensate the bishop for his imprisonment.<sup>201</sup> It was less certain that the agreement was Paul's definite victory. The duke quickly learned about political gains from public displays of piety and amicable gestures towards the episcopal authority.

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<sup>198</sup> Paweł Żmudzki argues that the problem of encouraging the nuns of St. Clare from Skąpa near Krakow to resettle in her Sacz domain made the crisis between the duchess and Duke Leszek even more acute. Paul's role in this particular conflict is, however, less apparent; see Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 320-322.

<sup>199</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 848.

<sup>200</sup> KDKK, no. 84, 116-118; "Rocznik Traski," 848; DA VII, 176, 181-184. According to Piotr Wojciechowski, "Ugrupowania polityczne w ziemiach krakowskiej i sandomierskiej w latach 1280-1286," *Przegląd Historyczny* 70 (1979), 70, the greatest appeal of the Mazovian duke to the Sandomierz nobility lay in Conrad's ability to protect the Province of Sandomierz against pagan Lithuanians with whom he maintained good relations. Some historians have doubted the very existence of the rebellion of 1282. According to them, there was only one rebellion in the Province of Sandomierz. It took place in 1285, without Paul's participation. See Władysław Karasiewicz, 204-205; Bolesław Włodarski, 55; and Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, 204. Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio has pointed out that the continuation of offices in the hands of the same persons after the alleged rebellion also casts doubt on the value of Długosz's narrative. *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 211. Those assertions ignore the ideology of power display, in which forgiveness and public reconciliation was also the demonstration of supreme authority.

<sup>201</sup> KDKK, no. 85, 116-118; and KDKK, no. 88, 120-123. The lack of noticeable reaction in defense of the bishop indicates Paul's isolation. Edward Marecki, "Ugody księcia Leszka Czarnego z biskupem Pawłem z Przemankowa," *Studia Historyczne* 29 (1986): 266-267, doubts that the first agreement was ever formally honored by the duke and his barons. His major argument rests on the fact that there are no references to it in the second document. Also, no seal, ducal or baronial, had been attached to the early charter.

The reinstatement of peaceful relations immediately produced political gains for the duke. His reputation had suffered damage since 1283, when he had been excommunicated and his realm had fallen under interdict for violent treatment of the bishop.<sup>202</sup> In 1284, a council of Krakow reestablished peace and lifted the excommunication. The bishop even took the oath of fealty to the duke in exchange for the duke's protection of the diocese of Krakow.<sup>203</sup> His new attitudes helped Leszek reinforce his image as a pious and merciful ruler. Like his predecessor, Leszek stressed his ability to protect and enrich the diocese, justly treating the bishop whose liberty had been previously violated. Leszek's particular generosity towards the Dominicans and the collegiate church in Sandomierz further contributed to the prestige of the duke's Christian rulership. To stress his duty as an active patron of the Roman church, Leszek endowed the bishop of Lubus, who had been responsible for the Latin missionary activity in Ruthenia since the 1230's.<sup>204</sup> In early 1285 Leszek even began preparations for an anti-Tatar crusade that, however, never came into effect.<sup>205</sup>

Leszek's repetition of the pledge to protect the church of Krakow indicates that he was not ready to compromise his ducal prerogatives easily. Why did the duke feel compelled to meet Paul two years after the first agreement and confirm his original

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<sup>202</sup> KDKK, no. 84, 114-116.

<sup>203</sup> KDKK 1, no. 85, 116-118.

<sup>204</sup> KDM 1, no. 104, 124-127 and KDM 2, no. 499, 260-261. The Dominicans ignored the interdict, although imprisoned Paul himself encouraged the clergy to continue their spiritual duties. See Długosz VII, 330. According to Paweł Żmudzki, the collective foundation of the Dominican convent at Opatowiec by the duke and the bishop in 1283 opened the public display of the good will between the authorities. Żmudzki, *Stadium podzielonego królestwa*, 336. Leszek also granted the bishop of Lubus the town of Opatow with legal and fiscal immunities and the right to colonize the Opatow region according to German Law. See *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, 4: no. 881, 19-22.

<sup>205</sup> Żmudzki, 388-392.

commitment? Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the rebellion of 1285.<sup>206</sup> The bishop's role has been disputed in historiography. Contemporary annals do not mention the bishop's involvement. But Długosz explicitly states that Paul "who was going to take revenge for the troubles of his imprisonment, (...) incited that storm."<sup>207</sup> Once the rebellion collapsed, Leszek began to punish the disloyal. All the leading officials of the duchy were persecuted. The palatines and castellans of Sandomierz and Krakow, from the Starz-Toporczyk and Gryfita families, were all deprived of their dignities and estates.<sup>208</sup> Gregory of Balice, the son of the Palatine of Krakow, was executed.<sup>209</sup> Even if Długosz did not invent the story of Paul as a rebellious leader, Leszek wisely opted for cooperation rather than a public confrontation with his bishop. Paul became his natural partner when the persecution of the rebellious barons further destabilized the ducal government. After victory Leszek needed to pacify the province. Negotiations with the bishop could open a new era of stability for Leszek's rule in Krakow and a return to a close symbiosis between episcopal and ducal authorities.

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<sup>206</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 850-851; see also Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 127-128. According to Żmudzki, the rebellion of 1285 was dictated by closer relations between the bishop and the duke who began to organize a crusade against the Tatars. The Starz-Toporczyks no longer enjoyed monopoly of power. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 411. Leszek's need to seek aid from the Hungarian king Vladislav IV demonstrates the magnitude of the crisis.

<sup>207</sup> DA VII, 181-183: "...qui captivitatis suae ultum iri parans molestias, cam procellam exciverat..." It has been suggested that this information was the chronicler's invention and was intended to portray the bishop as a disloyal and politically ambitious ecclesiastic. Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa," 216-226, has argued that the bishop had nothing to do with the rebellion, because the Starz-Toporczyk family who led it were Paul's enemies and had assisted Leszek in his arrest; see also Włodarski, "Polityczne plany Konrada I księcia mazowieckiego," 55.

<sup>208</sup> Wojciechowski, "Ugrupowania polityczne," 62-64; Janusz Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu* (Krakow, 1997), 95-96; and Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 128.

<sup>209</sup> KDKK, no. 86, 116-118; see also Antoni Rybarski, "Udział Toporczyków w uwięzieniu biskupa krakowskiego," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 26 (1912): 6.

Paul, more than any Krakow bishop before him, fully demonstrated his capacities as an independent power broker. At the time of Leszek the Black's accession in 1279, Paul's position was strong and he was able to orchestrate politics in Krakow. With time, the bishop of Krakow tried to exploit the growing separatist tendencies of the Sandomierz barons to empower his episcopal authority. There is no proof that Paul necessarily looked for an alternative duke of Krakow, although Conrad II of Czersk was again the barons' candidate to the throne of Krakow.<sup>210</sup> The baronial revolts could, however, serve the bishop indirectly: they pressured Leszek for concessions. This appears to be the main reason behind the final reconciliation between Leszek and Paul. Shortly after the rebellion, the bishop attended two assemblies during which Leszek rewarded knights for assistance during the war.<sup>211</sup> Having been finally compensated for imprisonment and given the confirmation of ecclesiastical possessions in the diocese of Krakow, especially the castellanies of Chropy and Sławków, Paul did not need a new confrontation.<sup>212</sup> Leszek's death in 1288 encouraged the bishop to reassert his leadership.

With the death of Duke Leszek the Black, the baronial ranks experienced profound divisions. At first the bishop and some secular barons elected Duke Bolesław of Płock, probably at Sandomierz.<sup>213</sup> The new duke allowed Leszek's castellan of Krakow, Sulek of Bear from the Starz-Toporczyk family, to remain in office as a token of

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<sup>210</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski rejects the possibility of Paul's support for Duke Conrad II because of the latter's close relations with the Toporczyks, the bishop's former persecutors. *Małopolska elita władzy wobec rywalizacji o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1306* (Bydgoszcz, 1992), 16.

<sup>211</sup> KDM 1, no. 109, 130; KDM 1, no. 113, 133-134.

<sup>212</sup> KDKK, no. 88, 121-123.

<sup>213</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 852; "Rocznik Sędziwoja" 878; "Rocznik małopolski," 184-185. The location of the election at Sandomierz comes from Długosz; see DA VII, 252-254.

gratitude for the election. However, the castellan and the burghers of Krakow soon betrayed Bolesław and let Henry IV Probus, the duke of Wrocław in Silesia, enter the town.<sup>214</sup> Paul did not have an alternative candidate to the Krakow throne at the moment.<sup>215</sup> Meanwhile he had good reason to fear strenuous relations with the Silesian Duke Henry who, unlike Leszek the Black, had enough power to remove the disloyal bishop. Henry had already exercised seigneurial rights in relation to ecclesiastical institutions. His dramatic and prolonged conflict with his own bishop in Wrocław did not allow for much optimism.<sup>216</sup> The duke notoriously exploited episcopal estates, demanded taxes and transport services from settlers on episcopal land, and appropriated tithes.<sup>217</sup> Like most of his predecessors after 1180, Paul assumed the role of a defender of legitimate modes of power.<sup>218</sup> The method of Henry's accession to the Duchy of Krakow was not without importance. His claims to Krakow rested on no more than an informal

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<sup>214</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 852. According to Długosz, the castellan surrendered the Wawel castle only after Bolesław's retreat from Little Poland. DA VII, 253-254. Paweł Żmudzki asserts that Henry's appeal rested on his ambition to unite Polish duchies. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 470. In contrast, Tomasz Nowakowski argues that the Silesian duke found very limited support in Little Poland, with the exception of townsmen who, for economic reasons, preferred closer relations with rich and economically developed Silesia. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 24.

<sup>215</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski suggests the existence of a new agreement between Bolesław of Płock and Conrad of Czersk that aimed at partitioning Little Poland. Sułek supported Henry Probus in an effort to prevent it. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 25. There was no precedent of a bishop of Krakow who willingly labored against the political unity of his diocese. Thus, Conrad's candidacy could not find Paul's support.

<sup>216</sup> Bronisław Włodarski, "Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich," 57, suggests that Henry's conflict with his bishop in Wrocław made him unattractive to the ecclesiastical elite in Krakow, especially to Bishop Paul, who actively assisted the latter during the crisis.

<sup>217</sup> The duke's goodwill gesture of granting Thomas full jurisdictional rights in two compact castellanies (Otmuchów and Nysa) was irrelevant. The bishopric of Krakow did not possess such extensive and compact territories before the fifteenth century.

<sup>218</sup> "Rocznik Sędziwoja," MPH, vol. 2, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), 879; DA VII, 256-258.

agreement with Leszek the Black and the collaboration of the townsmen of Krakow.<sup>219</sup> Długosz mentions Henry's ad hoc negotiations with the local baronage only after the fall of the town to the duke. There is no information as to what they pertained to. One may only suspect that Henry as an undisputable victor did not accept any extraordinary conditions under which his rights to Krakow were formally recognized. The bishop appears to have been absent during the council.<sup>220</sup> There were others who never accepted Henry's authority and soon suffered imprisonment and losses of property.<sup>221</sup> Leszek's designation by Bolesław the Chaste had already created problems for the legitimacy of the new duke's rights to Krakow. But Bolesław had the advantage of direct hereditary rights as Kazimir the Just's grandson. When childless Leszek the Black decided to designate his successor without consulting the elites of Little Poland, he threatened the electoral traditions of the secular lords and thwarted the bishop's expectations to establish a stable rulership that would protect the interest of the church of Krakow.

There is no record testifying to Paul's treasonous acts against Silesian authority before one of the previously considered candidates for the throne of Krakow invaded the province and took the town in 1289. Duke Władysław Łokietek of Kujavia's arrival seemingly offered Paul a new opportunity to reestablish episcopal authority on equal ground with the ducal.<sup>222</sup> But Łokietek's failure to capture Wawel castle and the Silesian

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<sup>219</sup> For a discussion of succession agreements between the dukes of Little Poland, Silesia and Great Poland that promised a unification of the Polish realm, see Gerard Labuda, "Na drodze do zjednoczenia państwa polskiego za Przemysła II," *Nasza Przeszłość* 33 (1970): 72-75.

<sup>220</sup> DAVII, 253-254.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>222</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski questions Bishop Paul's support for Łokietek because of the presence of the Toporczyks in the pro-Kujavian camp, the family that had imprisoned the bishop in 1283 on behalf of Duke Leszek the Black. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 20. This argument seems to ignore the fact that

counter-offensive completely upset the situation and left the bishop defenseless. The exact role Paul played in assisting the Kujavian duke must have been substantial, for on Henry's order Paul was imprisoned, the cathedral treasure was looted and two episcopal strongholds of Sławkow and Skała were transferred to Knight Henry of Woszew (Wstow).<sup>223</sup> This was disastrous for the bishop's prestige. Fortunately for Paul, Henry's brief presence in Krakow did not keep the bishop imprisoned for long.<sup>224</sup> In contrast to the bishop of Wrocław, Paul did not profit from the duke's last will, which generously enriched the Silesian bishopric. Henry limited his generosity to the return of the cathedral valuables and the request that his successor in Krakow, Przemysł II of Great Poland, pay the cathedral chapter, not the bishop, one hundred *grzywny* of gold.<sup>225</sup> The episcopal authority faced humiliation. The termination of the absolute dependence of ducal accession on the electoral procedure when the local Piast line had expired destabilized the customary pattern of power relations.

Duke Henry became sufficiently strong to continue the recent practice of choosing his successor in Krakow without preliminary negotiations with the bishop and the secular barons at a council. When Przemysł II of Great Poland, designated by Henry's will, entered Krakow in July 1290, the limitations of episcopal power became apparent.<sup>226</sup> The liberated Paul was in no position to negotiate any new powers or

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Paul cooperated with Castellan Sulek from the same baronial family during the election of Bolesław of Płock.

<sup>223</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 852; "Rocznik Sędziwoja," 878; "Rocznik małopolski," 185.

<sup>224</sup> Having installed his men in Krakow, Henry marched back to Wrocław in late February 1289. Długosz defines the duration of Paul's imprisonment as "aliquanto." DA VII, 256-258.

<sup>225</sup> KDW 2, no. 645, 26

privileges under the condition of accepting the new duke. Przemysław was relatively well established in Krakow. Both leading figures of the province, Castellan Żegota and Palatine Nicholas, welcomed his accession.<sup>227</sup> Żegota's family of Toporczyk had been holding the palatinate of Sandomierz and the castellany of Krakow before the rebellion against Leszek the Black in 1285.<sup>228</sup> Przemysław granted part of the revenues from the royal salt mines to the bishop and the cathedral only afterwards as a gesture of piety in order to assure Paul's future loyalty.<sup>229</sup> It is possible that the duke tried to enroll Paul's support against Władysław Łokietek, who successfully rallied the Sandomierz baronage to his cause, occupied Sandomierz and practically partitioned Little Poland till the king of Bohemia, Vaclav II Premyslid, forced him into submission in October 1292.<sup>230</sup> Przemysław tried to consolidate his authority in Krakow by closer relations with the local nobles. He promoted new people to provincial offices, but restrained himself from issuing formal

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<sup>226</sup> KDW 2, no. 645, 24-27. The authenticity of the will in the form known today has been questioned by Tomasz Jurek who argues that it was rather Duke Bolesław of Opole than Przemysław of Great Poland to whom Henry granted Little Poland. Tomasz Jurek, "Testament Henryka Probusa. Autentyk czy falszyfikat?" *Studia Źródłotwórcze* 35 (1994): 95-96.

<sup>227</sup> The two appear on most charters issued by Przemysław during his tenure in Krakow. For examples see KDKK, no. 90, 125 and no. 92, 128; KDM 2, no. 54, 41. It is therefore difficult to agree with Tomasz Nowakowski who argues that Przemysław failed to win recognition from the Krakovian elites because he placed new men in most other offices. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 38-39.

<sup>228</sup> Żegota was a familiar person at Przemysław's court. In 1284 the duke granted him three villages. See KDW 1, no. 536, 498. Bronisław Nowacki argues that they constituted a reward for assisting the duke of Great Poland in his claims to Krakow. Bronisław Nowacki, "Zabiegi o zjednoczenie państwa i koronacja królewska w latach 1284 i 1285 na tle rywalizacji Przemysła II z Henrykiem Prawym," in *Przemysław II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa (Poznań, 1997), 156.

<sup>229</sup> KDKK, no. 91, no. 92, no. 93, 127-130; KDW 2, no. 647, 27-28; no. 651, 31-32; no. 652, 32-33.

<sup>230</sup> Because the charters were issued merely two months after Przemysław's arrival at Krakow, Bronisław Włodarski has doubted that Przemysław could reward Paul for the already demonstrated "fidelitas and servitio." Thus, he follows Oskar Balzer's theory that it was the price Przemysław was willing to pay for the royal insignia that had been held at the Krakow cathedral. See Włodarski, 56-57; and Oskar Balzer, *Królestwo Polskie* (Lwów, 1919), 336.

privileges to the secular baronage of the part of Little Poland under his control.<sup>231</sup> Increasing pressure from both Łokietek and Vaclav and the escalating crisis in Pomerania, however, forced the duke of Great Poland to resign from Krakow. He transferred its throne in Little Poland to the Bohemian ruler.

Vaclav's pretensions to Little Poland resulted in new opportunities for the bishop of Krakow.<sup>232</sup> In contrast to his recent predecessors, Vaclav was neither elected by the Krakovian elites nor designated by a duke of Krakow. Bishop Paul, an energetic leader, became a desirable asset for the Bohemian authorities. While Łokietek successfully defended Sandomierz, Vaclav's troops, led by Arnold of Bamberg, captured Krakow with no noticeable difficulty. The sudden change of heart among the provincial knights and barons offers only limited explanation. The Bohemian rule appeared stable and liberal in regard to authority on a local level.<sup>233</sup> The bishop also did not oppose the Bohemian king because neither Przemysł II nor Władysław Łokietek had mastered enough resources to unite Little Poland and provide a stable government. In response, Vaclav confirmed ecclesiastical and baronial privileges at the council at Lutomyśl in September 1291.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> For new names in the service of the duke in Krakow, see Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 132-133; and Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 38. Przemysł was even more generous to the Krakovian townsmen than to the local aristocracy. During his stay in Krakow he issued two privileges to the former and none to the latter. See KDW 2, 515, 306; and no. 649, 430.

<sup>232</sup> Vaclav's right to Little Poland had many levels of legitimization, starting with Duke Henry Probus who decided to submit his duchy to Rudolf Habsburg, who in turn granted his rights to Vaclav's father. The fact that the designation took place before Henry expanded his authority to Little Poland made the letter of Henry's will open to interpretation. Przemysł of Great Poland renounced his rights to the Duchy of Krakow on behalf of Vaclav in 1291; "Rocznik Traski," 852.

<sup>233</sup> As Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 76-77, points out, Vaclav did not attempt to create a new serviceable elite in Krakow, although he replaced Castellan Żegota with his loyal Warcisław of Chrzelow.

<sup>234</sup> The fact that Paul did not stage an opposition to the Bohemian monarch does not prove his active support for the Bohemian rulership, as Tomasz Nowakowski claims. Nowakowski, "Krakowska kapituła katedralna wobec panowania Przemysławidów w Małopolsce w latach 1292-1306," *Przegląd Historyczny* 82 (1991): 12. The Lutomyśl privileges were not a reward for loyal Poles, but a political device to win future approval from the leadership of Little Poland that included the bishop.

Like Laskonogi in 1228, Vaclav stressed just rulership and his protection of existing possessions. He emphasized the position of the bishop as a lord of the duchy whose consent for new nominations for offices was necessary. One of the charters reads as follow: "We will bestow dignities and offices in those duchies and lands (Krakow and Sandomierz) after a prior consultation with the mentioned bishop and the senior barons of those duches, just as it is said to have been respected since former times."<sup>235</sup> The Bohemian ruler raised the bishop of Krakow on the provincial stage of the power hierarchy. Paul's successor did not lose this position.

The bishopric of Krakow under Paul of Przemankow faced a particularly difficult period due to dynastic crisis in Little Poland. The lack of male heirs forced the ruling Piasts to seek successors outside of the duchy. Leszek the Black, Władysław of Opole, Bolesław of Płock, Conrad II of Czersk and Henry IV Probus all claimed Krakow in the name of the deceased dukes of Krakow or a rebellious faction within the local elite. Without a young heir from Kazimir the Just's direct line, Paul could not create a legitimate oligarchic government in which the bishop played a major role. Instead, he utilized baronial rebellions to force new ambitious dukes of Krakow to negotiate with the leading men of Little Poland about the future of the ducal throne and the security of the diocese. The Sandomierz barons who also opposed the arbitrary mode of succession through designation became the bishop's natural allies. Their candidates, however, were unable to take Krakow. The situation was stabilized with the arrival of Vaclav, king of Bohemia. The formal protection offered by the new ruler of Krakow did not recreate,

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<sup>235</sup> KDKK, no. 94, 130-131.

however, a full partnership with the bishop. Vaclav was not Paul's candidate and therefore did not assign the bishop a prominent role based on political partnership.

Prokop's election to the bishopric in 1292 indicated a considerable shift of power from the local aristocratic oligarchy to the town burghers and the duke, who no longer needed to legitimize his rule in the capital of Little Poland.<sup>236</sup> The bishops were able to profit from this change if they wisely chose dukes with sufficient political will and resources to retain control in Little Poland. When Krakow was contested by Vaclav and Łokietek, the new bishop could have continued Paul's independent policy, had his status as an outsider not prevented him from creating a reliable faction among the baronage. The Krakovian patricians were not his partners either. They firmly supported the Bohemian king in expectations of economic profits from joining the expanding Premyslid kingdom.

During Prokop's tenure (1292-94), the burghers of Krakow could no longer be ignored as a political force. Since the time of Bolesław the Chaste, municipal authority enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy, including the office of hereditary bailiff (*wojt/Landvogt/advocatus*) and the town's council.<sup>237</sup> Leszek the Black enhanced their economic prosperity and municipal autonomy by assigning to them the management of the salt mines, removing trade customs and then by rewarding their loyalty with the right

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<sup>236</sup> Długosz mentions Vaclav's pressure on the canons of the Krakow cathedral to elect Prokop – a view recently modified by Tomasz Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich w końcu XIII wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 75 (1991): 11-12. In his opinion, the election was technically free, although welcomed by the Bohemian king.

<sup>237</sup> Antoni Gąsiorowski, "Wójt i starosta, ramie monarsze w polskim mieście średniowiecznym," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński (Poznań, 1976), 8: 437-439.

to build fortifications.<sup>238</sup> The secular leaders of Krakow, including its castellan and palatine, assisted Duke Władysław Łokietek with no indication of including the bishop in their camp.<sup>239</sup> Prokop therefore had no serious allies at hand to assert his political prominence. Nor was there enough time to negotiate for new privileges for his diocese. Only Władysław Łokietek's new campaign in the Duchy of Krakow and Przemysł II's renewed pretensions to the ducal throne in Little Poland forced the Bohemian king to seek the approval of the ecclesiastic circles in Krakow.<sup>240</sup>

Vaclav concentrated on forging close relations with Krakovian monasteries and the bishopric without making his rulership an object of negotiations. His patronage of monastic communities began merely a year after Przemysł's resignation from the throne of Krakow.<sup>241</sup> In 1293 Prokop received the exemption from taxes from the two episcopal towns of Ilza and Tarczek – a new and significant step towards ensuring their independent status in the secular territory. On that occasion the foreign monarch mentioned the bishop's "servicia utilia."<sup>242</sup> Vaclav's appreciation of Prokop's assistance came to light again a year later, when the bishop was called to Prague to answer accusations about unspecified acts against Bohemian interests. On the one hand, the superiority of the secular authority was fully demonstrated by the bishop's need to defend

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<sup>238</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 851-852; KDMK, no. 2, 4-5. Paweł Żmudzki argues that the election of Conrad II of Mazovia by the rebelling barons in 1285 was a desperate reaction to the favors bestowed upon the townsmen by Leszek the Black. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 412.

<sup>239</sup> Castellan Żegota and Palatine Świętopełk witnessed Łokietek's charter in 1304. KDM 2, no. 120, 54.

<sup>240</sup> For Łokietek's invasion of the Duchy of Krakow, see DA VII, 277. Przemysł titled himself the duke of Krakow in a grant for the archbishop of Gniezno. KDW 2, no. 485, 241.

<sup>241</sup> In 1292 Vaclav confirmed the original grants to the Order of Saint Clare in Sącz. KDM 2, no. 521, 314.

<sup>242</sup> KDKK, no. 98, 134.

himself and by his oath of fealty to the king of Bohemia. On the other, forceful Vaclav retained Prokop in episcopal office and rewarded him with tithes from salt mines near Krakow, officially as a compensation for devastations that occurred during a war against Duke Łokietek.<sup>243</sup> Those revenues were even more generous than the grant from Przemysł II, who offered tithes from only a half of the salt income. Who the bishop may have conspired with during Vaclav's absence is still debated. Some have suggested that Prokop wanted to protect his diocese against Łokietek's devastating invasions by opening negotiations with the aggressive Kujavian duke.<sup>244</sup> The opposition of the Bohemian governors to the bishop's attempts to collect the salt tithes and the issue of an episcopal town relocated by Vaclav in 1292 may have also been good reasons.<sup>245</sup> But it seems equally possible that Prokop could have been a victim of false accusation. No contemporary source reveals any names of the bishop's co-conspirators. If Prokop were truly guilty of treason, Vaclav would have been quite unreasonable to tolerate such a bishop in the capital of Little Poland.

Prokop died in 1294, less than three years after his accession to the see. His tenure witnessed a significant shift of power from local aristocratic oligarchy to town burghers and resourceful dukes from outside of Little Poland. Prokop's career at ducal courts was illustrious. His chancellorship in the service of three dukes with claims to Krakow familiarized him with the political expectations the dukes were compelled to

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid., no. 97, 133-134.

<sup>244</sup> Kazimierz Tymieniecki, "Odnowienie dawnego Królestwa Polskiego," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 34 (1978): 41-42; and Włodarski, 60-61.

<sup>245</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich w końcu XIII wieku," 9-11; and *Małopolska elita władzy wobec rywalizacji o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1306* (Bydgoszcz, 1992), 80.

meet in order to exercise power.<sup>246</sup> When Krakow was contested by no less than three rulers, Przemysł, Vaclav and Łokietek, the bishop could have attempted to organize the Krakovian oligarchy into a group of electoral lords like those headed by bishops Gedko and Ivo a century ago. But that was no longer possible. The urban elites had since developed into a new political agent.

Bishop Jan Muskata, who was elected by the chapter in 1294, demonstrated impressive adaptability to a new political situation. Muskata's patrician background and political connections to the Bohemian court opened new horizons when no legitimate duke at a young age demanded a regent government. Nor was there a rebellious baronial faction that sought legitimacy from the bishop. Muskata was King Vaclav's man.<sup>247</sup> When Przemysł II petitioned the papal Curia for the royal crown of Poland, Muskata countered the duke's efforts by bringing Silesian dukes and the bishop of Wrocław into the Bohemian camp.<sup>248</sup> The bishop also attended the two coronations that made Vaclav

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<sup>246</sup> The question of Prokop's origin still causes debate. He was in some way related to Leszek the Black who called him *cognatus* on the charter for the monastery at Tyniec: KDKK, no. 86, 118-119. The sources suggest his relation to the Ruthenian Princess Helen who married Kazimir the Just. See "Katalog Długosza," 182-183; and "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 65, 100-101. Recently, scholars have opted for Prokop's Bohemian, rather than Ruthenian background by pointing to the rising cult of Saint Prokop in Bohemia during the bishop's childhood and the improbability of having a Ruthenian in Polish ducal chancellery and church service. See Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Helena, księżniczka znojemska, żona Kazimierza II Sprawiedliwego. Przyczynek do dziejów stosunków polsko-czeskich w XII-XIII w.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 69 (1978): 119; and Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* (Warsaw-Wrocław 1993), 266.

<sup>247</sup> For a recent study of the bishop's relations with the court at Prague, see Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem. Biskup krakowski Jan zwany Muskatą* (Warsaw, 2001), 43-87. Also see a biographical note in Jerzy Wyrozumski's "Muskata Jan," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław, 1977), 22: 291-295. Muskata had been familiar with King Vaclav of Bohemia before his accession to the bishopric. Tomasz Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich," 15, has traced Muskata's presence at the meeting between the bishop of Wrocław and Vaclav at Bern in 1292. He was doubtless trusted by the king and Bishop Prokop since he accompanied the latter to Prague in 1294; see KDKK, no. 97, 133-134.

<sup>248</sup> Tomasz Jurek argues that Vaclav's charter allowing the fortification of three episcopal towns in 1295 was a reward for the bishop for his pro-Premyslid diplomacy in Silesia. "Przygotowanie do koronacji

the king of Bohemia and the king of Poland. For his service to the king he was rewarded with the vice-chancery of Hungary and a castle on Polish-Hungarian frontier.<sup>249</sup>

Muskata's election to the bishopric probably took place under Bohemian pressure. Later sources that describe the trial of the bishop between 1306 and 1308 probably exaggerate the uncanonical character of Muskata's elevation, although Muskata was in reality nominated by Vaclav. Allegedly, the king dispatched his *starosta* (*capitaneus*), Hynek of Dube, with a letter to the Krakow cathedral with the request to elect Muskata.<sup>250</sup> From the beginning it was obvious that the Premyslid was not to remain in Krakow. The new office of *starosta* now represented all aspects of Vaclav's authority in Little Poland.<sup>251</sup> The bishop was to be the second tier of the Bohemian rule. The traditionally powerful office of the castellan went to a family of lesser standing in the province.<sup>252</sup> The preservation of other important offices in the hands of old baronial families made Vaclav's rulership tolerable to most segments of Little Poland's elites for the time being.<sup>253</sup> The burghers of Krakow also welcomed Bohemian rule. They rightly expected new commercial opportunities resulting from the personal union with the rich

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Przemysła II," in *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. Jadwiga Krzyżniakowa (Poznań, 1997), 178-179; KDKK, no. 101, 137-138.

<sup>249</sup> KDKK, no. 105, 140-141.

<sup>250</sup> AV, no. 121, 83; no. 133, 93-94. Tomasz Nowakowski's argument that no other contemporary sources record opposition to Muskata presents a considerable weakness. Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich," 17. The popularity, military strength and the political domination of the Bohemian ruler in Poland would have made the fight against Vaclav's candidate prolonged and perhaps futile. The cathedral chapter nonetheless secured the promise that the bishop-elect would not introduce new canons of German origin into the cathedral; AV, no. 121, 84.

<sup>251</sup> For the character and extension of the *starostas'* authority, see Stanisław Kutrzeba, "Starostowie, ich początki i rozwój do końca XIV w.," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 45 (1903): 234-235, 299-305, 318-319.

<sup>252</sup> It was Warcisław of Chrzelow who appears on Vaclav's charter in 1293; see KDM 1, no. 116, 140.

<sup>253</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 76-77.

Bohemian kingdom. In 1306, shortly before the surrender of the town to Duke Łokietek he issued a privilege for them.<sup>254</sup> The bishop could not overlook such an important ally in a desperate effort to hold the capital of the province for Vaclav.

Under Vaclav, the bishop turned into a lord with paramount territorial jurisdiction and military authority. He held the position of the *starosta* at least for a year.<sup>255</sup> When the king gave Muskata the right to fortify prime episcopal towns he also called the bishop “*princeps*.”<sup>256</sup> The strongholds Muskata received from the Premyslid provided new military arms of the episcopal lordship. Even though there is no record of formal military tenure stipulating military service from specific lands, the king clearly viewed the ecclesiastical head of Krakow as providing as much political as military support to his rule in the Polish realm. Vaclav, like all other rulers of Krakow during the thirteenth century, did not grant the bishop a compact territory to rule over with full sovereign power. But Muskata was now an empowered seignorial lord by virtue of being the head of the Krakow church alone, not a member of any baronial family. The bishop’s pro-Premyslid sympathies were the natural product of the historical evolution that detached episcopal authority from baronial monopoly at the time of rising Krakow urban elites and a severe dynastic crisis.

Bohemian rule could have placed the Duchy of Krakow under the bishop’s jurisdiction, had not the rebellion of the Sandomierz barons, who had already manifested separatist tendencies when their position within Little Poland declined. Vaclav’s position

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<sup>254</sup> KDKK, no. 113, 146-147.

<sup>255</sup> The documents recording legal procedures against Muskata describe the bishop acting as a secular governor. See AV 3, no. 121, 80-92.

<sup>256</sup> KDKK, no.101, 137.

in Sandomierz was insecure. The great baronial families of Bogoria, Lis and Starz quickly realized that Vaclav's accession to the Krakow throne failed to redress the balance of power between the two provinces of Little Poland.<sup>257</sup> Their current offices quickly lost political significance. More importantly, Vaclav, like Przemysł II five years earlier, decided to be crowned in Gniezno in Great Poland – an indication that the baronage of Little Poland might never dominate the Polish realm of the Premyslid kingdom. Łokietek took advantage of this political ferment and appealed to the alienated barons, especially those in the Duchy of Sandomierz. But while for Bishop Paul the Sandomierz elite offered a welcomed chance to improve the bishop's position in Little Poland, for Muskata as the duke's secular arm in the province, the same elite created a serious threat. Their progressing alienation helped Łokietek challenge Vaclav's regime in Krakow. After 1303 Muskata's prestige had already been shattered by a prolonged conflict with the archbishop of Gniezno that resulted in the excommunication of the bishop, an interdict placed on the diocese and a trial.<sup>258</sup> The office of the *starosta* Muskata seems to have held shortly thereafter may have been Vaclav's attempt to reinforce the declining position of the bishop.<sup>259</sup> It was a great personal reward, like the castle Plawiec, which Muskata received in 1301 in hereditary possession with the right to colonize its region and give the settlers land under favorable tenure conditions.<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego*, 135.

<sup>258</sup> The sources are imprecise about the cause of this early stage of the conflict between the two ecclesiastical leaders. The verdict that ended it merely orders Muskata to act obediently towards the archbishop. See AV, no. 121, 93.

<sup>259</sup> There is no consensus as to when exactly Muskata may have held that office. See Tomasz Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich," 20-22.

Vaclav was crowned as the king of Poland in Gniezno, the see of the archbishopric and the historic capital of Great Poland. His governors came to his Polish realm from Bohemia and the Silesian duchies. The revival of Polish monarchy based in Krakow appeared remote.<sup>261</sup> The prospect of a government with the monarch present in his realm centered in Little Poland and delegating power to local barons provided a great incentive to Krakovian nobles to abandon the Bohemian camp and side with Łokietek. The attitudes of the papacy were no less important. The Premyslids' expansion in Hungary through dynastic policies and military intervention, caused concerns at the Curia.<sup>262</sup> Vaclav's royal authority in Poland appeared symptomatic of the dynasty's ambitions in Central Europe. In response to the perceived threat, Pope Boniface VIII tried to oppose Vaclav's intervention in Hungary and openly rejected the Bohemian claim to the Polish crown.<sup>263</sup> Vaclav's death in 1305 promised a serious crisis. The king's son Vaclav III was murdered on his way to Poland.

When Łokietek, after a formal election, entered Krakow in September 1306, the bishop still appeared undefeated.<sup>264</sup> Łokietek realized that good relations with the former allies of Vaclav were essential for his rulership in Krakow. Almost a decade earlier he

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<sup>260</sup> KDKK, no. 105, 140. Sławomir Gawlas, "Człowiek uwikłany w wielkie procesy. Przykład Muskaty," in *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. Roman Michałowski (Warsaw, 1997), 398, doubts that the bishop was ever able to hold the castle.

<sup>261</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 52-56, 108, has pointed out that the effort to incorporate the Krakovian secular elite into the Bohemian administration could not ultimately satisfy the barons as long as there were two separate governors for Little Poland and Great Poland, both foreigners.

<sup>262</sup> Boniface VIII planned to grant it as a papal fief to Carol Robert de Anjou.

<sup>263</sup> Władysław Abraham, "Sprawa Muskaty," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 30 (1894): 155.

<sup>264</sup> Election by the nobles of the duchy was an important legitimizing act that gave Łokietek an ideological advantage that the Premyslids represented by the bishop had difficulty to counter. For the election, see "Rocznik świętokrzyski," 77; DA IX, 37-38.

had granted Muskata two privileges in the course of his unsuccessful struggle to win Krakow after Przemysław II's death.<sup>265</sup> In consequence, the same year Łokietek captured Krakow he confirmed Vaclav's grants, returned some strongholds and offered legal and commercial privileges to the bishopric and the townsmen of Krakow.<sup>266</sup> But in practice Muskata was not allowed to hold an office with seigneurial prerogatives. Łokietek did not plan to tolerate sovereign lordship of the bishop, who had been armed with castles and military force. In 1307, having appropriated tithes, Łokietek seized three episcopal towns and castles.<sup>267</sup> When his relations with Muskata temporarily improved, the duke merely confirmed the privileges of Bolesław the Chaste and Leszek the Black. Those granted by Vaclav were not mentioned.<sup>268</sup> The bishop's continued opposition to the duke was thus dictated by his effort to regain the abilities to build an ecclesiastical lordship.

The duke found a powerful ally, the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub Świnka. The intervention of the archbishop on the side of Duke Łokietek worsened Muskata's chances of winning the conflict. The archbishop initiated two court procedures against the bishop, personally visited the diocese of Krakow during one of the bishop's absences and took control over the episcopal see along with the cathedral chapter. Muskata's appeals to the pope against the duke and the archbishop manifested the increasing role of the Curia in ecclesiastical relations, but could not insure political success on a local level.

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<sup>265</sup> KDKK, no. 102, 138; no. 103, 138-139. The privileges of episcopal immunities and economic liberties pertain to the location of a new episcopal village.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., no. 114, 147-149; KDMK, no. 4, 9.

<sup>267</sup> KDM 2, no. 547, 331; "Rocznik Traski," 853. The imprisonment of the bishop by Duke Władysław Łokietek around 1306 found an interesting but unconvincing new theory. According to Tomasz Jurek, the humiliation of the bishop was dictated by his contacts with Duke Henry of Głogów who planned to invade Little Poland. Although the agreement arranged by Henry's envoy pertained to exchange of tithes, a delay in the return of the envoy allegedly points to Muskata's conspiring against Łokietek; see Jurek, *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego. Książę głogowski Henryk* (Poznań, 1993), 69.

<sup>268</sup> KDKK, no. 116, 151.

The bishop made the unprecedented mistake of fighting on two fronts against the highest authorities.

The conflict with the duke and the archbishop ended in disaster for Muskata. The papal reaction was slow and could not match the determination of the bishop's opponents. Jakub Świnka's legal procedures against the bishop reveal that the archbishop of Gniezno had charged him with grievous crimes: murders, simony, *lèse-majesté*, lack of discipline, violating ecclesiastical immunities, acting against the interests of the cathedral and Poles, and disobedience. The conflict led to an excommunication of the bishop.<sup>269</sup> It is important to note that the later compromises forged by papal legates and Polish mediators obligated the bishop to stop appealing from Archbishop Świnka's decisions to the pope, the matter completely ignored by Muskata in the future.<sup>270</sup> In 1309, after a humiliating imprisonment Muskata capitulated to Łokietek and took the oath of unconditional fealty to the duke.<sup>271</sup> Positive results of a legatine trial that addressed Muskata's grievances against the archbishop in 1310 did not improve the bishop's position. The archbishop had to recall all the accusations and assure Muskata's security.<sup>272</sup> In Krakow Muskata was losing his few remaining allies. The political strength of the patricians who had supported him in the past was sapped by Łokietek after the 1312 rebellion of the Krakovian burghers led by Wojt Albert.<sup>273</sup> The sources are too

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<sup>269</sup> AV, no. 111, 69-71; no. 121, 78-79, 86-95.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., no. 112, 71. For Muskata's appeals to the Curia, see BP, no. 1010, 184; Augustino Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1860), no. 202, 116-117 (henceforth Theiner).

<sup>271</sup> Pope Clemens V ordered to establish a papal tribunal to force Łokietek to release Muskata and episcopal possessions; BP, no. 1010, 184. For the oath, see AV, no. 124, 97-99.

<sup>272</sup> KDM 1, no. 146, 175-176; AV 3, no. 131, 129-136.

ambiguous to determine whether the bishop committed treason against his duke. Even his presence in Krakow at the time appears doubtful.<sup>274</sup> Muskata became hopelessly isolated. He fled Little Poland to return six years later, but remained politically inactive for the rest of his tenure.

Muskata was too closely allied with the Bohemian king to forge more working relations with the nobility of Little Poland. Had Vaclav lived longer, Muskata's policy might have fortified a powerful episcopal lordship with more compact territories. But after the assassination of Vaclav's son in 1306, the Premyslids' rule in Krakow came to an end. The burghers of Krakow proved too weak to offer reliable political and military support to the bishop. In 1320 Łokietek was crowned the king of Poland in Krakow, but the ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Gniezno, even though Bishop Muskata was still alive.<sup>275</sup>

## Conclusion

Between the elevation of Kazimir the Just to the Duchy of Krakow in 1177 and the coronation of Władysław Łokietek in 1320 the episcopal position in the power structure of Little Poland evolved along with the dramatically changing politics

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<sup>273</sup> Łokietek imprisoned the town oligarchy, confiscated the rebels' properties and liquidated the hereditary office of the town *advocatus*. Edmund Długopolski, "Bunt Wójta Alberta," *Rocznik Krakowski* 7 (1904): 150-152, 157

<sup>274</sup> The major argument for Muskata's collaboration with Wojt Albert has been a charter issued by Muskata and Duke Bolesław of Opole, found in Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum* with the unacceptable date 1222, and later corrected to 1292 by a nineteenth-century editor of the text. Dating of the document has however undergone further modifications and was eventually changed by Edmund Długopolski to 1312 to connect Albert's rebellion with Bolesław, who was invited by the townsmen of Krakow as a *starosta*. Długopolski, "Bunt Wojta Alberta," 143-147. For Duke Bolesław's arrival at Krakow, see "Rocznik małopolski," 188; and DA IX, 82-83. For new criticism of Długopolski's thesis, see Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem. Biskup krakowski Jan zwany Muskata*, 106-108.

<sup>275</sup> Duke Władysław Łokietek was crowned on January 20, 1320. Jan Muskata died on February 7, 1320; "Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej," 189-190.

pertaining to the ducal throne of Krakow. Mere membership in the ecclesiastical realm did not automatically guarantee political prominence. The bishops of Krakow, acting as assertive local leaders, demonstrated determination to guard the ideal of a just and pious rulership while their practical power over land and people gradually increased due to the dukes who sought allies. Before the middle of the thirteenth century, the ecclesiastical authority legitimized the highest secular power when the baronial factions in the Krakow and Sandomierz provinces of Little Poland attempted to place their own candidates on the ducal throne. The lack of mature heirs to the throne twice provided the bishops with the opportunity to form regent governments. They hoped to continue a stable hereditary ducal line in Krakow that would gratefully patronize the bishopric. Negotiations in regard to the formal guardianship over the duchy were their attempt to create a tripartite partnership between the episcopal authority, the dukes, and the secular barons. In practice, the bishops, Pelka, Ivo, and Wisław in particular, often built their political influence as the dukes' potential counterbalance to the local secular baronage. The dukes who felt threatened by aristocratic rebellions or political competition from other dukes sought closer ties with the episcopal power. The confirmation of existing privileges for the church of Krakow became a steady element of formal ducal accession.

Arbitrary and unjust lordship, factual or imagined, provoked opposition in which the bishops keenly participated. Episcopal aggressive intervention in power relations in Krakow fit the Innocentian implementations of the Gregorian ideal of ecclesiastical leadership well. The ideal itself justified their censoring attitudes towards ducal authority. The sacred power of relics provided additional assistance. Contacts with the Apostolic See and control over the saints' remains had, however, limited significance if

the bishops could not find support either from a faction of secular barons or the dukes. Those who were outsiders were in particularly difficult position to demonstrate to their dukes that they headed a powerhouse in political relations. They could only succeed by taking advantage of their earlier careers at the ducal court and, after the expiration of Kazimir's line, by supporting the ambitious Sandomierz elite who struggled to elect their own dukes in order to preserve their political influence in a realm centered at Krakow.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the ideal of partnership between the bishops and the dukes faced particularly serious challenges. Krakow experienced acute crises of succession and a rise of a new force in the province. Childless Bolesław the Chaste initiated the practice of designating an heir to the ducal throne by the ruling duke. This strengthened the episcopal power when the bishops had exemplarily good relations with the current ruler and the secular baronage accepted the choice. The assertion of an independent political stance of the bishops in relation to baronial factions already propagated by bishops Pełka and Ivo could be sustained only as long as the dukes perceived the bishops as an indispensable legitimizing agent of their accession to the ducal throne in Krakow and a stable support that countered politically unpredictable secular lords. When the childless dukes began to designate their successors who originated from outside of the Duchy of Krakow, the bishops lost their function as the protectors of the hereditary line of the Krakovian Piasts and the guardians of legitimate rulership. Bishop Paul's prolonged conflicts with two dukes proved that the symbiosis between the episcopal and ducal authorities was breaking down. The increasing divisions within baronial ranks, particularly between the Krakovian and Sandomierz lords, failed to offer the bishop an attractive alternative to the model of cooperation between the bishop

and the duke that had been cultivated since Bishop Gedko's elevation of Kazimir the Just to the Krakovian throne in 1177.

At the end of the thirteenth century the bishops' ability to negotiate political power and privileges was further complicated by two facts: foreign origin of the bishops and the increasingly potent municipal oligarchy of Krakow. Even though the patricians were not able to hold power independently, they could no longer be ignored by the competing forces. The Krakovian burghers' open support for Duke Henry Probus in 1289 and the Bohemian Vaclav a year later made the bishop less politically effective when the provincial baronage followed suit. Prokop's and Muskata's foreign background produced an additional disadvantage. The former had been ignored before Vaclav experienced assaults from the rebellious Sandomierz nobles and sought allies to retain Krakow. When in 1306 the Krakovian burghers along with the Sandomierz lords decided to side with Duke Władysław Łokietek, Muskata became a champion of a lost cause. The bishop followed the church's long tradition of searching for a strong and cooperative secular authority. Muskata failed because he turned into a dependent agent of a foreign monarch, who, unlike his predecessors, paid little attention to the changing attitudes of the aristocratic elite. Looking to the papal court for solutions to the declining position of his episcopal authority was imprudent. The bishop no longer appeared as a crucial force negotiating in the name of just rulership and defending provincial privileges and the interest of the dioceses of Krakow.

There is no indication that the bishops of Krakow, from Gedko to Muskata, had sovereign ecclesiastical territorial lordship in mind when they negotiated power with the secular rulers. They usually profited from political turmoil in a more spontaneous

fashion. Their control of people and resources in specific areas was a natural result of their effort to assure stability and just rulership. The bishops of Krakow acted as commanding lords of the realm when they could take full advantage of their social background and the good relations with the secular lords, the dukes as well as the barons of the province. Ironically, the bishop who finally acted as a proper ecclesiastical lord of the realm received his power from a foreign and absent ruler who paid little attention to the ambitions of the local nobility. As a result, the collapse of the Premyslid dynasty brought down the episcopal lordship.

## Chapter Two: Provincial and Universal Church: Krakow, Gniezno, Rome

From the time of the first ecclesiastical structures of the new Piast state in the early eleventh century, the diocese of Krakow enjoyed exceptional status. The chronicle of the contemporary Saxon Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg states that Krakow became a suffragan see of metropolitan Gniezno as a result of the institutionalization of the Polish ecclesiastical province by Emperor Otto III and Duke Bolesław Chrobry at the synod of Gniezno in 1000.<sup>276</sup> A pagan rebellion, a Bohemian invasion, the collapse of the monarchy in the 1070's and the ensuing civil wars all contributed to the increasing importance of the Krakovian see in relation to other episcopal centers in the Polish realm. While the archdiocese of Gniezno required time to recover from devastations, Krakow became the prime locus of political authority in Polish territories. The rule of Duke Bolesław Krzywousty was particularly favorable for Krakow. His organizational reforms and political decisions allowed Krakow to assume a leading role among Polish bishoprics. After a reorganization of church structures undertaken by the duke and papal legate Egidius of Tusculum in 1123-24, the bishopric of Krakow controlled the largest

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<sup>276</sup> Thietmar, "Kronika," MPH, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1864), 1: 288. An earlier origin of the bishopric of Krakow has been recorded by the fifteenth-century annals: "Rocznik świętokrzyski," MPH (Krakow, 1878), 3: 60; and "Rocznik Sędziwoja," MPH (Lwów, 1872), 2: 872-873. For Jan Długosz's account of the first ecclesiastical structure in Little Poland, see his *Annals*, DA II, 213-214. All three sources associate it with the missionary churches established by Duke Mieszko I after his official acceptance of Christianity in 966. For the discussion of the first ecclesiastical organization in Little Poland, compare Władysław Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku* (Lwów, 1893), 128 with Karol Buczek, "Pierwsze biskupstwa polskie," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 52 (1938): 192-193. Also see, among others, Tadeusz Silnicki, "Początki organizacji Kościoła w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego," in *Początki Państwa Polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, vol. 1, ed. Kazimierz Tymieniecki (Poznań, 1962), 343; Gerard Labuda, "Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce w drugiej połowie X wieku i kościelne znaczenie zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego w roku 1000," in *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, ed. Gerard Labuda, (Poznań, 1988), 426-526; and Jerzy Wyrozumski, "Zagadnienie początków biskupstwa krakowskiego" in *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej*, ed. Jan M. Małecki (Krakow, 1994), 128-130.

diocese in the Polish province and encompassed almost all of Little Poland.<sup>277</sup> The presence of ducal authority in a town further enhanced the prestige of the bishopric in relations to its episcopal counterparts.<sup>278</sup> The Piast dukes' attempts to control Little Poland from Krakow prolonged its ideological significance, even when the practical strength of the secular power in the duchy fluctuated.

Existing literature on the concurrent Polish bishoprics has not thoroughly examined the rivalry within the Polish ecclesiastical province in conjunction with the instrumental treatment of the centralized papacy. It has overlooked these key factors in the rise and fall of the fortunes of the bishopric of Krakow between the collapse of the senior authority of the dukes of Krakow and the first attempts to restore monarchy in Great Poland.<sup>279</sup> The history of negotiations of power within the ecclesiastical realm should be seen as closely related to the struggle for prestige based on theoretical concepts and social phenomena. Krakow's eminence as one of the oldest Christian centers in Poland, a locus of ducal and episcopal power, the possessor of saintly relics and the beneficiary of papal generosity that legitimized its special status, all contributed to its

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<sup>277</sup> Bolesław Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do 1795* (Krakow, 1998), 126-127, 136-138.

<sup>278</sup> The twelfth-century chronicler Gall the Anonymous names Krakow as one of the three "sedes regni principales." Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika czyli dzieje książąt i władców polskich*, MPHsn, vol. 2, ed. Karol Maleczyński, (Krakow, 1952), I, 17, 75. Between the foundation of a Christian Polish state by Mieszko I in the tenth century and the reign of Bolesław III Krzywousty in the early twelfth century, only Duke Władysław Herman chose Płock instead of Krakow as the main center of ducal authority.

<sup>279</sup> The competition between the sees of Gniezno and Krakow for primacy in the Polish church attracted scholarly attention in a restricted dimension, mainly in the context of two crucial political events: the abolition of the rule of Mieszko the Old of Great Poland in Krakow in 1177 and the revival of royal coronation in Gniezno in 1295. These events are closely associated with the changing fate of the supreme secular authority in the Polish realm. Among others, see Janusz Bieniak, "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku, arbitrarzy książąt – zmierzch," in *Społeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński, (Warsaw, 2001), 9: 12-13, 22-23, 46; Janusz Bieniak, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemia łęczycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300-1306* (Toruń, 1969), 73-75, 182-185; Jan Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1954), 302; and Tomasz Jurek, "Przygotowania do koronacji Przemysła II," in *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. J. Krzyżaniakowa (Poznań, 1997), 172.

political prominence in the Polish ecclesiastical province. This elevated position was difficult to achieve and even more difficult to retain. The bishopric had a few formidable rivals in the Polish ecclesiastical province formally headed by the archbishop of Gniezno. The neighboring bishopric of Wrocław and the archdiocese of Gniezno were daunting competitors for prestige and power. In relations with Wrocław, Krakow was required to negotiate the matter of episcopal precedence; with Gniezno, the ability to make independent political decisions. The cult of saints became an important auxiliary force that buttressed direct diplomacy at the ducal and ecclesiastical courts. The dukes' efforts to dominate Little Poland offered the bishops of Krakow opportunities to assert political leadership in the duchy, but did not guarantee their ecclesiastical primacy. To the contrary, the absence of a strong and stable secular authority threatened the bishopric with the prospect of becoming a secondary and unstable see beleaguered by ambitious barons and foreign dukes. Thus, during the disintegration of Poland's territorial unity the bishops of Krakow maintained a vigilant stance and frequently negotiated their power and status with their ecclesiastical peers.

The diversity of political aims and perspectives among church leaders prevented the formation of a common front to oppose Krakow's ambitions to assert ecclesiastical predominance. Conflicts with the dukes often distracted the sees that competed against Krakow, especially the one based in Wrocław. It must be noted that the bishops of Krakow took advantage of the interventionist policy of the Apostolic See that made mediation among mundane authorities as well as direct intervention in local churches common features of the centralized papacy. The growing presence of papal legates and the provincial synods often served the energetic Krakovian bishops in their campaigns for

primacy. The assistance of the legatine envoys was particularly beneficial because it could override the formal authority of metropolitan Gniezno when it threatened the particular interests of the Krakovian bishopric.<sup>280</sup> Appeals to the papal court, encouraged by the Gregorian reformers who viewed the pope as the ultimate source of all authority, aimed to resolve administrative and legal matters outside of the hierarchical structure of the Polish church. Effective diplomatic activity produced official confirmations of Krakow's primacy among the bishoprics. The bishops treated the papal Curia pragmatically, as an auxiliary measure. They were fully aware of its obvious limitations. The progress of centralization in ecclesiastical structures, greatly advanced by Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, was still inadequate to address the current needs of local churches.<sup>281</sup> Power relations within the ecclesiastical realm, as complex as those between the dukes and the clerical leaders, required constant negotiations of the bishops to retain Krakow's prominence within the Polish province of Gniezno, regardless of the political fate of the duchies in Little Poland.

The intensity of the struggle to preserve Krakow's prestige and power in the ecclesiastical hierarchy fluctuated along with political stability in Little Poland and the strength of the ducal authority. With the abolition of Mieszko III the Old's senior rule in Krakow, and the formation of fully autonomous duchies, Krakow ceased to be the political center for the entire Polish realm in practical terms. The loss of the universal

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<sup>280</sup> For the role of legates as the crucial representatives of supreme papal jurisdiction in the Christian Commonwealth, see Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Revolution of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1955), 291-299 and Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy, 573-575*.

<sup>281</sup> Geographical distance to the papal Curia created delays in communication and the practical implementation of papal orders unless the involved ecclesiastical parties quickly organized a synod or sent envoys to the Apostolic See. See Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: the Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), 152, 175-176. Also see Colin Morris, 426, 451.

character of Krakow created a challenge that its bishops could not ignore. During the late twelfth and early thirteenth century the claims of the bishopric of Wrocław to the second most important rank after the archbishopric of Gniezno was an exigent problem to which the bishops of Krakow tried to respond by seeking aid from the Apostolic See. During the rule of Leszek the White, the status of Krakow still remained undecided. The duke's active policy in Pomerania indicated a desire to stress his overlordship in relation to other Piast rulers. Another succession crisis after Leszek's death in 1227 was the signal for Wrocław to begin a new campaign for political primacy.

The introduction and organization of new cults of saints at Krakow aimed at counterbalancing the rival see on ideological ground. The possession of relics was an important element of negotiations redressing power relations between bishoprics. The cathedral's assistance in the process of canonization and establishing a new cult benefited the authority of its bishop as the ultimate guardian of the relics. The process of implanting the new objects of devotion was not an easy matter. The early commitment to buttress episcopal prestige with the relics of a foreign martyr was neither consistent nor successful. In the mid thirteenth century, the canonization of Bishop Stanisław and the new stability ensured by Bolesław the Chaste at last enabled the see of Krakow to attain the second position in the episcopal hierarchy. Other cults in Polish duchies were unable to compete ideologically against the Krakovian saint. This elevated status of the see of Krakow remained insecure as long as the bishop of Wrocław was able to confront the ducal authority in his own diocese and the Duchy of Wrocław retained its territorial integrity as a center of secular power.

At the turn of the thirteenth century it was no longer the see of Wrocław that posed major obstacles to episcopal authority in Krakow. At that time, serious threat came from the archbishop of Gniezno. A confident bishop of Krakow, armed with the effective attributes of power by the Bohemian king, abandoned his natural allegiance to his ecclesiastical superior, so fervently demonstrated by his predecessor during the reform movement led by Archbishop Kietlicz. Access to power in the name of the Premyslid rulers who had successfully expanded their rule in the Polish duchies offered an opportunity to liberate the see of Krakow from Gniezno and negotiate a new status for episcopal authority in the province. Its standing was to be based on effective lordship, rather than on canon law or historical precedent.

The conflict between Krakow and Gniezno not only pertained to their opposite political sympathies and involvement in the struggle for the throne of Little Poland in the early fourteenth century. A number of synods and trials also represented the archbishop's effort to enforce traditional hierarchical order in the Polish church. Threats, negotiations and penalties aimed to prevent Krakow's insubordination and the practical secession of the see from the Polish church province. The bishop resisted submission through constant appeals to the papacy. This tactic allowed the bishop of Krakow to successfully counter other bishoprics' claims to the superior position in the episcopal hierarchy when his political allegiance to the collapsing Premyslid monarchy of Bohemia ultimately shattered his own secular authority. The royal coronation that took place in Krakow in 1320 confirmed the primacy of the see of Krakow among Polish bishoprics. A renewed effort to challenge Krakow's position that again ignored any order except the one sanctified by historical tradition as an ancient center of Christian faith and royal authority

did not alter the situation. The major formal competitor, the see of Wrocław, under the political pressure of their Premyslid and Luxemburg monarchs, slowly drifted away from the Polish province. The archbishop of Gniezno remained the formal head of the Polish church, but the distant location of the highest temporal power in the Polish realm practically marginalized his see. While during the twelfth and thirteenth century bishops of Krakow negotiated their prime position by direct communication with other episcopal sees and appeals to the papacy, the revival of the Polish kingdom in 1320 achieved primacy permanently through the direct association of episcopal authority with the royal court based in Krakow.

#### **A. Competition for Power and Prestige in the Polish Hierarchical Church**

The claims of the bishops of Krakow to the highest position in the episcopal hierarchy accompanied the town's importance as a permanent location of ducal authority. Krakow was a prime political center in the state created by Bolesław III Krzywousty. Its status and that of the bishopric were more complicated when the formal unity of the state headed by the senior duke no longer reflected political reality. A duchy ruled by a rebellious duke or an aristocratic oligarchy in opposition to the existing constitutional order could not count on recognition as the principal locus of secular authority for the entire Polish realm. During this particularly unstable political period in the late twelfth century the bishops of Krakow were deprived of the most important element in negotiating episcopal leadership in the Polish church: affiliation with the highest universally recognized secular power. Before they regained this practical and ideological attachment through the royal coronation and rebirth of Polish monarchy in Krakow in

1320, their rival, the see of Wrocław, occasionally advanced its claims in regard to episcopal precedence and the location of legatine synods. First the power of the dukes of Silesia, then the political effectiveness of bishops of Wrocław and their spectacular victories against secular authority made Krakow's competitor a serious opponent until the political disintegration of the Duchy of Wrocław and its submission to the Kingdom of Bohemia eliminated it altogether in the fourteenth century. In response, Krakow appealed to historical precedent and the presence of saints' relics under local episcopal control. The ideological importance of the new cults centered on Krakow prevented an irreversible decline of the see and its defeat by its episcopal rivals.

The preservation of the dominant position in the hierarchy of the Polish church was particularly important for Krakow in the context of an unstable political situation in duchy. The bishops had to act quickly to counter other sees' attempts to diminish the status of Krakow when the legitimacy of ducal authority in Little Poland appeared questionable. The circumstances became particularly complex after the expulsion of senior Duke Mieszko the Old in 1177. Although the council of Łęczyca in 1180 legitimized Kazimir the Just's rebellion and his rule in Krakow, the new order needed time to cement its authority. In an effort to anticipate negative consequences of the upheaval for its status, the bishopric acted quickly. It was forced to appeal to historical precedent and papal authority because canon law conditioned episcopal precedence on the seniority of episcopal consecration and thus each new election produced a new order.<sup>282</sup> The papal bull granted by Urban III to Bishop Pełka on the occasion of his consecration in 1186 not only placed the diocese under the protection of Saint Peter and

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<sup>282</sup> The Gregorian reformers in the eleventh century already favored precedents over the existing law in order to find justification for destroying the existing order of power and authority that they believed was corrupt and unnatural. See Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 132-133.

confirmed its possessions, but also confirmed “the tradition, observed by previous bishops of Krakow, that the bishop of Krakow had the first place and voice after the metropolitan bishop of the Polish ecclesiastical province.” The bull stressed the great privilege of the bishops of Krakow in relation to the metropolitan see of Gniezno. The Krakovian prelates could exercise the right to oppose all, including the archbishop, who through unfounded claims would violate the economic privileges of the bishops in the diocese and undermine their exclusive right to erect new churches. The pope also reconfirmed the custom of the consecration of the archbishops of Gniezno by the bishops of Krakow.<sup>283</sup> When episcopal authority in Krakow could not count on steady support from the secular arm, seeking assistance directly from the papacy, where Gedko and Pełka obtained episcopal consecration, offered an alternative venue for negotiating and obtaining power.

The dramatic discord between the episcopal sees of Wrocław and Krakow during Ivo’s tenure was a clear signal that the papal intervention on behalf of Krakow in 1186 did not suffice to suppress an earlier practice that had been sanctioned by the law of the universal church. Pope Urban III legitimized Krakow’s pretensions that in fact violated existing canon law. Gratian’s *Decretum* explicitly defined the precedence of bishops according to the seniority of their consecration.<sup>284</sup> The earliest papal bull that mentions an order in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Poland dates from 1133 and does not indicate

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<sup>283</sup> KDKK, no. 3, 6-7. The bull does not itemize specific episcopal estates that were to find papal protection. According to Stanisław Szczur, this unusual form of a bull of protection may have been dictated by Gedko’s failure to submit such a list to the Curia. The bishop was more interested in the security and expansion of his episcopal prerogatives. Stanisław Szczur, “Kościół krakowski a stolica apostolska we wczesnym średniowieczu,” *Analecta Cracoviensia* 32 (2000): 52-53. For Pełka’s consecration by Pope Urban III, see RKK, 65.

<sup>284</sup> Gratian, *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Graz, 1959), 1: DP, d. 17, 53.

that the papacy was aware of the special status of Krakow at that time. The bishopric appears only in sixth position in episcopal precedence.<sup>285</sup> Wrocław naturally resisted any attempt to forge a new political reality that favored its Krakovian rival. The centralization of the papal church had not advanced enough to enforce papal will and prevent counter-offensives from disgruntled episcopal centers.

In 1226, during a synod in Oława, Archbishop Vincent of Nialek ignored the papal privilege and granted Bishop Wawrzyniec of Wrocław the first position among the congregating bishops.<sup>286</sup> Vincent had reasons to favor Wawrzyniec. Six years earlier, when Bishop Ivo of Krakow caused a crisis in the archbishopric of Gniezno by refusing the position of archbishop, Pope Innocent III ordered two ecclesiastical hierarchs from Wrocław to arrange a new election in the cathedral chapter in Gniezno and choose another candidate.<sup>287</sup> One of them was the future Bishop Wawrzyniec. The vacancy quickly ended with the consecration and papal confirmation of Vincent of Nialek.<sup>288</sup> Wawrzyniec had also become familiar with the bishopric of Krakow on an earlier occasion, when Ivo's decision to joined monastic life threatened the see with vacancy and demanded papal intervention in 1223. Pope Honorius III requested that the bishop of Wrocław form a committee with the head of the cathedral school at Wrocław and the abbot of Lubiąż to allow Ivo to resign from the bishopric and arrange new elections in

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<sup>285</sup> KDW 1, no. 6, 8-10. The order is as follows: Szczecin, Lubusz, Poznań, Pomerania, Gniezno, Krakow, Wrocław, Kruszwica, Mazovia, Płock, and Włocławek. The precedence was either coincidental or based on the seniority of the bishops' consecration at the moment.

<sup>286</sup> DA VI, 221-222. AV, no. 29, 14; no. 30, 14-15. The church is mentioned in a fifteenth-century anonymous catalog of the bishops of Krakow, MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1878), 3:355.

<sup>287</sup> Potthast I, no. 6150, 538; KDW 1, no. 110, 101-102. BP, no. 175, 40; Potthast I, no. 6250, 546; KDW 1, no. 108, 100. Józef Umiński, "Arcybiskup Wincenty z Nialka, następca Henryka, zw. Kieliczem," in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Władysława Abrahama*, vol. 2 (Lwów, 1931), 143-144.

<sup>288</sup> KDW 1, no. 109, 111.

Krakow.<sup>289</sup> It remains unclear why the Apostolic See ultimately withdrew its acceptance of Ivo's resignation.<sup>290</sup> Wawrzyniec's presence at the cathedral of Krakow played a role in the pope's new decision. The trust that the bishop of Wrocław enjoyed at the papal Curia and his status as a mediator and papal envoy in the Polish province significantly enhanced the prestige of the Silesian see and placed its rival at Krakow in an inferior position.

Direct contacts with the Apostolic See gained in importance when the provincial structure of the Polish church did not provide the expected assistance. At the synod of 1226, due to Wawrzyniec's aid and effectiveness, the archbishop appeared disinterested in pacifying Bishop Ivo of Krakow, who left the synod in protest and immediately appealed to the pope.<sup>291</sup> By contacting the pope in the matter of ecclesiastical order Ivo expected a quicker solution to his problem than by presenting the issue to his Duke Leszek the White. At that time Leszek was preoccupied with military campaigns in Ruthenia and Pomerania. Complaints against the duke's exploitation of people living on the cathedral's estates that were sent to the papacy from Little Poland temporarily undermined the value of the ducal court as a positive diplomatic instrument.<sup>292</sup> Negotiation with the archbishop whose archdiocese experienced violence during wars

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<sup>289</sup> Potthast I, no. 6989, 604; Theiner, no. 28, 13. For earlier contacts between Ivo and the French Premonstratensians, see Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, "Rezygnacje biskupów Wincentego i Iwona," *Nasza Przeszłość* 33 (1970): 37, 43.

<sup>290</sup> Theiner, no. 31, 14; no. 32, 15.

<sup>291</sup> Jacek Maciejewski has suggested that Ivo sought an excuse to leave the synod that might have had publicly blamed Duke Leszek the White for the Prussian invasions of Pomerania. Maciejewski, "Precedencja biskupów prowincji gnieźnieńskiej w Polsce Piastowskiej," *Nasza Przeszłość* 99 (2003): 14. This hypothesis is, however, based on the untested assumption that Ivo had not considered such a possibility before making a dangerous trip "at locum desertum et valde remotum." AV, no. 29, 14.

<sup>292</sup> KDKK, no. 18, 25-26.

over ducal inheritance and territories in Great Poland appeared unfruitful. It is quite possible that Ivo's expediency in the appeal to the pope was also related to the prospect of having Duke Henry the Bearded of Silesia as a new duke of Krakow. The close relations between Leszek and Henry since the council of Dankow in 1217 must have been known to Ivo, who had held ducal chancellorship before his election to the bishopric.<sup>293</sup> Henry was a resourceful ruler who, nonetheless, experienced difficulties forcing his will on the bishop of Wrocław. In 1227 he concluded a prolonged conflict with Bishop Wawrzyniec over tithes. The outcome was a compromise, not a victory for either side. For the first time ducal colonists and servicing men, revenues from gold mines, and small farmers in one castellany fell under the obligation.<sup>294</sup> Henry would not have risked another major conflict in Wrocław, even if a positive gesture towards Ivo had helped establish his authority in Krakow. Under Silesian rule in Krakow, the chance of using ducal diplomacy to diminish the pretensions of the bishop of Wrocław in the ecclesiastical hierarchy seemed improbable.

The Curia reviewed Ivo's complaint against Archbishop Vincent and Bishop Wawrzyniec in an extraordinarily timely manner. As early as April 1227 in two letters Pope Gregory IX called two papal commissions in Poland to investigate charges against Gniezno and Wrocław separately.<sup>295</sup> If in Rome the bull from 1186 did not fall into oblivion, one can assume that the delegates were to establish factual circumstances of the

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<sup>293</sup> As a ducal chancellor he witnessed Duke Leszek the White's charters since 1206. See KDM 1, no. 4, 9-10.

<sup>294</sup> Tadeusz Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w XIV* (Warsaw, 1953), 150-152.

<sup>295</sup> Potthast I, no. 7879, 682. For their full texts, see AV, no. 29, 14; and no. 30, 14-15.

recent conflict over precedence.<sup>296</sup> Unfortunately, the results of the investigation are unknown. So are details of Ivo's visit to the papal court in 1229. The revival of metropolitan authority in Krakow was a tempting perspective.<sup>297</sup> Only a revision of the structure of the hierarchical church of the Polish province could permanently guarantee the greatest power for the see of Krakow. Good relations with the papacy were the key to success. Pope Gregory IX had already proved how helpful such contacts were for pacifying the tension between the two ambitious bishoprics through papal mediation. In May 1227 the Curia ordered the same Bishop Wawrzyniec to assist Ivo in protecting the diocese of Krakow against ducal aggression.<sup>298</sup> To balance the favors, merely a month before Ivo's trip to Italy the pope made the bishop of Krakow responsible for resolving a border dispute between the diocese of Wrocław and the Hungarian archbishopric of Olomouc.<sup>299</sup>

The archbishop's support for the bishop of Wrocław against Krakow in 1226 was unprecedented and indicated that the traditional venues of negotiation within the Polish church were no longer productive for the latter. The threat to primacy was real and

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<sup>296</sup> It is difficult to agree with Stanisław Szczur, according to whom the Curia did not have enough information to assess the merits of Ivo's appeal and thus needed to hear the opinion of local prelates. Szczur, "Kościół krakowski a stolica apostolska we wczesnym średniowieczu," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 32 (2000): 60-61. An examination of Urban III's bull from 1186 should have sufficed to determine its merits. One can argue that Gregory preferred to demonstrate a more flexible approach to the notion of papal prerogatives and learn whether the privilege for the bishops of Krakow that stood in obvious contrast to the canonical tradition of precedence according to the seniority of consecration was sufficiently respected by the Polish clergy to renew it without controversy.

<sup>297</sup> According to Długosz, this was the sole objective of Ivo's departure for Italy: DA VI, 255-256. Maciejewski, "Precedencja biskupów prowincji gnieźnieńskiej w Polsce Piastowskiej," 15, argues that Ivo's journey to Rome in 1229 indicates that the verdict of the papal commissions dissatisfied the bishop. Pope Gregory IX's decision to appoint Wawrzyniec as the head of the tribunal to investigate Ivo's complain against the duke of Krakow only a month after responding to the conflict over episcopal hierarchy perhaps purposefully aimed to create a chance to repair relations between the two bishops.

<sup>298</sup> KDKK, no. 18, 25-26.

<sup>299</sup> Potthast I, no. 8413, 723; Theiner, no. 37, 17-18.

demanded decisive action from the head of the universal church. By the elevation of the see to an archbishopric, Krakow would have won fundamental autonomy in the hierarchy of the Polish church. If there were any initial negotiations with the papacy over this matter, Ivo's death prevented their realization. A prolonged vacancy in the episcopal office, the weak political position of his successor, Bishop Wisław, and violence in the duchy during the first years of Bishop Prandota's tenure interrupted the process of aggressive campaigning for prime status for the see of Krakow. In 1232, it was Bishop Wawrzyniec who consecrated the new archbishop of Gniezno.<sup>300</sup> The continuing inferiority of the bishopric of Krakow was again demonstrated during the legatine synod of Wrocław in 1248, where Bishop Prandota remained at third position in episcopal precedence.<sup>301</sup> The problems of the bishops of Krakow in their own diocese helped the see of Wrocław become the main center of legates' activity before the election of Paul of Przemankow in 1267.<sup>302</sup> The Silesian town hosted three more legatine synods during Prandota's tenure in Krakow.<sup>303</sup> The presence of papal representatives in Wrocław who confirmed new canons pertaining to tithes, clerical *privilegium fori* and the immunities of the ecclesiastical possessions made Bishop Thomas the standard-bearer of ecclesiastical liberties.<sup>304</sup> Wrocław effectively took diplomatic initiative, forcing its Krakovian rival to seek new venues of ideological counter-offensive.

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<sup>300</sup> CDPol I, no. 21, 34-36.

<sup>301</sup> KDW 1, no. 274, 230.

<sup>302</sup> Tadeusz Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój kościoła katolickiego*, 311-313. Legate Guido visited Krakow in July 1267, four months after Paul's accession to the episcopal see. KDKK, no. 66, 91.

<sup>303</sup> Silnicki, 160.

<sup>304</sup> The synod called by Archbishop Janus to Sieradz in 1262 had already emphasized the ecclesiastical demands to effectively collect tithes and enjoy legal immunity. For the text of the Sieradz statutes and

The next decade gave Krakow an extraordinary opportunity to gain potent justification for its superior ranking among Polish bishoprics. During the middle of the thirteenth century it was not historical precedence or the current political situation that the see of Krakow tried to utilize. The bishops concentrated on the ideological power of the cult of saints. It is noteworthy that the bishops who demonstrated the most interest in this field personally witnessed the degradation of their position in the episcopal hierarchy or found their primacy merely nominal. Not all types of saints equally benefited episcopal authority. The fact that the see sought legitimization of an older cult while the cathedral had already been hosting the relics of an official saint requires closer analysis. One can argue that Krakow ultimately favored a saint that would stress the position of the bishop as a defender of justice, a pragmatic guardian of the welfare of his community and an effective political leader. Only the old-fashioned model of a bishop-saint offered Krakow an immediate advantage over other cathedral sees. The early attempts to establish a local cult of a foreign martyr under episcopal control were ill suited to negotiate political gains for the bishopric. Only when the see of Krakow energetically campaigned to augment the old cult of a martyred local bishop who opposed a tyrannical king did the prestige of the episcopal authority in Krakow effectively rival that of its ecclesiastical counterparts.

In 1253 in Assisi, Pope Innocent IV canonized Bishop Stanisław of Krakow, whose opposition to King Bolesław II had led to his violent death two centuries earlier. The canonization represented a great success for the bishopric, despite initial difficulties

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those that survived in records from Wrocław, see *Antiquissimarum constitutionum synodaliū provinciae Gneznensis*, 50-53. For the statutes of the synods of Wrocław in 1248 and 1266, see Hube, 14-49, 56-71.

in convincing the papal commission of the merits of the case.<sup>305</sup> The canonization constituted an outstanding and prestigious victory for Krakow. There was no other saintly figure whose life, death and miracles were so closely connected to Krakow. The popular cult of Saint Adalbert, a tenth-century bishop of Prague and a martyred missionary to the pagan Prussians, had insufficient links with Little Poland. Saint Adalbert's cult was historically related to the foundation of the Polish ecclesiastical province headed by the archbishop of Gniezno. According to the chronicler Gall the Anonymous, it was during the pilgrimage of Emperor Otto III to the tomb of the saint in the year 1000 that the Polish ruler Bolesław I Chrobry established the metropolitan church in Gniezno. The cathedral claimed to host the relics, and ignored their removal to Prague by King Bretislav during the Bohemian invasion of 1038.

The lack of acute competition from the cult of a holy man dating to the heroic age of Christian expansion did not mean the absence of relics in Krakow. Perhaps in response to Gniezno, where the cult of St. Adalbert originated, Bishops Gedko and Pełka preferred to promote Saint Florian. Florian's obscure past did not engender an ideological controversy over the relation between the secular and ecclesiastical realms. The twelfth-century bishops were not sufficiently prepared to confront such a problem

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<sup>305</sup> KDKK, no. 38, 48-51. It took three Polish delegations, sent to Innocent IV in 1250, 1251 and 1253, an investigation by a Polish commission appointed by the pope and another one organized by a papal legate to finalize the canonization process. See RKK, 83-84; "Rocznik Krasieńskich," MPH (Lwów, 1878), 3:132. For the Curia's last request to provide more proof of miracles, see Innocent IV's bull dated May 26, 1252; KDKK, no. 33, 41-42. Also see Wincenty z Kielc, "Vita maior sancti Stanislai," MPH, ed. Wojciech Ketrzyński (Lwów, 1884), 4: 434-438. In Gerard Labuda's opinion, the very concise information about Saint Stanisław in early narrative texts constituted inadequate testimony for the papal court. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław - biskup krakowski, patron Polski. Śladami zabójstwa, męczeństwa, kanonizacji* (Poznań, 2000), 160. Gall the Anonymous writes: "Nemque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, neque regem vindicatem sic se turpiter commendamus." Gall I, 27, 53. In his chronicle Vincent Kadłubek remarks about the cruelty of a rightful king whom the bishop opposed for humanitarian reasons. For the Roman cardinals this was not an unambiguous hagiographic proof of the bishop's appropriate treatment of his king. See Kadłubek II, 20, 56-57.

without support from hagiographic traditions.<sup>306</sup> Florian's remains were to give Krakow its own special religious as well as political significance. The translation of the relics of the Italian martyr to Krakow in 1184 allowed the immediate foundation of a local cult by the episcopal authority that in this case remained unrestricted by local interpretations, organic traditions and forms of piety. The consecration of Florian's altar in the cathedral, the foundation of a collegiate church at Krakow and a Cistercian monastery at Koprzywnica, both dedicated to the saint, all took place shortly thereafter.<sup>307</sup>

Duke Kazimir the Just's participation in the foundation of the cult indicated a convergence of interests between a new secular ruler of Krakow and its bishop. Kazimir had already opened diplomatic negotiations with Pope Alexander III when the decisions of the council of Łęczyca that approved his rule in Little Poland needed a papal confirmation.<sup>308</sup> It is reasonable to suggest that the council also assessed the availability of relics. After all, the remains of Saint Florian were brought from Bologna to Krakow by a papal envoy, Aegidius of Modena, three years later, with no trace of interim contacts between the papacy and the see of Krakow.<sup>309</sup> The presence of relics in his new capital

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<sup>306</sup> No ready *Vita* accompanied the relics when brought to Poland. Thus, the Krakovians' knowledge about Florian must have been restricted to his martyrdom in the fourth century. See Kazimierz Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu św. Floriana w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku* (Warsaw, 1923), 13-17; and Jerzy Wyrozumski, "Skąd pochodził krakowski św. Florian?," *Rocznik Krakowski* 64 (1998): 53. The words of the late fourteenth-century anonymous author of *Translation sancti floriani* that before the arrival of Florian's remains Gedko had complained that "in episcopatu sue ecclesie nullum haberet sanctum huius regni adiutorem et protectorem..." should be seen as a desperate attempt to explain the bishop's campaign for acquiring the relics despite the presence of the cult of Saint Stanisław. "Translatio sancti floriani," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1884), 4: 757, 759.

<sup>307</sup> An annalist of the cathedral chapter noted: "Sanctus Florianus martir per Egydium episcopum Mutinensem apportatur et per Gedkonem episcopum Cracoviensem devotissime suscipitur." RKK, 65. Also see "Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej," MPHsn, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa (Warszawa, 1978), 5:131; "Rocznik Traski," MPH, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), 2:834-835; "Rocznik małopolski," MPH, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1878), 3:160. Also Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum diocesis Cracoviensis*, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki, *Opera omnia* (Krakow, 1864), 2:478.

<sup>308</sup> Kadłubek IV, 9, 150.

enhanced the prestige of Kazimir's government and the importance of the bishopric. It also encouraged the rise of a piety that radiated from the cathedral through the ducal court to the entire community of Krakow. Kazimir stressed his own close association with Florian by honoring the saint after a victory against the pagan Jacwings. According to Kadłubek, Kazimir organized a grand feast for the nobles only after devoting the entire day of Saint Florian to prayers of thanksgiving.<sup>310</sup> The relics placed in the cathedral united the episcopal and secular authorities in their task of providing welfare and glory to the people of the duchy.

The relics of Saint Florian served a different purpose from those of Saint Stanisław. The translation of relics from Italy emphasized cooperation with a secular authority elected by the bishop. The canonization of Bishop Stanisław stressed the extraordinary spiritual as well as temporal legacy of uncompromising episcopal power in Krakow that no other bishopric could claim through its local saints. The episcopal and ducal patronage that had been exercised in regard to the relics of Saint Florian heralded a new order in the duchy. This order promised the well-being of the Krakovian community. The baronial foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Saint Florian at Koprzywnica reflected the same idea.<sup>311</sup> Duke Kazimir granted this monastic community

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<sup>309</sup> RKK, 65. The translation of the relics of Saint Florian from Italy to Little Poland did not produce a platform for dynamic contacts between the head of the universal church and the diocese of Krakow. This is not to deny that the papacy may have had such strong hopes. See Wojciech Mischke. "Relacje dziejów katedry wawelskiej i kultu św. Stanisława," in *Katedra krakowska w Średniowieczu* (Krakow, 1996), 154-155.

<sup>310</sup> Kadłubek IV, 19, 168.

<sup>311</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 835; "Rocznik małopolski," 160. Długosz's information about the ducal origin of the Cistercian Koprzywnica has met with strong criticism. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum diocesis Cracoviensis*, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki, Opera omnia (Krakow, 1864), 4: 375-376. According to Kazimierz Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu Sw. Florianiana w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku*, 37, the initiative came from Comes Nicholas who, nonetheless, belonged to the baronial circle at the ducal court. Duke Kazimir's

generous immunity from ducal exactions. An almost parallel episcopal grant of tithes for the monks indicates that the monastery was part of the greater program initiated by the cathedral and the ducal court to promote the new cult.<sup>312</sup> While Kazimir patronized the Cistercians in the countryside, Gedko brought the initiative closer to the capital. The church of Saint Florian at Kleparz was undoubtedly an episcopal foundation, probably in an area that was an episcopal possession.<sup>313</sup> To stress the importance of the new church, Gedko purposefully organized its clergy into a collegiate chapter.<sup>314</sup> The bishopric, now armed with the shrines of an ancient martyr, seemed to deserve a special place among episcopal sees and requested its confirmation from the papacy. The papal bull of 1186 responded positively to these ambitions.

This promising beginning did not foretell the unimpressive development of the cult in the next century. The lack of a *Vita* of Saint Florian indicates the failure of the cult to inspire the local intellectual elite. The celebration of his feast on May 4 certainly reveals the saint's presence in public consciousness.<sup>315</sup> Much more institutional was the role of Saint Florian's relics as the guarantor of legal agreements. In 1220 one can

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organizational and legal support remained crucial. See Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowska and Stanisław Szczur, "Dzieje opactwa w Koprzywnicy do końca XIV wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 60 (1983): 72.

<sup>312</sup> KDM 1, no. 93, 109-111.

<sup>313</sup> "Rocznik małopolski," 160; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:48, 57, 89; Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum diocesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, 477; and DA VI, 135-136. The theory that the district of Kleparz, where the church was erected, belonged to the bishop has been presented by Stanisław Zachorowski, "Kraków biskupi," *Rocznik Krakowski* 8 (1906): 113-114.

<sup>314</sup> Kleparz was one of many collegiate churches founded by Bishop Gedko in an effort to reform the diocesan clergy; See Dobrowolski, 43-45.

<sup>315</sup> It is difficult to agree with Dobrowolski who considers the usage of the term "in festo s. Floriani" on charters as the main indication of the popularity of the cult of Saint Florian. In fact, this only reveals the importance of the feast in the official church calendar, with no indication of how the public responded to institutional directives. See, for example, KDM 1, no. 19, 25; KDM 1, no 20, 26; KDM 1, no. 72, 88-89; KDM2, no 479, 133.

already find a donation that had been confirmed “ante altare beati Floriani martyris in Cracovia.”<sup>316</sup> There were many such donations in the second half of the thirteenth century that were pledged at the saint’s altar. It should be noted that this altar was in the cathedral under the watchful eye of the bishop, not in the collegiate church that possessed only an arm of Saint Florian.<sup>317</sup> This suggests the crucial importance of the specific place that held his relics rather than the level of esteem they produced among the pious. After all, the saint was fully present and emanated equal powers in all resting places of his relics. For the cathedral, the remains of Saint Florian were a matter of particular pride as the object of a cult purposefully initiated by the bishops. In terms of formal sanctity, Florian surpassed Stanisław, whose cult developed in a more organic manner and still awaited institutional legitimization at the papal Curia. This theoretical victory for Saint Florian was, however, only temporary.

Saint Florian quickly lost the status of a figure specifically fortified by the bishopric. When in 1269 Legate Guido confirmed a sixty-day indulgence for four major feasts in Krakow, there was no indication that the *anniversarium* of Saint Florian enjoyed an exclusive status protected by the episcopal authority. Pilgrims received the same spiritual rewards for visiting Krakow during the day of Saint Florian as during the commemorative celebrations of the consecration of the cathedral, the days honoring Saint Wacław and the Virgin Mary, and the death of Saint Stanisław, who had recently been canonized due to the impressive determination of the Krakovian prelates.<sup>318</sup> The

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<sup>316</sup> KDM 2, no. 385, 27-28.

<sup>317</sup> Dobrowolski, 48.

<sup>318</sup> KDKK, no. 66, 91.

intellectually unstructured cult of Saint Florian, having been deprived of a solid hagiographical foundation, could not compete with the powerful stories associated with Saint Stanisław's miracles like the one in which a canon of no other place but the collegiate church of Saint Florian invokes the name of the Krakovian bishop to soothe his suffering.<sup>319</sup>

Before the mid thirteenth century, the cult of Bishop Stanisław lacked a formal framework to effectively serve the bishops of Krakow as an ideological tool capable of helping renegotiate the episcopal hierarchy. Popular manifestation of the cult of saints, expressed through processions and pilgrimages, required the support of hagiographical and then institutional dimensions formalized in canonization and sainthood. Only under such conditions could the presence of a popular shrine become an ideological argument for the primacy of an episcopal see. The epitaph transcribed by Długosz, if indeed dating from the middle of the twelfth century as has been argued, helped not only to preserve the memory of a martyred episcopal leader, but also to stress the bishopric's official recognition of Stanisław's status as a blessed martyr.<sup>320</sup>

Krakovian interest in the cult of Saint Stanisław continued under Bishop Ivo who was particularly attentive to episcopal precedence. Stanisław's future hagiographer, Vincent of Kielce, visited the martyr's home village of Szczepanow.<sup>321</sup> As Ivo's

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<sup>319</sup> "Miracula sancti Stanislai," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 123. Also, see "Vita maior," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1884), 4:37, 418-419.

<sup>320</sup> "Tumba Stanislai cineres tegit ista beati. Regis Boleslai quia non favit impietati. Martirio meritas celi migravit ad edes." DA IV, 163-164. According to Marian Plezia, "Dookoła sprawy Św. Stanisława," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 326-329, the epitaphium marked the translation of the relics of "Stanislai beati" from the original place of their burial at the Skalka church to a newly consecrated cathedral at the Wawel Hill in the early 1140's. Also Plezia, "Epitafium Świętego Stanisława w katedrze krakowskiej," *Eos* 57(1967-1968): 319.

chaplain, it is doubtful that he acted independently, and that his research in the geographical and family aspects of Stanisław's life was not directed by the bishop. At Szczepanow Vincent must have sought information about the early life of the famous bishop, including possible instances of miracles and his noble pedigree.<sup>322</sup> The hagiographer responded to the new modes of inquest into the quality of candidates for canonization whom the papacy considered for inscribing into the catalogue of saints. A structured narrative that described spiritual growth in a social context supplemented the list of virtues and miracles.<sup>323</sup> The noble ancestry of a saint enforced the credibility of the claims to his divine election and the right to act on God's behalf among people. In order to properly respond to the papal claims to control the cults of saints and to legitimize the episcopal promotion of the sanctity of the bishop-martyr, the cult needed more sophisticated literary efforts that could expand the knowledge of the Krakovian tradition among the ecclesiastical elite of the Polish church.<sup>324</sup>

In his *Chronica Polonorum*, Vincent Kadłubek, the future bishop of Krakow, stressed the extraordinary merits of his eleventh-century predecessor. The account of

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<sup>321</sup> Wincenty z Kielc, "Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis. Vita minor," ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, in MPH (Lwów, 1884), 4:253-254; "Vita maior," 4, 366-367. Marian Plezia has suggested that Bishop Ivo's last trip to the papal court in 1229 may have been the first formal effort to initiate the beatification process for Bishop Stanisław. Plezia, "Dookoła sprawy Św. Stanisława," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 357. The idea is based on the assumption that Ivo sought papal permission to elevate the see of Krakow to an archbishopric. The canonization of his martyred predecessor was one of the ideological justifications for this ambitious policy. The available sources cannot verify Plezia's hypothesis. Also see Jerzy Rajman, "Przedkanoniczny kult Świętego Stanisława," *Nasza Przeszłość* 80 (1993): 39.

<sup>322</sup> When Vincent visited the home village of the martyred Stanisław, collective memory and material remnants associated with the bishop were already feeble. In "Vita minor" the hagiographer reports the existence of the foundations of Stanisław's home, a recently crumbled local parish church and a noble family that claimed ancestry from the saint. "Vita minor," 253-254.

<sup>323</sup> André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2005), 47-48, 177-180, 505-507.

<sup>324</sup> The late thirteenth-century Polish annalists were already familiar with the *Vitae* of Saint Stanisław. See Kętrzyński's comparison of the texts. "Vita maior sancti Stanislai," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, (Lwów, 1884), 4:342-343.

Stanisław's conflict with King Bolesław II, his death and first miracles was not yet a *Vita*. Vincent nonetheless presented the martyred Stanisław as a hallowed saint and a symbolic figure of a collapsing Polish kingdom. The first miracles took place immediately after his death at the hands of the king himself, when four eagles arrived to guard the dismembered body, divine lights glowed around the place of the murder and the body regenerated itself. Although the saint's body recovered unity, the king and his sons never regained good fortune.<sup>325</sup> No serious attempt to develop, reconstruct or reinterpret the story of the assassinated bishop was made for another half a century.

It was during Bishop Prandota's tenure that the same Vincent of Kielce who had investigated Stanisław's origin wrote two accounts of Stanisław's life and miracles.<sup>326</sup> According to Vincent's text of the *Vita* (maior), the initiative to write a hagiographical story of Bishop Stanisław's life came from the bishop himself: "Therefore, I, Brother Vincent from the Order of Preachers, on the request of the venerable Lord Prandota, the bishop of Krakow, and his cathedral chapter, attempted to describe briefly and simply, and, with God's help, to include in this small work, to God's glory and the glorious martyr Bishop Stanisław, as much as I could, all that I have learned...."<sup>327</sup> The hagiographic narrative included most of the reported miracles, including those recorded by papal commissions in 1250 and 1252.<sup>328</sup> Vincent's famous and ideologically potent

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<sup>325</sup> Kadłubek II, 20, 57-58.

<sup>326</sup> For the chronology of writing the two *Vitae*, compare Marian Plezia, "Dookoła sprawy Św. Stanisława," 358, with Danuta Borawska, *Z dziejów pewnej legendy. W sprawie genezy kultu Św. Stanisława biskupa* (Warsaw, 1950), 49-52; and Gerard Labuda, "Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 16 (1971): 107-111.

<sup>327</sup> "Vita maior sancti Stanislai," 363.

parallel between the dismembered body of the saint that miraculously regains unity and the partitioned Polish realm, deprived of the crown by a sinful king but about to revive due to Stanisław's sacrifice, implied an organic relation between the saint and Krakow as the source of political unity and glory in the Polish realm.<sup>329</sup> Stanisław's successors in the bishopric would be crucial for the revival of the kingdom of Poland, because God himself "preserves all royal insignia, such as the crown, scepter and the lance, hidden in the cathedral treasure in Krakow, which is the capital and the royal residence."<sup>330</sup> In this deep symbiosis between episcopal and secular authorities, the bishop was the ultimate grantor of power. Through a saintly life and martyrdom Bishop Stanisław enforced the centrality of Krakow among Polish duchies and bishoprics. Due to Stanisław, a new Polish monarchy would rise from the cathedral of Krakow. It appeared unlikely that its bishop would accept a secondary place among Polish episcopal sees as Prandota himself was forced to do in 1244.

In 1254 Bishop Prandota officially established a feast for Saint Stanislaw in Krakow.<sup>331</sup> The hagiographic texts, critical of Bishop Wisław's inaction, mention the positive role of Prandota in the propagation of the cult. Prandota referred the sick to the care of the saint and participated in an initiative to elevate the relics above the ground

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<sup>328</sup> For the papal bulls calling for commissions that would probe the merits of Stanisław's miracles, see RKK, 805 and KDKK, no. 33, 41-42.

<sup>329</sup> According to Vincent of Kielce, Krakow was "urbs et sedis regia": "Vita maior," 393. Also see Kadłubek II, 20, 57-58. For the cult's ideological contribution to the unification of the Polish realm in the late thirteenth century, see Jan Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego Państwa Polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1954), 435-448; and Marian Plezia, "Rola kultu Św. Stanisława w zjednoczeniu Państwa Polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku," *W Drodze* 7 (1979): 15-21. Also Plezia, "Dookoła sprawy Św. Stanisława," 366.

<sup>330</sup> "Vita maior," 27, 393.

<sup>331</sup> "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," MPHsn, ed. Brygida Kurbis (Warsaw, 1962), 6:34; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 105, 101.

within the cathedral.<sup>332</sup> Vincent of Kielce does not cast much light on the question of whether Prandota's predecessor, Bishop Wisław, neglected the potent tradition of Stanisław's struggle and death because he personally disbelieved the merits of the cult. It has been argued that Wisław's lukewarm attitudes to the cult may have reflected an ongoing debate within the Polish church about Stanisław as a stern opponent to the royal will. The silence of earlier sources, including Vincent Kadłubek's chronicle, as to the details of the king's charges against the future martyr reflected that controversy about the bishop.<sup>333</sup> One should also point out the difficulties Wisław faced after his election to the bishopric in 1229. He had to count on the power of Duke Henry the Bearded to overwrite the papal provision for a canon from the Gryfita family and to be consecrated in his new office years after formal elections.<sup>334</sup> Under these circumstances, seeking a canonization at the Holy See could not have been a priority for a bishop who experienced a crisis of ducal authority in Krakow caused by civil wars and the collapse of the Silesian power, the rise of the local secular baronage and the political pressure of Duke Conrad of Mazovia on Little Poland.

Prandota was in a much more conducive situation for conducting canonization procedures. There was no legal reservation that the papal court indicated in response to

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<sup>332</sup> "Vita maior," 7, 399; Art. XIII, 82-83 ("Vita maior," 34, 417); Art. XXVII, 104-105 ("Vita maior," 5, 397-398) and Art. XXXV, 116-119 ("Vita maior," 4, 395-396). Jerzy Rajman, 40. Marian Plezia, "Wincenty z Kielc. Historyk Polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 7 (1962): 20, argues that the tenure of Bishop Wisław was a mere interval in an effort to canonize Stanisław because the hagiographic material does not express any complaints about the negligence of the matter by Wisław's predecessors in the episcopal see.

<sup>333</sup> Rajman, 20.

<sup>334</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 61; DA VI, 256-257.

his efforts.<sup>335</sup> Prandota's security in the office and his negotiating skills quickly produced an initiative to provide the see of Krakow with a new cult directly controlled by the bishop. The tomb of the saint was to emanate the prestige of its episcopal guardian. The *Life* of Saint Stanisław explicitly refers to Prandota who "lifted the bones of the holy martyr Stanislaw from the ground; he washed them with wine and water and placed them reverently together in a clean vessel above the ground."<sup>336</sup> A formal petition to open the canonization procedure at the Curia was the next logical step for the bishop. In 1250 Prandota had a chance to present the matter of Stanisław's sainthood to the secular barons and the bishop of Wrocław during councils held by Duke Bolesław III Chaste near Chroberz.<sup>337</sup> Prandota also had an opportunity to solicit the archbishop to prepare broader support for his project among Polish ecclesiastical circles.<sup>338</sup> In the same year he informed the Curia about the merits of the cult and thus stressed its recognition by episcopal authority in Krakow. Innocent IV's bull that initiated the investigation by Jacob of Velletri refers to Prandota's initiative as follows: "... the bishop of Krakow and the beloved sons from the [cathedral] chapter and the clergy of the town and the diocese of Krakow had already reported to us, in due time, that God, worthy of admiration through his saints, allows that Stanisław, bishop of Krakow, of venerable memory, glistens indeed with so many extraordinary miracles – the obvious proofs of his sainthood

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<sup>335</sup> Prandota was unanimously elected at the cathedral chapter and quickly consecrated in 1242. "Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej," MPHsn, ed. Brygida Kurbis (Warsaw, 1962), 6:6; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 62.

<sup>336</sup> "Vita maior," 399.

<sup>337</sup> KDKK, no. 30, 38-39; no. 31, 39-40.

<sup>338</sup> *Kodeks Mogilski*, no. 23, 25; KDM 2, no. 432, 81-82.

– and therefore in every respect it is appropriate to invoke his intercession, like other saints....”<sup>339</sup>

The supplication initiated a dynamic process of papal investigation and diplomatic exchanges between Krakow and the papal court. It also revealed the collective character of the effort to canonize a local martyr. In his contacts with the Holy See the bishop could count on support from the canons of his cathedral chapter, the clerical elite of the town and the local Mendicants. The bishop and his cathedral chapter tirelessly prepared canonization procedures. The presence of the legal specialists, the doctor of decretals Jakub of Skarzeszow and *magistri* Gerard and Gozwin, in the commission sent to Rome in 1251 and 1253 suggests the determination of the Polish delegation to effectively negotiate the canonization process in legal terms. The Dominicans and Franciscans who had only recently arrived at Krakow supported them in expectation of augmenting the prestige of their new headquarters and attracting new waves of receptive pilgrims.<sup>340</sup> All were interested in giving Krakow a strong, formally recognized and legalized cult of a saint who had lived in the town and whose relics never left it.

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<sup>339</sup> KDKK, no. 33, 41. This request exemplifies the positive results of cooperation among various segments of religious entities. “Rocznik Krasieńskich” notes that it was the canons and subprior of Krakovian Dominicans who delivered the official request to the pope. “Rocznik Krasieńskich,” MPH, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1878), 3:132.

<sup>340</sup> The members of the Krakovian mendicants joined the delegations sent to Rome and personally carried the canonization bull to Krakow in 1253. See RKK, 83-84, “Rocznik Krasieńskich,” 132; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 105, 101; DAVII, 95. The Dominicans, in particular, had enjoyed essential support from the papacy and the bishopric since their arrival at Krakow in 1222. In the 1240’s Innocent IV requested the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishop of Krakow to provide them with assistance. The pious who helped to build a Dominican compound in Krakow received generous indulgences. See *Zbiór dokumentów katedry i diecezji krakowskiej, 1063-1415*, no. 7, 9-10; no. 8, 12. For the genesis of the Dominican convent in Krakow, see Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, “Założenie klasztoru oo. dominikanów w Krakowie,” *Rocznik Krakowski* 20 (1926): 1-19; and Jerzy Kłoczowski, “Polska prowincja dominikańska w wiekach średnich,” *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL* 5 (1953): 42-59.

The miracles recorded by the papal commission that investigated the cult in 1252 also stressed the centrality of the cathedral as a potent locus of divine power. The saint's bodily remains were not its only source. The fabric of the saint's clothing, the soil or a stone from the tomb and his ring (*anulus*) emanated God's miraculous forces with effectiveness equal to those of his relics. In nine cases out of fifty-one Saint Stanisław's episcopal ring cured the pious and the skeptical.<sup>341</sup> This most important attribute of ecclesiastical spiritual power and episcopal status was a channel of divine powers.<sup>342</sup> Stanisław died as a bishop of Krakow and acted as a bishop-saint who demanded elevation of his remains and pilgrimages to his tomb located at the very heart of the diocese, the cathedral of Krakow.<sup>343</sup> The heads of other episcopal sees were of no match to the pedigree of those who succeeded the saintly martyr of Krakow.

The positive conclusion of the canonization procedure eased relations between Krakow and Wrocław and opened a new stage in the negotiation of power between the

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<sup>341</sup> For Saint Stanisław's miracles, see the hagiographic *Vita maior* written around the time of the canonization. Wincenty z Kielce, "Vita maior," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1884), 4:362-438; and the collection edited by Zbigniew Perzanowski who supplemented the incomplete collection of miracles from the 1252 report of legate Jacob of Velletri with the six additional miracles that can only be found in Vincent of Kielce's *Vita maior*. See "Miracula sancti Stanislai," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 47-141. For a discussion about the source of the hagiographer's text, see Perzanowski, 59-68. Cures came from touching the ring, being blessed with it or from water in which the ring had been earlier submerged. For Vincent's general statement about the power of the ring, see "Vita maior," 24, 390. For specific miracles, see Miracula, Art. XIII, 82-83 ("Vita maior," 34, 417); Miracula, Art. XVI, 86-87 ("Vita maior," 39, 419-420); Miracula, Art. XVII, 88-89; Miracula, Art. XXIV, 100-101 ("Vita maior," 36, 418); Miracula, Art. XXVII, 104-107 ("Vita maior," 5, 397-398); Miracula, Art. XXXIII, 114-115 ("Vita maior," 31, 414-415); Miracula, Art. XXXV, 116-119; Miracula, Art. XXXIX, 122-123 ("Vita maior," 37, 418-419); Miracula, Art. XLIII, 128-131 ("Vita maior," 21, 407-408).

<sup>342</sup> Jerzy Rajman, "Przedkanoniczny kult Świętego Stanisława," 30, argues that the presence of the ring in the cathedral indicates an earlier interest in Stanisław's tomb accompanied by its opening and the production of a new commemorative plate.

<sup>343</sup> There are many instances when the saint or a mysterious visitor conditioned a cure on a visit to the tomb in the cathedral: Art. VI, 72-75 ("Vita maior," 29, 412-413); Art. XI, 80-81 ("Vita maior," 13, 404); Art. XVIII, 90-91 ("Vita maior," 41, 421); Art. XXVII, 104-107 ("Vita maior," 5, 397-398), Art. XLI, 124-127 ("Vita maior," 6, 398-399); Art. XLII, 126-129 ("Vita maior," 32, 415-416); Art. XLIV, 130-133 ("Vita maior," 22, 408-409).

two bishoprics. It put pressure on Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław to attend the celebration of the canonization in the presence of legate Opizo, abbot of the monastery of St. Paul at Mezzano.<sup>344</sup> As a member of a papal commission investigating the cases of miracles performed by Bishop Stanisław, Thomas could not easily avoid the festivity in Krakow.<sup>345</sup> On May 8 1254 a delegation of leading ecclesiastical hierarchs from Wrocław arrived at Krakow to celebrate the elevation of Bishop Stanisław to the community of the saints. In a gesture of grand generosity the bishop of Krakow presented Thomas with a relic.<sup>346</sup> With the presentation of such a valuable gift the bishop expressed both piety and commanding authority. The natural expectation of forging special relations with the recipients who would further enforce them in the act of making a counter-gift was less important than the positive image of the bishop of Krakow within the power structure of the Polish church. By presenting the relic Prandota stressed his mediating spiritual power of divine origin. The decision to distribute this power was a testimony to his extraordinary generosity and spiritual wealth. The bishopric attempted to prove that only the most prestigious see could effect such a display of temporal and spiritual magnificence.

The bishop's access to the relics was Krakow's great victory. By choosing friends for his officially recognized saint Prandota accomplished two objectives: he stressed his special power in the Polish episcopal hierarchy and pacified his counterpart in Wrocław. The Silesian see was unable to counter Krakow's ideological offensive. It

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<sup>344</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 62-63.

<sup>345</sup> RKK, 83; KDKK, no. 33, 41.

<sup>346</sup> DAVII, 95-96.

lacked a strong local cult that would efficiently buttress episcopal power. The almost coinciding canonization of Duchess Hedwig, whose relics rested in the Silesian monastery of Trzebnica, did not present threatening competition for Krakow.<sup>347</sup> Both the close association of the new cult of Hedwig with the Piast dynasty and its monastic location prevented the bishops of Wrocław from forming a rival cult center controlled by episcopal authority.

The papal approval of the saintly status of the eleventh-century martyr elevated the bishopric of Krakow over other sees.<sup>348</sup> Krakow's greatest rivals, Gniezno and Wrocław, had limited ability to produce an equally potent hagiographic tradition and a cult with a strong significance for ecclesiastical power. The archbishopric of Gniezno could claim no more than the head of Saint Adalbert, who died on a mission to Prussia at the inception of the Polish state. This saint's remains were removed by Bretislav I of Bohemia who invaded Poland in 1036. The head only miraculously reappeared in Gniezno in 1127.<sup>349</sup> To Krakow's advantage, the cult had important political limitations. Adalbert, who became a missionary to the heathens in a remote northern land near the Baltic Sea, followed the ideal of heroic martyrs who courageously sacrificed their lives on the fringes of the Christian world. Gniezno could not conceal the fact that Adalbert

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<sup>347</sup> The members of the Krakow cathedral actively participated in the canonization process probably in gratitude for Bishop Thomas' assistance in the canonization of Saint Stanisław. "Vita sanctae Hedvigis" mentions that in 1264 Archdeacon Salomon collaborated with Deacon Herengebort of Hungarian Vysegrad in the preparation of initial procedures at the Curia. "Vita sanctae Hedvigis," 4:629.

<sup>348</sup> Vincent of Kielce joyfully acclaims: "Gaudeat Cracovia et maxime cathedralis ecclesia sui pastoris privilegiata gloria et sacri corporis dotata presencia ac virtutum ipsius illustrata triumphis, cui datur ex crebra principum et populi confluencia prerogativa privilegii singularis." See "Vita maior," 57, 438.

<sup>349</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 832; "Rocznik krakowski," MPH, 2:832; "Rocznik małopolski," 153

had never practically exercised the power of an archbishop in the Polish church.<sup>350</sup> The strength of the cult rested on its relation to the universal ideology of Christian offensives against pagans and schismatics. Missionary activities in Prussia as well as the crusades against its pagan tribes distinguished Adalbert's martyrdom and attracted devotion in the Polish duchies that experienced frequent invasions by their non-Christian neighbors and crusading counter-offensives.<sup>351</sup> In such form, the cult of Saint Adalbert did not rival the old-fashioned but locally expressed Gregorian ideal of episcopal leadership that Saint Stanisław represented -- an ideal that complemented the image of episcopal authority in Krakow.

It was difficult to contextualize Saint Adalbert within Krakovian political and historical traditions. The cult, with a broad ideological appeal of expanding Christian frontiers, lacked direct local and political application to Krakow that would augment the archbishop's influence in the diocese. As a consequence, the bishops of Krakow did not perceive the cult of Saint Adalbert as a great threat from Gniezno. In 1217 at the synod of Dankow, Vincent, who had brought the case of Stanisław's martyrdom to the clerical elites' attention, encouraged the Cistercian Order to introduce prayers to Saint Adalbert into their pious routines.<sup>352</sup> His sense of spiritual responsibility did not allow him to

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<sup>350</sup> The contemporary German chronicler Thietmar and "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej" record Adalbert's brother Gaudentius as the first archbishop of Gniezno. "Kronika," 289; RKK, 44. According to Długosz, Adalbert briefly headed the see before his departure for Prussia. DA II, 214. Also see Józef Nowacki, *Z dziejów kultu św. Wojciecha w Polsce* (Wrocław, 1983), 229-233.

<sup>351</sup> Jadwiga Karwasińska, "Święty Wojciech," in *Polscy święci*, ed. Joachim R. Bar (Warsaw, 1987), 11:24.

<sup>352</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich. Katalog Długosza," MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:164. In Vincent's chronicle Saint Adalbert already had the status of a patron who legitimizes a formal alliance. Kadłubek IV, 18, 165-166. Saint Stanisław appears in the same function only in 1310 when King Władysław Łokietek granted a village to the cathedral of Krakow. KDKK, no. 117, 151-152. Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech i Święty Stanisław. Patroni Królestwa Polskiego* (Poznań, 1977), 40.

ignore the old cults that had been benefiting the Polish church and her Christian communities. Saint Florian did not fit his ideological view of correlation between the aggression against righteous clerical authority and the fate of the Polish monarchy. When Vincent consecrated the recently completed collegiate church of Saint Florian in Krakow he proved the continuous importance of Gedko's project for the see.<sup>353</sup> The bishopric preferred to construct its power by a gradual process of assimilation of the cult to its own ideological needs.

Vincent's energetic successor, Paul of Przemakow, avoided open discrimination in regard to the saints. His conflicts with Duke Leszek the Black in Krakow did not allow for spare resources to combat those cults that did not threaten the tradition of martyred Stanislaw. In 1271 Paul helped provide tithes from four villages to three altars in the Krakow cathedral, including the one devoted to Saint Adalbert.<sup>354</sup> He also endorsed the decision of the synod of Łęczyca in 1285 to popularize *hystoria beati Adalberti* through singing in cathedral and monastic churches.<sup>355</sup> The see of Krakow did not need to actively counter Gniezno's Adalbert. Rather, the see required its own saint whose universal cult would stress the centrality of Krakow in both the Polish ecclesiastical province and the unified Polish monarchy.

The see of Wrocław did not present a greater challenge to Krakow than that of Gniezno. The bishopric of Wrocław did not profit from the presence of any famous martyred missionary from an early heroic age in renegotiating power relations with its

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<sup>353</sup> "Rocznik Sędziwoja," 876; "Rocznik Krasieńskich," 131; "Rocznik małopolski," 161; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 58.

<sup>354</sup> KDKK, no. 68, 93-94.

<sup>355</sup> KDW 1, no. 551, 511.

rival from Little Poland. Instead, it could claim the relics of the duchess of Silesia, Hedwig, the wife of Henry the Bearded, whose cult could impede but not eliminate the Krakovian influence. While her ducal pedigree and attributes of sainthood were conducive to the creation of an influential cult, her secular status could not match the political prestige of a saint who had held episcopal power and died as a martyr in defense of his fellow Christians against an unjust temporal power. In 1243, having taken an oath of chastity after years of marriage, Hedwig died in a monastery.<sup>356</sup> She was never directly associated with the see of Wrocław. Unlike Stanisław, she was not buried in a cathedral. The monastery of Trzebnica, where she concluded her life, was a wealthy and prestigious foundation of her husband.<sup>357</sup> Her cult represented a new model of sanctity propagated by the dynamically rising Mendicant orders. The Dominicans and the Franciscans provided the laity with certain opportunities to find links to a sainthood that was amicable to secular aspects of life.<sup>358</sup> The pious existence that Duchess Hedwig expressed through humility, charity, utmost asceticism, even chastity within marriage and retreat to a monastery was an integral part of a new female sanctity. The papacy encouraged this brand of sanctity by emphasizing the importance of virtues over the

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<sup>356</sup> "Vita sanctae Hedvigis," MPH, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Aleksander Semkowicz (Warsaw, 1961), 4:640; DA VII, 297.

<sup>357</sup> Joseph Gottschalk, *Hedwig von Andechs, Herzogin von Schlesien* (Feiburg, 1982), 119; Mateusz Siuchniński, "Pochodzenie i pierwotna przynależność zakonna konwentu klasztoru cysterek w Trzebnicy," *Roczniki Historyczne* 12 (1936): 187; Kazimierz Bobowski, "Fundacja i początki klasztoru cysterek w Trzebnicy," in *Studia historyczne. Ustrój, Kościół, militaria*, ed. K. Bobowski (Wrocław, 1993), 31.

<sup>358</sup> The former enjoyed Bishop Wawrzyniec's patronage as early as 1226, when they received the first church in the town. The latter found support at the ducal court ten years later. See Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XII-XIV wieku* (Lublin, 1956), 50; and Tadeusz Szafranski, "Klasztory franciszkańskie na Śląsku w XIII wieku i ich przynależność organizacyjna," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 7 (1960): 162.

marvelous and miracles.<sup>359</sup> The cult of Saint Hedwig still represented the traditional ideal of monastic austerity in religious experience, while also emphasizing the duchess' determination to act as a layperson in the world beyond the cloistered walls. Her almost contemporary Franciscan hagiographer found early manifestations of her sanctity in the merits of her life as a wife and mother. When Hedwig intervened in a war for Little Poland, she pled for the release of her husband from captivity.<sup>360</sup> When she was not preoccupied with charitable work or prayer she taught her family the principles of Christian faith.<sup>361</sup> Hedwig turned her late marriage into a chaste spiritual union.<sup>362</sup> There were no grand politics in the public aspect of her life as a saintly figure.

The episcopal power of Wrocław appeared distant and unrelated to Hedwig's demonstration of Christian perfection. To address the problem, the bishopric attempted to impose its mark on the cult by assisting the elevation of the saint's remains and the construction of a new chapel for them in Trzebnica soon after her canonization in 1267.<sup>363</sup> The archbishop of Salzburg, Władysław, who acted in the capacity of the administrator of the see of Wrocław, gave the translation of the relics to a new place the character of a grand public spectacle attended by a Silesian duke and the king of Bohemia.<sup>364</sup> The celebration was a good occasion to distribute the relics among splendid guests and stress episcopal contribution to the rise of a new shrine at Trzebnica. Yet, it

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<sup>359</sup> André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 499-505.

<sup>360</sup> "Vita Sanctae Hedwigis," 524.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 543.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 514-516.

<sup>363</sup> Długosz, VII, 406-407; BP I, no. 781, 146.

<sup>364</sup> "Vita Sanctae Hedwigis," 630-635.

was still the monastery, not the cathedral of Wrocław, that held Hedwig's remains. Pope Clemens V granted the nuns of Trzebnica the exclusive right to own and manage them, with no reference to the episcopal authority in Silesia.<sup>365</sup>

If the process of appropriating the Silesian cult was not difficult enough, its ideological value for the bishop was limited. In light of the general crisis of episcopal sainthood due to the temporal preoccupations of most bishops and the weakening of their prestige in the centralized papal hierarchy of the universal church, the figure of a duchess who never revealed an interest in the struggle between secular and ecclesiastical powers or in political leadership represented an inadequate token in the negotiation of power between the bishoprics.<sup>366</sup> The cult of Saint Hedwig did not carry the same ideological appeal of direct political power as the violent struggle of a courageous Krakovian bishop against his wicked king.

The sanctity of Hedwig testified more directly to the prestige of ducal authority and the Piast dynasty than to the episcopal power of Wrocław. Her own *Vita*, written in Silesia at the end of the thirteenth century, claims that Hedwig foretold the construction of an altar for Saint Stanisław at the Trzebnica monastery and asked the nuns to pay particular reverence to it, because "it should be devoted to the greatest of the saints."<sup>367</sup> Bishop Thomas I could not effectively take advantage of Hedwig's cult for another reason: the first recorded efforts to obtain a papal recognition of her sanctity appeared

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<sup>365</sup> BP I, no. 781, 146.

<sup>366</sup> Vauchez, 304-306.

<sup>367</sup> "Vita Sanctae Hedwigis," 573. For the origin of the *Vita*, see Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski, "Dzieje relikwii i relikwiarza Świętej Jadwigi," in *Święta Jadwiga śląska (ok. 1174 – 1243)*, ed. Tadeusz Krupiński (Wrocław, 1993), 32.

only after 1260.<sup>368</sup> The Silesian duchess was canonized in 1267, fourteen years after Bishop Stanisław, when the episcopal see of Krakow experienced new elections.<sup>369</sup> Even then, the papacy acting in the person of a legate, perhaps unintentionally, diminished the special importance of the canonization of the duchess by granting extensive indulgences to pilgrims visiting the cathedral of Krakow.<sup>370</sup> The episcopal authority in Wrocław had no formal right to claim any special relation with Hedwig's relics that might have been used in negotiations about its role in the Polish church.

In contrast, the canonization of Bishop Stanisław brought splendor and power to the bishopric of Krakow. It cemented close relations between the bishopric and the Curia. One of the delegates who celebrated the canonization of Bishop Stanisław in 1254 was legate Opizo.<sup>371</sup> Under these circumstances papal confirmation of Krakow's privileged status was an easy gain for the bishopric. Soon after the canonization of Stanisław, Bishop Prandota sought the official papal confirmation of Krakow's extraordinary position within the Polish province in regard to historical precedent. The papacy reacted positively, without violating the hierarchical authority of Gniezno. For the first time, the spiritual qualities of the bishopric joined its historical ones as legitimate arguments for its predominance.

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<sup>368</sup> According to the *Vita*, the bishopric sent the first petition to Rome in 1264. "Vita sanctae Hedwigis," 629. Długosz dates the event to 1262, but states that the investigation of miracles ended two years later. DA VII, 137.

<sup>369</sup> Potthast II, no. 19971, 1609. Pope Clamens IV's bull dates from 26 March 1267. Also see "Vita sanctae Hedwigis," 629. The election of Paul of Przemankow to the see of Krakow took place on 9 October 1266, his consecration as a new bishop on 13 March in 1267. See RKK, 93-94.

<sup>370</sup> KDKK, no. 66, 91.

<sup>371</sup> DA VII, 94-96; RKK, 82-84; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 105, 101.

In 1256 a series of bulls of Alexander IV provided the bishopric of Krakow with another recognition of its superb position within the episcopal hierarchy. At first, the pope further stressed the validity of the cult of Saint Stanisław in granting indulgences to the pilgrims visiting his tomb and by ordering the inclusion of the feast of Saint Stanisław into the liturgical calendar of Polish monasteries.<sup>372</sup> Soon after Alexander confirmed the privileges of the 1186 bull and stressed the primacy of the bishop of Krakow among Polish bishoprics, regardless of the sequence in which the bishops were consecrated.<sup>373</sup> The Curia also noted the importance of the see of Krakow as the host of saintly remains.<sup>374</sup> The episcopal control of the relics was gaining broader recognition. Krakow appeared in papal rhetoric as a historic center of episcopal administration and the locus of political and divine powers.

Prandota's quest for his own saint in Krakow must be analyzed within the political context of Krakow's close relations with the papacy. Prandota, even more successfully than Pełka, took advantage of the episcopal custody of the relics to claim a superior position within the Polish church. Because there are no records of negotiations pertaining to the precedence immediately prior to the bull, it is safe to assume that the bishop of Krakow took advantage of other events that were related to the status of his see in relation to Gniezno and Wrocław. The pope's words came to Poland shortly before

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<sup>372</sup> For the former, see Potthast II, no. 16162, 1328, and KDKK, no. 45, 63; Potthast II, no. 16242, 1334; and KDKK, no. 51, 67. For the latter, see BP I, no. 589, 113 and KDKK, no. 46, 63-64. Also see BP I, no. 590, 113; no. 593, 114; no. 599, 115.

<sup>373</sup> KDKK, no. 53, 69: "Sane petitio tua nobis exhibita continebat, quod de antiqua et approbata et hactenus pacifice observata consuetudine in cuius existis possessione uel quasi, hactenus est obtentum, ut ecclesie Cracouiensis Episcopus ordines canonicos, primum locum et uocem post Metropolitanum inter Consuffraganeos suos obtineat, etiam si sit posterius ordines."

<sup>374</sup> KDKK, no. 53, 69: "Nos itaque ob beati Martiris et Episcopi Stanzlai, reuerentiam, cuius gloriosum corpus in eadem ecclesia ut asseris requiescit ecclesiam ipsam honorare uolentes, consuetudinem huiusmodi auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus."

Bishop Thomas I was imprisoned by Bolesław II Rogatka, Duke of Legnica-Głogow, as a result of a prolonged conflict over ecclesiastical privileges.<sup>375</sup> If the bishop of Wrocław planned a counter-offensive against Krakow, this sudden turn of events in Silesia prevented it. The dramatic and embarrassing condition Thomas found himself in in the fall of 1256 and the excommunication of Duke Bolesław by Archbishop Pełka at the synod of Łęczyca on October 14 1257 offered Prandota an additional opportunity to display episcopal leadership and loyalty to the papal authority.<sup>376</sup> While the duke continued to ignore clerical sanctions, the pope made Prandota an executor of the penalties approved by the Apostolic See.<sup>377</sup> According to chronicler Długosz, having reported the persisting crisis in Silesia to the papal Curia, the bishop of Krakow joined Archbishop Pełka in full offensive against the secular ruler of Wrocław.

The two church leaders acted energetically after the synod of Łęczyca when they called for a crusade against the enemy of the recently released Bishop Thomas.<sup>378</sup> Ecclesiastical solidarity became stronger than particular political interests on a local level. Although a military campaign against the duke never materialized, its possibility proved Prandota's diplomatic skills. As a defender of ecclesiastical liberties and the punisher of an abusive secular power, the bishop assiduously labored for the prestige of his episcopal office. Although Thomas's release was probably effected by paying a

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<sup>375</sup> Duke Bolesław II's men kidnapped the bishop on October 2, 1256. See RKK, 86; DA VII, 106-108; and Tadeusz Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w. XIV*, 164-165.

<sup>376</sup> KDW 1, no. 361, 321-322.

<sup>377</sup> "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," MPHsn, ed. Brygida Kurbis (Warsaw, 1962), 6:41; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 116, 105-107; DA VII, 106-108; BP I, no. 610, 117.

<sup>378</sup> According to Długosz, the initiative to organize the crusade came from Pope Alexander IV himself. DA VII, 111-113. Also see *Kronika wielkopolska*, 120, 109-110.

ransom and compromising on the issue of tithes rather than by the prospect of a crusade, Prandota demonstrated his unwavering leadership and loyalty to papal authority.

Bishop Thomas did not challenge Prandota's success that had been buttressed by the cult of Saint Stanisław. A new opportunity to stress the inferiority of Krakow and to test the determination of its bishops to resist it came with a change in the episcopal see in Little Poland. Thomas took advantage of his seniority and prestige over the newly elected bishop of Krakow, Paul of Przemankow. Thomas had been heading his bishopric for thirty-five years, acted on behalf of papal authority and recently concluded the canonization process of the wife of Duke Henry the Bearded, the already mentioned Duchess Hedwig whose relics rested within the diocesan borders.<sup>379</sup> When shortly after his election in 1267 Paul attended the legatine synod at Wrocław, the bishop-elect had to accept the formal superiority of his host at least on the grounds of canon law. Paul was still awaiting episcopal consecration. The honors received from the legate at the synod testified to Paul's diplomatic skills and the importance of Krakow for the Apostolic See.<sup>380</sup> In 1267, at the provincial synod of Dankow, the situation was identical. Paul had no choice but to recognize the superiority of the Silesian ecclesiastical leader.<sup>381</sup> Before Paul could begin a new campaign for the primacy of his diocesan see, he needed to strengthen his reputation as a charismatic leader and a senior bishop.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Potthast II, no. 19971, 1609. Romuald Kaczmarek and Jacek Witkowski, "Dzieje relikwii i relikwiarza Świętej Jadwigi," in *Świata Jadwiga śląska (ok. 1174 – 1243)*, ed. Tadeusz Krupiński (Wrocław, 1993), 32-36.

<sup>380</sup> RKK, 93-94: "Hic venerabilem patrem dominum Paulum ecclesie Cracouiensis predictum episcopum tunc electum super archiepiscopum et omnes episcopos Polonie fuit propensiori favore et gracia prosequutus et honoris ampliori preminencia honoravit." Also see RKK, 95.

<sup>381</sup> KDW 1, no. 429, 379-380; Ignacy Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich* (Warsaw, 1981), 48.

The death of Bishop Thomas I in 1268 eased pressure on Krakow. For two years, the see of Wrocław remained formally vacant. Władysław, Archbishop of Salzburg, the youngest son of the Silesian Duke Henry II the Pious, administered its *temporalia*, because the pope rejected the request to confirm his election to the see of Wrocław, but granted him the right to administer the see for life.<sup>383</sup> The newly consecrated Bishop Thomas II could not claim formal seniority over his Krakovian rival. The key to understanding the failure of Bishop Paul to permanently secure Krakow's primacy among Polish bishoprics at that time lay in political events in Little Poland. Through participation in the struggle for the Duchy of Krakow, Paul was losing focus on episcopal competition. It would not be improbable to expect a tremendous increase of his prestige among Polish bishops if he could have successfully and quickly stabilized episcopal relations with the dukes of Krakow. The conflicts were, however, frequent and violent. In contrast, in 1276 Bishop Thomas II was able to establish peace with all three dukes who controlled his diocese. His new open conflict with the duke of Wrocław, Henry IV, erupted only in May 1284, months after the culmination of struggle between Bishop Paul and Duke Leszek the Black in Little Poland that ended with Leszek's excommunication and an interdict imposed on his Krakovian domain.<sup>384</sup> Thomas was thus granted enough time to assert a leading position among Polish bishops and display Wrocław's supremacy over Krakow.

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<sup>382</sup> According to Jacek Maciejewski, the personalities of the bishops were more important than canon law and formally recognized privileges to determine the precedence of bishoprics within the episcopal hierarchy in early medieval Poland. Maciejewski, "Precedencja biskupów w Polsce Piastowskiej," 22.

<sup>383</sup> DA VII, 157-158; *Kronika książąt polskich*, MPH, ed. Zygmunt Węclewski (Lwów, 1878), 3:548.

<sup>384</sup> Tadeusz Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój kościoła katolickiego*, 176-183.

It was during the tenure of Bishop Thomas II that the see of Wrocław could demonstrate its superiority for the last time in the thirteenth century. In 1283 Thomas participated in the elevation of a new archbishop of Gniezno, although that should have been the prerogative of the bishop of Krakow as the second high-ranking ecclesiastical hierarch in the Polish province. Thomas II was one of the three bishops who officially performed the consecration of Archbishop Jakub Świnka in Kalisz in December 1283, with the permission of the Apostolic See.<sup>385</sup> The consecration violated the 1256 privilege for Krakow, although it must be stressed that the great privilege of Urban III for the bishops of Krakow had never been executed in practice. Nothing suggests, however, that the papacy was permanently reordering the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy. At that time Paul of Przemankow was simply unable to perform his official duties. It is difficult to establish the exact chronology of the conflict between the bishop and Duke Leszek the Black of Krakow. It is certain that shortly before the consecration of Jakub Świnka, Pope Martin IV ordered an excommunication of the duke for imprisoning Paul and confiscating episcopal estates. If this did not result in his release, the duchy would fall under an interdict.<sup>386</sup> The same bishops who consecrated the new head of the Polish church, including Thomas II, now acted in defense of the bishop of Krakow and imposed the penalties on the duke. Only on December 8 1294 did Leszek and Paul conclude the conflict with a formal agreement.<sup>387</sup> Bishop Thomas II acted therefore in the capacity of

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<sup>385</sup> AV, no. 516, 467-468; no. 517, 568-569; BP I, no. 841, 156; no. 842, 156. DA VII, 226-227.

<sup>386</sup> KDKK, no. 84, 114-116.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid., no. 85, 116-117.

an alternative episcopal authority when the bishop of Krakow could not perform his traditional duties.

The dynamism of approaching political turmoil caused by the expansion of the Kingdom of Bohemia in southern Polish duchies in the late thirteenth century prevented the possibility of a new conflict between Krakow and Wrocław. The political disintegration of the Silesian duchies and their submission first to the Bohemian Premyslids and then to the Luxembourgs permanently removed Wrocław from the Polish secular domain and undermined its ties with the Polish ecclesiastical province of Gniezno. The trip of Bishop Prokop of Krakow to Wrocław in 1293, shortly after his consecration, indicates the growing importance of the Bohemian claims to Polish duchies. Those claims in Little Poland gained momentum after the resignation of Przemysł II of Great Poland from the throne of Krakow in 1291. The Duchy of Wrocław shared the fate of other states in Silesia that had been created in the course of prolonged civil wars and conflicts over inheritance. Between 1289 and 1292 four other petty dukes became Vaclav II's vassals. Wrocław quickly declined as the center of a strong ducal power after the death of Duke Bolko Jaworski in 1301. The regent government exercised by Bishop Henry of Wierzbno was inadequate to resist Premyslid pressure. With the engagement of the young Duke Bolko III to Vaclav II's daughter in 1302, Wrocław became a Bohemian satellite.

In response to the growth of a new secular power in Silesia, Prokop chose the bishopric of Wrocław as the arena of his first diplomatic activities.<sup>388</sup> In 1293 the see still represented an influential episcopal authority. Above all, it was perceived as an

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<sup>388</sup> KDM 2, no. 628, 629.

important platform of King Vaclav's entrenchment in Polish territories and a useful ally in the defense of the interest of Krakow in the grand realm of the Premyslids. In March 1292 Bishop Thomas II met Vaclav in Brno to discuss politics in Silesia and Little Poland.<sup>389</sup> He had already been known as a dynamic diplomat at the cathedral of Wrocław and the papal Curia. His strong position at the Holy See in 1285 permitted Thomas to become the papal collector of Peter's Pence in Poland, a tribute that emphasized papal rights to overlordship in Poland.<sup>390</sup> Thomas created foundations for closer relations with Krakow as part of the expanding Bohemian state. His successor became indispensable for the Krakovian supporters of the Premyslid rule in Little Poland.

The consequences of the Bohemian interference ultimately produced more benefits for Krakow than for its old rival in Silesia. At first, the political pressure of the Premyslid power on Polish duchies was a pacifying and unifying factor in the relations between Krakow and Wrocław. During the struggle between Bishop Muskata of Krakow and Duke Władysław Łokietek in Little Poland, the bishop of Wrocław indeed provided reliable assistance to the Krakovian ecclesiastical leader. As a former canon of the cathedral of Wrocław and an active diplomat in Silesia and the papal Curia, Muskata assisted Thomas before his election to the see of Krakow.<sup>391</sup> In 1304 it was Thomas who successfully mediated during an ecclesiastical trial against Bishop Muskata, the Premyslids' reliable ally. The controversial bishop was acquitted even before the papacy

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<sup>389</sup> KDKK, no. 97, 133-134.

<sup>390</sup> For the nomination for the collector, see BP I, nos. 848 – 852, 157-158; Potthast II, no. 22210, 1792. Władysław Karasiewicz, *Jakób II Świnka, arcybiskup gnieźnieński 1283-1314* (Poznań, 1948), 275-279; Władysław Abraham, "Sprawa Muskaty," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 30 (1894): 126-127.

<sup>391</sup> Tomasz Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 83-84, traces Muskata's participation in the succession crisis in Wrocław in 1290 and his presence at the ducal and episcopal courts in Silesia around that time.

had time to review his appeal.<sup>392</sup> In 1307, the see of Wrocław helped Muskata a second time. It provided a safe refuge for the bishop, who had to leave Krakow when Archbishop Świnka came to Little Poland to dismember episcopal authority, try the bishop's allies in the cathedral and transfer the diocesan administration to Custodian Jarost.<sup>393</sup> Bishop Henry accompanied Muskata to Krakow in 1309 and continued his support after the imprisonment of Muskata by Łokietek's knights. He intervened at the court of Pope Clemens V in three crucial matters pertaining to the violent struggle between the bishop and the Piast duke in Little Poland: the release of Muskata from prison, the return of benefices to the expelled canons, and the restitution of episcopal property by the duke.<sup>394</sup> Aid from Wrocław led to a temporary but long-awaited truce in July 1309, but could not change the increasing imbalance of power between the two bishoprics. Wrocław, now situated in a miniature duchy produced by dynastic quarrels over inheritance and partitions, formally joined the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1337 and declined in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Polish province. In contrast, in 1320 the cathedral of Krakow witnessed the coronation of a new king of Poland. The episcopal palace, the cathedral and the royal center converged in a single location.

The hierarchical organization of the Polish church served as a crucial platform for negotiating power. It reflected competition among bishoprics and political struggle for the throne of Krakow. The episcopal authority in Little Poland was compelled to react to the political ambitions and prestige of other ecclesiastical sees in order to prevent the decline of the Krakovian bishopric. Mere affiliation with the secular authority of the

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<sup>392</sup> AV, no. 111, 69-71; Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem*, 74.

<sup>393</sup> Theiner, no. 202, 116-117; KDM 2, no. 547, 215-216.

<sup>394</sup> Theiner, no. 202, 116-117.

dukes of Krakow did not guarantee successful campaigns for the highest position in the episcopal precedence. The bishops of Krakow sought, therefore, new venues of protection and assistance. The increasingly centralizing papacy appeared particularly helpful. The bulls of 1186 and 1256 formally assigned the bishop of Krakow the second rank in the Polish hierarchy. Although the bishops of the rival see of Wrocław took advantage of recurring political instability in Little Poland, the position of Krakow from the perspective of the Holy See became increasingly important along with the practical implementations of the Gregorian ideal of a centralized church, where the pope was to exercise ultimate control over provincial churches. This papal claim to universal power and the hierarchical ambitions of the bishops of Krakow coincided with a new advent of the cult of saints as organized by the Krakovian episcopal leaders. They turned to holy relics in order to buttress the extraordinary position of their see frequently challenged by the bishopric of Wrocław. When the implant of a foreign martyr appeared ideologically insufficient for strengthening episcopal primacy, the campaign for the canonization of a local bishop produced a victory. This, however, was not the end of the struggle as long as the secular authority and political situation in Little Poland and Krakow remained unstable. The advance of the Premyslid power in the Polish realm not only began to unify duchies but also brought the rival bishoprics of Krakow and Wrocław into one political camp and pacified their prolonged conflict. What lay in the sphere of the episcopal competence in Little Poland had been accomplished with an impressive level of determination. The relations with the archbishopric of Gniezno and the Holy See needed particular attention to advance negotiations for a high position of the bishopric in the

episcopal hierarchy. The successive bishops of Krakow never lost focus on their formal superiors.

### **B. Higher Authorities as Friends and Foes**

No other suffragan bishopric in the Polish ecclesiastical province was in a position to follow Wrocław's suit and challenge Krakow in a direct manner. The attitude of Krakow's formal superior, the archbishopric of Gniezno, was a significantly more complex matter. The superior position of the see of Gniezno in relation to Krakow historically originated in the structure of the Polish church based on a metropolitan center with suffragan sees. In practical terms, the extent of the bishoprics' dependence was open to interpretation. Pope Gregory IX prolonged this state of ambiguity in a decretal stating that the metropolitan archbishop had no right to demand an oath of fidelity from bishops-elect, whose election he had full right to confirm and whose consecration he would personally carry out.<sup>395</sup> The decline of metropolitan authority increased in proportion with the rise of papal power. The bishopric of Krakow attempted to take advantage of this phenomenon to negotiate a stronger position for itself within the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy. From the late twelfth century, efforts to establish a strong cult of saints with an explicitly Krakovian character were not the only reason bishops of Krakow increasingly looked to the Holy See as the ultimate authority. Direct contacts with the papacy were expected to create an alternative and promising venue for resolving conflicts within the Polish ecclesiastical province. While in the early thirteenth century the

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<sup>395</sup> *Decretalium collectiones*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Graz, 1959), 2: Decretals I, 6,50. The confirmation and consecration of bishops-elect by the archbishop had become formally guaranteed by the Third Lateran Council in canon 3. See *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo and others (Bologna, 1973), 186.

bishops of Krakow supported the reform campaign of Archbishop Henry Kietlicz - a reform that favored episcopal power - a century later the archbishopric of Gniezno, after decades of political inaction, directly undermined episcopal dominance in Little Poland. Constant appeals to the papal court were the sole but ultimately insufficient line of defense.

Krakow's opposition to its formal superior was not born of a pre-conceived plan of rebellion against a higher ecclesiastical authority. It should rather be viewed as a desperate act of defense when secular authority no longer offered stable protection. The installation of Kazimir the Just in Krakow undermined the position of the secular elite of Great Poland in this part of the Polish realm. It did not necessarily intend to diminish the position of the metropolitan see of Gniezno as has been presented in the historiography.<sup>396</sup> Even those bishops who had reason to mistrust the metropolitan see of Gniezno did not avoid consecration by the archbishopric despite early precedents of seeking it at the Holy See. Official cooperation continued on canonical grounds during ecclesiastical synods. The early fourteenth-century grand conflict between the sees broke out due to Krakow's open defiance of the political and ideological line represented by the archbishop. Gniezno did not intend to promote a competitive bishopric at the cost of Krakow. Rather, the archbishop's decisive campaign to enforce ecclesiastical order and the archbishop's formal headship of the Polish church could not tolerate an openly

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<sup>396</sup> The primary role of Bishop Gedko in the rebellion against Duke Mieszko the Old in 1177 does not suffice to accept Janusz Bieniak's opinion that for the Krakovian ecclesiastical leadership the rise of the see of Krakow at the expense of the metropolitan authority in Gniezno was a fundamental reason to betray the legitimate duke and support a junior duke in the principal duchy. Janusz Bieniak, "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku, arbitrarzy książąt – zmierch," in *Społeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. Stefan Kuczyński, (Warsaw, 2001), 9: 12-13, 22-23, 46. It is important to note that Archbishop Zdzisław attended the Council of Łęczyca, despite Mieszko's realistic chances to reclaim Krakow. See Kadłubek IV, 9, 149. If Gedko was gaining an advantage over the metropolitan see, the archbishop certainly did not perceive the dynamic changes in Krakow as a threat. See Kadłubek IV, 9, 149.

insubordinate bishop. The active participation of the metropolitan see in the efforts to revive monarchy did not aim to assert the permanent superiority of Gniezno over Krakow. One should note that the same archbishop who had crowned a Polish duke and a Bohemian king in Great Poland in 1295 and 1300 respectively, eventually chose to side with a Piast whose power base was located in Little Poland.<sup>397</sup> The reliance on the secular aspect of episcopal authority in the name of a foreign ruler made the episcopal leader of Krakow particularly vulnerable to political changes. When the Premyslids' power crumbled in Little Poland, the see of Krakow had no recourse from the archbishop's assaults but to utilize legal procedures encouraged by the papal Curia. Prolonged legal struggle in legatine and papal courts between the archbishop of Gniezno and his suffragan bishop in Krakow became a new form of negotiations defining the sovereign power of an episcopal see.

The circumstances and results of the contacts with the papal court reveal the ability of the bishops of Krakow to protect its supreme position within the hierarchy of the Polish church. It appears that the see of Krakow purposefully built close relations with the Apostolic See, recognizing it as the most effective venue of resolving its own crises on a provincial level. The dream of church reformers was being realized: the centralized papacy was perceived as the highest authority with legitimate prerogatives to resolve conflicts within the universal church. Bishops Pełka and Ivo personally traveled to Rome to seek papal assistance. Their action, extraordinary as it appears, indicated the determination of the bishops to find ultimate confirmation of a more autonomous status

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<sup>397</sup> Władysław Karasiewicz's efforts to portray Archbishop Świnka as a loyal and consistent ally of Duke Władysław Łokietek indicate a tendentious interpretation of sources. Karasiewicz, *Jakób II Świnka, arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, 332-343. Political pragmatism, more than undefined threats from the Bohemian court, is a more credible explanation of the extensive cooperation of the metropolitan authorities with the Premyslid ruler between 1292 and 1300.

for their bishopric. From Krakow's perspective, Gniezno remained the undisputed metropolitan see of the Polish province. But the bishops also preferred to keep its dependence more nominal than factual. The long journey to the papal court was usually dictated by two canonical matters of the highest importance: episcopal consecration and disputed election. Both represented significant opportunities to gain advantage over Krakow's rivals among Polish bishoprics.

The question of why Bishop Gedko chose to ignore his immediate superior has never been properly explained. Gedko received consecration directly from the pope on June 19 1166.<sup>398</sup> No sources indicate an open conflict between the bishop-elect and Archbishop John of Gniezno to explain Gedko's trip to Rome.<sup>399</sup> John's earlier career and affiliations cast more light on the problem. The archbishop, as a supporter of Duke Bolesław the Curly in an earlier rebellion against his older brother, had been the duke's loyal assistant before he held the bishopric of Wrocław between 1146 and 1149.<sup>400</sup> When the duke nominated Gedko to the bishopric of Krakow in 1165, the see was exposed to the danger of becoming a permanently powerless and subservient center to Gniezno as much as to Wrocław. The only way to gain a respected degree of autonomy was to support a new ducal line in Little Poland, forge closer ties with the papacy and patronize a new cult of a saint. Gedko was active and quite successful on all three grounds. His

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<sup>398</sup> "Katalogi biskupow krakowskich," 47-48, 56-57, 89; "Rocznik świętokrzyski," 69.

<sup>399</sup> The metropolitan archbishop and the papacy claimed the right to confirm the bishop-elect in his office, with the latter becoming increasingly stronger in the thirteenth century. Without this legitimization of episcopal authority, the new bishop had no effective spiritual or temporal powers. See *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, DP, d. 64, 247-248. During the thirteenth century, the popes, who developed the hierarchical structure of the universal church, reemphasized the prerogatives of ecclesiastical superiors. Lateran IV, "Constitution 26," in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo and others (Bologna, 1973), 247-248; *Decretalium collectiones*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Graz, 1959), 2: Decretals I, 6, 949.

<sup>400</sup> Roman Grodecki, "Gedko, biskup krakowski," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 7 (1975), 367.

accomplishments in relations with the Holy See can be measured by the papal confirmation of the decisions made at the Synod of Łęczyca in 1180. Despite excellent relations with Duke Kazimir the Just, whom he had assisted in gaining the throne of Krakow in 1177, Gedko decided to obtain guarantees for ecclesiastical liberties from the universal ecclesiastical authority.<sup>401</sup> The appeal to the papal court for confirming the ducal charter also underlined the bishop's endorsement of a strictly hierarchical model of the church, where the pope was the ultimate judge and source of power. The synod placed Gedko in the vanguard of the reform movement and promised Krakow's frequent contacts with Rome.

Bishop Pełka did not change his predecessor's policy and also chose consecration by the pope. Pełka left for Italy soon after his election in 1185.<sup>402</sup> His trip to the papal court instead of to Gniezno should not be seen as a result of the disapproval of his election at Gniezno.<sup>403</sup> It may have been a simple act of necessity if the archbishopric was vacant at the time.<sup>404</sup> Unfortunately, the sources are unclear about the succession to the see of Gniezno during the second half of the twelfth century. It is more probable that Pełka considered personal contact with the papacy the swiftest means to assert the prime

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<sup>401</sup> Alexander Gieysztor, "Nad statutem łęczyckim 1180 roku," in *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia archiwum akt dawnych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1985), 181-207.

<sup>402</sup> RKK, 65.

<sup>403</sup> For the possible opposition to Pełka's election see Stanisław Trawkowski, "Pełka, biskup krakowski," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 25 (1980), 571.

<sup>404</sup> The lack of reliable sources to determine the chronology of succession to the archbishopric of Gniezno in the second half of the twelfth century allows Maciejewski to propose the hypothesis that Pełka's journey took place during a short vacancy caused either by the death of Archbishop Zdzisław or the resignation of his successor Bogomil. The date of Zdzisław's death in 1187 recorded by the fifteenth century catalog of the archbishops of Gniezno puts this view in question because Pełka was nominated for the bishopric of Krakow in 1185. *Archiepiscopi ecclesiae metropolitanae Gnesnensis*, ed. Xawery Liske, MPH (Lwów, 1878), 3:403. Jacek Maciejewski, *Episkopat Polski doby dzielnicowej* (Krakow-Bydgoszcz, 2003), 101; Józef Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, 305-306.

position in the Polish church, without the need to negotiate it with the archbishop. The efforts to make Krakow a center of sanctity and the depository of powerful relics made communication with the Holy See indispensable.

The presence of the relics of Saint Florian in Krakow had already underlined the special position of the bishopric that encompassed Kazimir the Just's new duchy. The relics brought to Krakow by a papal envoy, Aegidius of Modena, strengthened Krakow's special ties with the Holy See. A translation of Florian's remains from Italy to Poland profited both sides of the transaction equally. The translation provided Pope Lucius III with an opportunity to enforce the increasing trend at the Apostolic See to control new cults rather than to gain allies against the pope's enemies in Italy, as has been suggested.<sup>405</sup> It must have been particularly well received at the papal court that the bishop of Krakow, despite the possession of the relics of Bishop Stanisław, sought saintly remains directly from the Apostolic See. The translation of Florian's remains, successfully finalized by Bishop Gedko shortly before his death, engendered exclusive spiritual bonds between the Curia and the see of Krakow. The new bishop-elect exploited these bonds to his advantage. His consecration by Pope Urban III demonstrated Krakow's commitment to those special relations with the papacy. This loyalty could not remain without reward. The centralizing papacy appreciated demonstrations of respect and commitment to the strict hierarchical model of the church in which the pope stood as the unquestionable supreme authority. A bishopric, like the see of Krakow, whose official cult of a saint had come into being with the assistance of the Apostolic See and

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<sup>405</sup> Vauchez, 24-32, 109-110. Pope Lucius III contacted the Bohemian and English courts at the time of his struggle against Roman factions and conflicts with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. How a local Polish duke could become a valuable ally in this particular grand conflict, as Dobrowolski has argued, is a question without a reasonable answer. See Dobrowolski, 22-23.

whose bishop had obtained formal powers directly from the pope, had the right to expect certain privileges protecting Krakow against other ecclesiastical centers in the Polish province.

Pełka, whose canonical election to the see received the final approval from the papacy, expected further political gains from close relation with the Apostolic See. From his perspective, a see whose prelates sought consecration directly from the popes, rose as a new religious center of a cult of saints and created a new political reality with the bishop as the crucial political and spiritual shepherd of the duchy deserved nothing less than the most prominent position among Polish bishoprics. A rebellion against Gniezno was unnecessary in order to establish Krakow at the apex the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy. Papal recognition of its first position in episcopal precedence after the metropolitan archbishopric promised practical primacy in the Polish hierarchy if Krakow could successfully rival Gniezno as a political center. Urban III's bull from February 1186 stressed the great privilege of the bishops of Krakow in relation to Gniezno. The Curia decided that "the old custom observed by the bishops of Krakow that it was they who consecrated new archbishops was valid and deserved papal protection."<sup>406</sup>

The power of the bishops of Krakow extended from ideological into entirely practical matters. Urban III armed the see with the right to oppose all, including the archbishop, who would address unfounded claims to the bishop and violate economic privileges in his diocese. The bishop would also exercise the exclusive right to erect new churches. This was a great gain for the bishopric that indicated its already well-

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<sup>406</sup> KDKK, no. 3, 8-9.

established prestige at the papal court. The document does not indicate Krakow's aim to suppress Gniezno as the formal headship of the Polish church.<sup>407</sup> Pełka could nonetheless revolutionize power relations in the ecclesiastical hierarchy without altering the formal hierarchical order. The right to consecrate newly elected archbishops of Gniezno was at least in theory a potent device to negotiate over the suitability of candidates to the highest authority in the Polish province and to obtain a significant measure of influence over Gniezno. Through delays in the consecration of an archbishop-elect, the bishop of Krakow possessed the ability to pressure the Gniezno cathedral and other bishoprics to respond more positively to Krakovian interests. At the same time the privilege of consecration emphasized the leadership of Krakow in the continuous communion of Polish bishoprics within an increasingly decentralized Piast realm and remained as a significant addition to the political and ideological arsenal the bishopric had amassed for the last two decades. In practice, the positive papal response to Pełka's claims in power relations did not guarantee permanent change to the advantage of the see of Krakow. The bishops of Krakow failed to consecrate an archbishop during the late twelfth and the entire thirteenth century. It comes as no surprise that the strong papal leadership under Innocent III motivated Henry Kietlicz to receive consecration directly from papal

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<sup>407</sup> It has been argued that the bull revealed the general decline of the authority of Gniezno in the Polish church during the twelfth century. Józef Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, 311-312; and Józef Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcje," 164. Jacek Maciejewski has offered a curious criticism of this view. He has pointed out the increasing political role of the archbishops of Gniezno and the administrative consolidation of ecclesiastical structures since the tenure of Jakub of Żnin (1124-1148). Both, in his opinion, allowed the Polish episcopal hierarchy to begin emancipation from secular authority at the end of the twelfth century. Maciejewski, *Episkopat Polski doby dzielnicowej*, 101. Unfortunately the practical ability of the archbishops to orchestrate the entire government of the church in the Polish province has not been sufficiently proven.

hands.<sup>408</sup> The response to the reforming papacy became crucial for the ecclesiastical order in the Polish province.

Krakow's frequent contacts with the Apostolic See did not mean that Gniezno lost its chance to regain practical leadership in the Polish ecclesiastical province. When Archbishop Henry Kietlicz disciplined disobedient secular rulers and diocesan prelates in the name of centralization and reform in the Polish church, the bishops of Krakow promptly followed his leadership. The aggressive reform campaign of Archbishop Henry Kietlicz brought Vincent and Ivo closer to the metropolitan see of Gniezno. The years of their consecration, 1208 and 1218 respectively, coincided with a dynamic campaign to finally implement the basic principles of the Gregorian reformation in Poland. The main agent of the reforms was the archbishop, who exercised extraordinary powers bestowed upon him by Pope Innocent III in 1207. According to Długosz, it was Innocent himself who appointed Kietlicz to the see of Gniezno, although he may have done so at the request of two dukes of Great Poland, Mieszko the Old and Władysław Odonic.<sup>409</sup> Papal diplomacy intervened on behalf of the persecuted archbishop, who was forced to flee Gniezno to avoid Duke Władysław Laskonogi. The duke was excommunicated for violations of ecclesiastical liberties, including free episcopal elections by cathedral chapters.<sup>410</sup> In January 1207 Innocent's chancery communicated with Polish dukes and ecclesiastical prelates in order to provide indispensable assistance to the archbishop and

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<sup>408</sup> Długosz, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnesium*, Opera omnia, ed. Ignacy Polkowski (Krakow, 1887), 1:350-352.

<sup>409</sup> Długosz, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnesium*, 350; DA VI, 174-175. For earlier contacts between the two ecclesiastical leaders, see Józef Umiński, *Henryk arcybiskup gnieźnieński zwany Kietliczem* (Lublin, 1926), 11-14.

<sup>410</sup> KDW 1, no. 41, 50; KDW 1, no. 42, 50-52; KDW 1, no. 59, 60

force the duke to negotiate over the status of ecclesiastical properties and the legal privileges of clerics.

The pope elevated Kietlicz above other bishops as the executive force of papal authority. In turn, all Polish bishops, two Bohemian prelates and the Saxon bishop of Meissen were to enforce the archbishop's reforming decrees and excommunication of the rebellious duke.<sup>411</sup> Kietlicz obtained a free hand in excommunicating Władysław's supporters, including the clergy, and all violators of ecclesiastical liberties, with no right of the violators to appeal to the Curia. The archbishop could also annul those of the duke's grants that appeared uncanonical. According to the pope, the archbishop's position was dictated by divine will. Kietlicz acted in accord with God's law and thus God chose him above other ecclesiastical leaders to defend the church in the Polish province.<sup>412</sup> Innocent stressed Kietlicz's heroic and somewhat solitary struggle in the name of the entire church. His battle had a collective character and thus other ecclesiastical leaders had the obligation to display clerical solidarity and assist him in time of need.<sup>413</sup> As a dynamic agent of the papal reform program, the archbishop demanded absolute respect for his authority. His metropolitan power was fully legitimized by the Apostolic See. When the collection of Peter's Pence became a new element of Kietlicz's campaign, the penalization of its opponents, including local ecclesiastics, was dependent upon the archbishop's discretion.<sup>414</sup> The effective reinstatement of the papal tax that had been

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid., no. 42, 50-52.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., no. 58, 59: "Cum tua pro te loquantur opera testimonium, quod promptam geris in lege Domini voluntatem, ut liberatem ecclesiasticam, pro qua specialiter inter circumpositos tibi presules Deus creditur tuum spiritum suscitasse, plenius possis ipso adiuvante defendere..."

<sup>413</sup> KDW 1, no 49, 55; no. 56, 58; no. 59, 60. Those from whom the papacy demanded full cooperation included everyone with benefices: KDW 1, no. 46, 54.

perceived as a token of special relations between the Polish church and the Holy See was a clear signal that Kietlicz became a determined agent of the Innocentian campaign to finalize the Gregorian revolution.

The new bishop elected after Pełka's death in 1207 would not have achieved much by ignoring the archbishop. Vincent had no reason to make inimical gestures towards his direct ecclesiastical superior and risk reprimands from the papal court. He became a bishop as a result of a free election forced on Duke Leszek the White by the archbishop himself in 1208.<sup>415</sup> In practical terms, Vincent's accession concluded a disputed election that demanded papal intervention. Innocent took the side of a candidate who both demonstrated commitment to the reforms and found support from the duke of Krakow.<sup>416</sup> In 1206 Vincent, as the provost of the Sandomierz collegiate church with close ties to the cathedral of Krakow, had participated in a grand council formally organized by the duke and the archbishop to build a reform camp in Little Poland. In contrast, Vincent's rival, Bishop Gedko of Płock who also attended the council, stood outside of the political camp that had installed a new duke in Krakow in 1177.<sup>417</sup> His election to the bishopric did not profit Leszek's policy that needed a stable and supportive ecclesiastical authority in Krakow. The cathedral canons had little choice but to let the pope exercise his prerogatives and decide the outcome of the dispute. The result was obvious due to Duke Leszek the White's positive initial response to demands for clerical

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<sup>414</sup> Ibid., no. 51, 55-56.

<sup>415</sup> Potthast I, no. 3347, 286; KDKK, no. 7, 11-12; DA VI, 181-182.

<sup>416</sup> The papacy based its right to intervene in the electoral procedure on the concept of *plenitudo potestatis* that placed the interests of the Apostolic See above the liberties of particular cathedral chapters. Colin Morris, 529-530.

<sup>417</sup> KDM 1, no. 4, 9.

liberties and permission to conduct a nominally free episcopal election. Leszek began to manifest the qualities of an ideal candidate for the secular arm of the hierarchical church. The fact that Gedko still held the bishopric of Płock at the time of the election placed his faction in the Krakovian cathedral in a disadvantageous position.<sup>418</sup> Innocent was loath to make an exception and rejected the request to approve Gedko on canonical grounds.<sup>419</sup> Vincent joined the circle of reformers in the powerful capacity of the bishop of Krakow.

Vincent continued his episcopal tenure as a consistent agent of Kietlicz's reforms. He attended the most important reforming synods that addressed the problems of lay interference in the ecclesiastical sphere, the violation of church liberties and clerical discipline.<sup>420</sup> After the archbishop had received all spiritual powers from the Holy See there was no particular reason to appeal to the Curia or seek consecration there to improve the ability to negotiate ecclesiastical authority. When in 1207, shortly after Vincent's election, Innocent took Duke Leszek and his realm under the protection of Saint Peter and the Holy See, the bishop became an integral part of the movement that stressed the hierarchical authority of the archbishop. The pope's obvious appreciation for Kietlicz's efforts demanded changes in the bishops' practices. Unlike Gedko and Pełka, Vincent did not travel to Italy to finalize his accession to the bishopric of Krakow.

Twice external forces brought the old episcopal rivals into a single political camp. At the turn of the twelfth century it was the archbishopric of Gniezno; a century later it was the monarchy of the Bohemian Premyslids. The commitment of the see of Krakow

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<sup>418</sup> KDKK, no. 7, 11-12. Gedko was not unknown in Krakow before his elevation to the bishopric of Krakow. He was certainly a member of the cathedral chapter. See DA V, 82.

<sup>419</sup> KDKK, no. 7, 11-12.

<sup>420</sup> KDW 1, no. 74, 70-72; Ignacy Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich* (Warsaw, 1981), 36-38.

to the reform program helped forge its good relations with Gniezno. The see of Wrocław soon followed suit. In 1212 at the synod of Mstow Vincent assisted the archbishop in his delayed consecration of the new bishop of Poznań and supported the reformers' demand to preserve the secrecy of electoral sessions.<sup>421</sup> The bishop of Wrocław also attended the meeting. He had belonged to the reform camp since Kietlicz's first visits in Silesia.<sup>422</sup> The dramatic struggle with Laskonogi made him a valuable ally. Kietlicz's program united previous competitors and allowed the postponement of the dispute over episcopal precedence. Bishop Wawrzyniec soon became preoccupied with a conflict with the Silesian Duke Henry the Bearded over tithes.<sup>423</sup> Vincent and Wawrzyniec met again during Kietlicz's aggressive campaign for the demarcation of clerical and secular spheres that led to legal and economic liberties. Both attended a number of important synods that

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<sup>421</sup> KDW 1, no. 588, 548. The outcome of the episcopal election in Poznań in 1211 disappointed Kietlicz and led to a diversion of views on the methods of achieving ecclesiastical liberties between him and the pope. Suspecting Duke Władysław Laskonogi's usual interference and Paul's contacts with the excommunicated duke, Kietlicz refused to consecrate the elect. Innocent ordered the opposite. KDW 1, no. 588, 548. For a discussion of the election as a new test for the reformers, see Józef Umiński, *Henryk arcybiskup gnieźnieński zwany Kietliczem*, 86-97. The reservation of the papal Curia about the archbishop's antagonistic character increased when Honorius III accessed the Holy See. The pope expected him not only to end the conflict with the Płock cathedral and to discipline its diocese according to the directives of the last Lateran Council, but also to moderate his methods of enforcing metropolitan authority. See KDW 1, no. 74, 70-72; no. 102, 94-96. Józef Szymański and Roman Grodecki have considered Kietlicz's unreasonable hostility to Laskonogi as a reflection of a frustrated attempt to find a new and completely submissive candidate to the ducal throne of Great Poland. Józef Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcje," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Krakow, 1968), 138; Grodecki, "O charakterystykę Kietlicza," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 44 (1930): 27-34, 40-41. Grodecki effectively points out great inconsistency in the archbishop's attitudes towards the practical implementation of ecclesiastical reforms. His insistence on making a distinction between political and ideological aspects of the archbishop's activity is less successful. Kietlicz championed the cause of Duke Odonic for good reason. Because the young duke needed allies, his victory in the conflict with Duke Władysław also promised a positive reception of reforming ideas. In 1211 the papacy took him under the protection of Saint Peter. Although his genuine commitment to the principles of ecclesiastical liberties appears questionable, Laskonogi demonstratively avoided any declarations that would undermine his prerogatives.

<sup>422</sup> Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w XIV*, 142-155.

<sup>423</sup> For a study of reserved attitudes to the campaign for ecclesiastical liberties in Silesia, see Benedykt Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy* (Wrocław, 1975), 191-193, 216-219, 298-302, 329-339.

brought together those who were ready to support Kietlicz and compromise the traditional prerogatives of secular authority.<sup>424</sup> Having approved the dukes' concessions, Vincent and Wawrzyniec joined the archbishop on his way to Rome. Their presence at the Fourth Lateran Council confirmed their solidarity in regard to the reforms and sped the confirmation of the privileges approved at Wolborz.<sup>425</sup> There was little room and time to oppose or negotiate with other episcopal authorities about the place of Vincent's bishopric in the structure of the Polish church.

Bishop Ivo, whose election took place after Vincent's unexplained resignation in 1218, did not try to avoid the reform circle around Henry Kietlicz and vigorous contacts with the papacy. Like his predecessor, Ivo received consecration at the hands of the archbishop.<sup>426</sup> His involvement in the diplomacy of Duke Leszek the White that required an amicable approach to Duke Władysław Laskonogi of Great Poland directly conflicted with the archbishop's aim to isolate the latter. Yet, Ivo consistently built a strong bishopric regardless of the position of his ecclesiastical superior. In 1219 he received important recognition as a trustworthy and pragmatic member of the reform camp when Pope Honorius III nominated him to the see of Gniezno after Kietlicz's death. He would have advanced to the archbishopric had he not faced certain disadvantages that were associated with leaving Krakow. The archbishopric offered to Ivo after years of ducal

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<sup>424</sup> Vincent and Wawrzyniec were present at the synods of Borzykowo in 1210, Mstow and Wolborz. See KDW 1, no. 66, 64-65; no. 588, 548; no. 68, 66-67. It is also possible that the bishops also attended the provincial synods of Witow and Chelcu that predated a greater gathering at Kamień. For the latter and its statutes, see Adam Vetulani, *Statuty synodalne Henryka Kietlicza* (Krakow, 1938), 10-38.

<sup>425</sup> KDW 1, 85, 81. Also see Roman Grodecki, "Mistrz Wincenty Kadłubek, biskup krakowski," *Rocznik Krakowski* 19 (1923): 52-54.

<sup>426</sup> RKK, 802; DA VI, 287, 229.

chancellorship and the episcopal office threatened him with ineffectiveness or even political oblivion. As a result, Ivo declined the prestigious offer.<sup>427</sup>

The bishop's loyalty to his original Krakovian see did not cause noticeable damage to his reputation at the Apostolic See. In 1222, in the capacity of a papal legate, Ivo received the right to issue dispensations to those monks who entered monasteries through simony.<sup>428</sup> As long as it was possible to manipulate access to the ducal throne, Ivo correctly considered Krakow, not Gniezno, the prime platform for negotiating and resolving the most important matters pertaining to the episcopal authority. As an outsider, his chances of asserting the same degree of leadership in Gniezno that he had held in Krakow were not promising.<sup>429</sup> There was also the complex legacy of Kietlicz's conflict with Duke Władysław Laskonogi, who did not change his resistance to the idea of restricting secular authority in the duchy that belonged to him by inheritance. It was not coincidental that in 1220 Laskonogi's strong position made Urban III's privilege for Krakow difficult to implement. The consecration of the new archbishop of Gniezno was performed by a close ally of Duke Władysław Laskonogi, Bishop Paul of Poznań.<sup>430</sup>

The tenacious struggle for ecclesiastical liberties eclipsed the importance of resolving the problem of episcopal precedence. The determination of Archbishop Kietlicz dictated its dynamic. His death coincided with Innocent's and thus reopened the

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<sup>427</sup> BP I, no. 169, 39. KDW 1, no. 110, 101-102.

<sup>428</sup> AV, nr 23, 11; no. 24, 11.

<sup>429</sup> The argument that Ivo wanted to advance the influence of his Odrowąż family, particularly stressed by Julia Tazbirowa, "Rola polityczna Iwona Odrowąży," *Przegląd Historyczny* 57 (1966): 203, fails to explain how precisely he would have accomplished it outside of the network of his allies and local political resources that required many years to construct.

<sup>430</sup> KDW 1, no. 109, 100-101. As a loyal supporter of Duke Władysław Laskonogi, Paul fell under attacks from Archbishop Kietlicz and the papacy. In 1207 Innocent III ordered Polish bishops to uphold an interdict against the diocese of Poznań; KDW 1, no. 59, 60.

question of a place for Krakow in relation to the papal Curia, Gniezno and other bishoprics. Archbishop Vincent of Niałek failed to display a particularly effective leadership that would aim at advancing the development of autonomous ecclesiastical structures in Polish duchies. The archbishop was Duke Władysław Laskonogi's candidate and thus his cathedral no longer considered it productive to battle the secular authority in Great Poland.<sup>431</sup>

In Krakow the drive of the Innocentian policy of centralization and reform that Archbishop Kietlicz utilized during his conflicts with secular and ecclesiastical entities lost focus and momentum after Bishop Vincent's death. The coinciding deaths of Innocent and Kietlicz loosened the strict interdependence between the papacy and the archbishopric. Vincent's successor was obliged to revive direct links with the Holy See to protect Krakow's interests. For that purpose Bishop Ivo traveled to Rome in 1229 and only his premature death and irregularities during the coming election suspended Krakow's quest for primacy.<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> DA VI, 230-231.

<sup>432</sup> The information that the metropolitan status of Krakow was the ultimate purpose of Ivo's late contacts with the papal Curia comes only from much later sources. Only the mid-fifteenth century catalog of the bishops of Krakow and Długosz's *Annales* provide such information. "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 85; DA VI, 255-256. The catalog itself, according to Gerard Labuda, "O katalogach krakowskich przed Długoszem," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 27 (1983): 94, was produced in the circle of powerful Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki who found the old tradition of the archbishopric of Krakow useful to ideologically justify the formation of an independent episcopal principality in Little Poland. To historians, the effort to form an archbishopric in Krakow has appeared credible because its existence had been previously recorded in the annals of the cathedral chapter of Krakow under 1059 (MPHsn 5:48), and in the mid-thirteenth century "Vita maior," MPH, 4:382-384. Gall mentions that during the rule of Bolesław I "Polonia duos metropolitano cum suis suffraganeis continebat." Gall I, 11, 29. This does not permit one to argue that whatever sentiments existed within Krakovian ecclesiastical elite in the thirteenth century defined Ivo's political objectives during his pre-mortem meeting with Pope Gregory IX in 1229. For careful investigation of the possible metropolitan character of the bishopric of Krakow, see Waław Korta, "Czy Kraków był metropolią kościelną w połowie XI wieku?" in *Ars Historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski* (Poznań, 1976): 321-330; Gerard Labuda, "Zagadka drugiej metropolii w Polsce za czasów Bolesława Chrobrego," in *Studa nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, ed. G. Labuda, (Poznań, 1988), 527-548; and Wincenty Swoboda, "Druga metropolia w Polsce czasów Chrobrego. Rzeczywistość czy wymysł Galla Anonima?" *Roczniki Historyczne* 53 (1997): 7-15.

The next three bishops did not attempt to enforce their right to consecrate archbishops-elect. They were preoccupied with affairs that necessitated more immediate attention. Wisław, whose disputed election required secular intervention, obtained consecration from the same Archbishop Vincent against whom Ivo had appealed to the papacy shortly before. In 1229 a trip to the Holy See was practically impossible for Wisław due to ongoing war in western Little Poland. Henry the Bearded of Silesia, who finally won the conflict, became the key to new negotiations between Krakow and Gniezno. The counter-candidate for the episcopal see of Krakow legitimized his rights to the see by a papal provision.<sup>433</sup> Wisław could have appealed to the pope's decision at the Holy See or sought supporters to obtain the final confirmation at home. The duke and the archbishop of Gniezno appeared to represent an easier and more promising option, an option that the bishop-elect decided to follow. The route to victory was long but successful. After Wisław's consecration at the hands of Archbishop Vincent in 1231 the papacy did not react negatively.<sup>434</sup> Pope Gregory IX did not have reason to fear uncontrolled growth of the see of Krakow as an independent ecclesiastical power. Merely a year later, Wisław failed to exercise his exclusive right to consecrate a new archbishop of Gniezno. At the council of Łęczyca, it was the bishop of Kujavia who played the most important role during the ceremony.<sup>435</sup>

Even under Wisław's much more dynamic successors, Prandota and Paul, the bishopric did not attempt to negotiate with other Polish sees to prevent the archbishops-

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<sup>433</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 92; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich. Katalog Długosza," MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:169-171; DA VI, 236-237.

<sup>434</sup> DA VI, 256-257, 262; "Katalog Długosza," 169-170; "Rocznik małopolski," 166-167.

<sup>435</sup> KDW 1, no. 135, 120; Długosz, *Catalogus*, 352-353.

elect from seeking consecration from the papacy. Bishop Prandota did not attempt to counter this process. He needed amicable relations with the Curia, particularly during the canonization procedures for Saint Stanisław. In 1256 Prandota received assistance from Pope Alexander IV, who before the consecration of Archbishop Janusz had rewarded pilgrims visiting the tomb of the saint and approved the inclusion of the feast of Saint Stanisław in the calendar of monastic holidays. The consecration of Archbishop Janusz took place in the spring of 1259, at the time of an ongoing campaign to popularize the cult of the new saint beyond diocesan borders.<sup>436</sup> When Bishop Paul led his see into an open conflict with Duke Leszek the Black, he needed forceful help from his ecclesiastical superiors, the papacy and the archbishopric. The matter of the consecration of the elected prelates in Gniezno became secondary.<sup>437</sup> A newly elected archbishop Martin of Opawa met Pope Nicholas III at Viterbo in June 1278. He obtained consecration shortly after a grand revolt against Duke Bolesław V the Chaste in Little Poland.<sup>438</sup> Because Paul did not demonstrate particular loyalty to his duke, Bolesław's victory placed the episcopal authority in danger. The bishop, now threatened with retaliation from ducal forces, needed time to better focus on the situation in the duchy. The priorities of the bishopric did not change five years later during another election in Gniezno. In 1282 a baronial rebellion against Duke Leszek the Black destabilized the situation in Little Poland so severely that Paul could not even protest against the consecration of Archbishop Jakub Świnka by Krakow's old rival, the bishop of Wrocław. Paul was absent from the synod

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<sup>436</sup> "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," 44; *Kronika wielkopolska*, 124, 111; Długosz, *Catalogus*, 353.

<sup>437</sup> The Polish hierarchical church had already demonstrated its solidarity during the conflict between Prandota and Duke Conrad of Mazovia in the 1240's, when Archbishop Pełka excommunicated the duke for despoiling episcopal properties in the Sandomierz region. See *Kronika wielkopolska*, 74, 89.

<sup>438</sup> KDW 1, no. 480, 421; Długosz, *Catalogus*, 354-355.

of Kalisz where Bishop Thomas II of Wrocław consecrated Jakub on December 21 1283.<sup>439</sup>

Despite skillful leadership and political determination Paul was unable to make the bishop of Krakow the exclusive consecrator of his formal superior. The great privilege presented to Bishop Pełka by Pope Urban III in 1186 never materialized in the hierarchical ritual of the Polish church. In the second half of the thirteenth century the bishops of Krakow had more acute problems that needed immediate action. They made no attempts to challenge the hierarchical superiority of the see of Gniezno until political differences generated by the conflict between Duke Władysław Łokietek and the Bohemian King Vaclav II at the turn of the thirteenth century forced Polish ecclesiastical leaders to clarify their allegiance.

The accession of Jakub Świnka to the archbishopric opened a new chapter in power relations between Gniezno and Krakow, ultimately with disastrous consequences for the latter. The loyalty of Jan Muskata to the Bohemian authority would not have caused a crisis in negotiations over power and ecclesiastical hierarchy along with papal interventions had not the archbishop made the decision shortly after the death of Vaclav II to shift his support to the ambitious Duke Władysław Łokietek of Kujavia in his struggle for Krakow.<sup>440</sup> Muskata's allegiance to the Premyslids demanded persistent

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<sup>439</sup> Długosz, *Catalogus*, 355-356.

<sup>440</sup> There is no indication that the archbishop or the members of the cathedral of Krakow demonstrated formal hostility towards the bishop-elect. Vaclav's leading position in Little Poland was undisputed, especially after Przemysł II's resignation from his Krakovian possession and the prospect of another royal coronation at Gniezno became realistic. The peaceful acceptance of Muskata's election by the archbishopric led Tomasz Nowakowski to question the credibility of the later testimonies of witnesses who accused the bishop of simony and therefore a violation of canon law at the very beginning of his episcopal tenure. Nowakowski, "Polityka biskupów krakowskich w końcu XIII wieku," *Nasza Przyszłość* (1991): 17. For specific members of the cathedral chapter in Krakow who supported the Premyslids and Jan Muskata,

insubordination towards his ecclesiastical superior. Victory for the duke promised to revive a monarchy centered on Little Poland, especially after he had been able to secure the Duchy of Sandomierz in 1288 but lost support in Great Poland a decade later. The role of the bishop of Krakow in the process of making a new king appeared severely limited by the open hostility that Jan demonstrated towards the archbishop's candidate.

These political differences easily amplified conflicts over ecclesiastical discipline and the hierarchy of power. In order to maintain effective leadership in the Duchy of Krakow Jan Muskata was obligated to ignore commands from Gniezno. The battle over the prerogatives of the archbishop and the rights of his suffragan bishop naturally made incursions into canon law and the realm of papal authority. Bishop Muskata appealed to the Holy See whenever his position in Krakow fell under heavy attack. Archbishop Świnka's assaults were legal and as such demanded legal procedures in response. The only credible mediator and proper judge was the pope. The statutes of the legatine synod that was held at Buda in 1279 reconfirmed the fundamental right of appeal to higher ecclesiastical authorities from the decisions of local courts.<sup>441</sup> The litigation allowed the bishop to ignore the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts called by the archbishop and gain valuable time to continue his service to the Bohemian monarch. It should be noted that Muskata's relations with the Curia did not have to be particularly close to undermine the effectiveness of the archbishop of Gniezno. The dynamic development of canon law, decretal jurisprudence and judicial procedures broke down the vertically constructed

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see Tomasz Nowakowski, "Krakowska kapituła katedralna wobec panowania Przemysławidów w Małopolsce w latach 1292-1306," *Przegląd Historyczny* (1991): 3-16.

<sup>441</sup> Tadeusz Gromnicki, *Synody prowincjonalne oraz czynności niektórych funkcjonariuszy apostolskich w Polsce do 1357* (Krakow, 1885), 149; For Gratian's treatment of the unrestricted freedom of appeal to the papal authority, see *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, DS.C. II, q. 6, 470.

hierarchy and made the pope the highest judge with full power to overturn the decisions of episcopal courts.<sup>442</sup> For Bishop Muskata, this development provided a practical opportunity to seek justice and retain power.

While Muskata remained consistent in his support for King Vaclav II of Bohemia, the archbishop demonstrated a more ambiguous attitude toward Bohemian rule. In 1295 he crowned Duke Przemysł II of Great Poland at the cathedral of Gniezno.<sup>443</sup> The place of the coronation and the presence of the old royal insignias underlined the fundamental importance of the metropolitan see in a revived Polish monarchy.<sup>444</sup> In this new kingdom of Poland, ruled by a former duke of Great Poland, Gniezno quickly gained political and ideological significance. It is quite revealing that Bishop Muskata visited the royal court in Prague at the same time.<sup>445</sup> As the custodian of the royal crown, the archbishop had no reason to object to another coronation in Gniezno merely five years after that of Przemysł.

Vaclav II's opponent, Duke Władysław Łokietek, had rapidly lost ground in Great Poland. He was opposed by local nobility and the bishop of Poznań, whose estates were harmed by the duke's troops.<sup>446</sup> His war against Vaclav was unsuccessful. In 1299

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<sup>442</sup> Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: the Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 13-29.

<sup>443</sup> "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," 53. Also see Bronisław Nowacki, *Przemysł II, 1257-1296; Odnowiciel korony polskiej* (Poznań, 1997), 141-156.

<sup>444</sup> According to Tomasz Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy*, 33, Przemysł compensated Bishop Paul for releasing the royal insignia with tithes from salt mines.

<sup>445</sup> Muskata received a privilege from Vaclav II on June 20; KDKK, no. 101, 137-138. The coronation of Przemysł II took place on June 26; "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," 53; "Rocznik Traski," 853; DA VIII, 525-527.

<sup>446</sup> "Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej," 53; KDW 2, no. 859, 215. Władysław Karasiewicz, *Jakób II Świnka, arcybiskup gnieźnieński* (Poznań, 1948), 341-342; Jan Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego Państwa Polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1954), 258-260, 269-270; and Janusz Bieniak,

Łokietek officially surrendered to the King of Bohemia at Klece.<sup>447</sup> The embarrassing unpopularity of the duke, whose military and political failures were apparent, influenced Archbishop Świnka's decision to champion the Bohemian cause. The lack of the pope's approval of the coronation did not discourage Świnka. In 1300 Vaclav received the crown of the Piast kings at Gniezno. Pope Boniface VIII disapproved of this demonstration of insubordination and disrespect for the hierarchical church. In 1302 he still considered Vaclav's royal title in Poland as a usurpation. In a letter to Vaclav dated 10 June 1302, Boniface explicitly indicates that the Curia would support the Polish duke.<sup>448</sup> There was also a certain tension over Bishop Muskata's vice-chancellorship of Hungary that the bishop received from Vaclav II during his endeavor for the crown of Hungary.<sup>449</sup> The holding of episcopal and royal dignity at the court of a ruler who did not enjoy papal support quickly produced a negative reaction at the Curia. The expansion of the dynastic power of the Premyslids in Central Europe countered papal policy, which expected the Angevins on the Hungarian throne.<sup>450</sup> In 1301 Boniface complained about the involvement of the bishop of Krakow in the political crisis in Hungary and ordered the bishop to aid a papal legate in the region. The legate had the right to use all means to make the bishop come to the papal court for a trial.<sup>451</sup> Nothing indicates that Muskata responded to the pope's concerns.

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"Zjednoczenie państwa polskiego," in *Polska dzielnicowa i zjednoczona*, ed. Alexander Gieysztor, (Warsaw, 1972), 236-237.

<sup>447</sup> KDW 2, no. 818, 178-180.

<sup>448</sup> KDW 2, no. 853, 209-210.

<sup>449</sup> KDKK, no. 105, 138-139.

<sup>450</sup> Wacław Felczak, *Historia Węgier* (Wrocław, 1966), 51-53.

Yet, the papacy could not ignore Bishop Muskata's appeals from the archbishop's judgment, despite the fact that Świnka had renounced his allegiance to the Premyslids. From the perspective of the centralizing papacy, it was more important to encourage direct links between the bishops and the Holy See, even at the cost of the archbishop's authority. Each time Bishop Muskata appealed the decisions of Archbishop Świnka or a metropolitan court, the papacy received a confirmation of its ultimate power in a Christian society centered on the Holy See. As the pseudo-Isidorian tradition had stressed, through *plenitudo potestatis* the pope unequivocally subordinated all other ecclesiastical authorities. The appellate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See was this power's natural expression.

The conflict between 1303 and 1310 testified to the ability of Bishop Muskata to negotiate his powerful place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in relation to his metropolitan superior and the pope. When Archbishop Świnka attacked Muskata, he used the most severe canonical penalties, including excommunication and an interdict. In response, the bishop successfully delayed the execution of metropolitan orders by demanding a hearing at a papal court. Accusations of simony, murder, lack of discipline and damage caused by the bishop's troops to ecclesiastical property indicated the magnitude of hostility to Muskata, but did not cause more damage to his real authority. Having positively responded to the interests of the Premyslids, Bishop Henry of Wrocław had no difficulty in acquitting Muskata in 1304, even though he was acting in the name of the Holy See.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Potthast II, no. 25089, 2005; no. 25083, 2005.

<sup>452</sup> AV, no. 111, 69-71. In 1303 Bishop Henry crowned the daughter of Duke Przemysł II as the queen of Bohemia. The same year Archbishop Świnka, in the company of two Polish bishops and a member of the cathedral of Krakow, visited the royal court in Prague. This was the last time the archbishop demonstrated the same political preference as the bishop of Krakow. See Tadeusz Silnicki and Kazimierz Gołąb, *Arcybiskup Jakub Świnka i jego epoka* (Warsaw, 1956), 243.

The trial revealed the declining political autonomy of the Silesian bishopric. It also indicated the weakness of the archbishop in confrontation with the Premyslids. The appeal to the universal authority of the pope caused particular damage to the prestige of the metropolitan see of Gniezno.

It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the core of the conflict between the bishop of Krakow and the archbishop mostly regarded the hierarchy of power and authority in the Polish church. The differing views on the future of secular power in Little Poland demonstrated by each see only accelerated the conflict. Disrespect and lack of discipline were the most frequent accusations produced by Archbishop Świnka against the bishopric of Krakow held by Jan Muskata. A new campaign against the bishop in 1306 ended with his excommunication and probably his imprisonment by Duke Władysław Łokietek.<sup>453</sup> The trial unequivocally revealed whose side the archbishop decided to take. No longer constrained by the presence of the Premyslids after Vaclav III's death, Świnka gravitated towards Łokietek's camp that had not avoided the most drastic methods of silencing the bishop. The collapse of the Premyslid power in Central Europe and a new international configuration allowed the papacy to defend the persecuted bishop in an unequivocal manner.

In 1307 the archbishop attempted to completely shatter the structure of Muskata's power in Krakow by suspending episcopal authority in the diocese and removing the bishop's supporters in clerical circles of Krakow through legal procedures in

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<sup>453</sup> AV, no. 121, 78-79. According to Władysław Abraham, the trial of 1306 should be viewed in the context of a new collision between the bishop and Duke Łokietek. The archbishop aimed at weakening his political rival in Krakow and allowed Łokietek to take control of the Duchy of Krakow. Abraham, "Sprawa Muskaty," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 30 (1894): 148. Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem*, 90-91, distrusts the chronology in "Rocznik małopolski" that mentions the imprisonment and suggests the year 1308. That year Archbishop Świnka had liquidated Muskata's administration in Krakow and presided over a trial against the bishop. "Rocznik małopolski," 186.

ecclesiastical courts. The trial of the bishop himself that began a few months later found the bishop guilty of perjury, simony, murder, *lesa majestatis*, and squandering ecclesiastical property. The sentence allowed for Muskata's excommunication.<sup>454</sup> In response, the bishop decided to rely completely on his contacts with the papacy and ignored the trial, which must have been received with particular frustration in Gniezno. Nor did he plan to uphold a forced agreement with Duke Władysław Łokietek.<sup>455</sup> Instead of facing judicial procedures and surrendering his temporal authority to the duke, Muskata sent complaints directly to the papal court and to legate Gentilis, who acted in Hungary. He reported on Świnka's involvement in the war in Little Poland on the side of Duke Łokietek and protested against the trial, the imposed penalties, and his exile.<sup>456</sup> The manipulation of the right to appeal to papal authority proved an excellent tool against the archbishop. In May 1309 legate Gentilis sent a court summons to Gniezno, in which the archbishop and members of his cathedral were accused of participating in Muskata's imprisonment.<sup>457</sup> A year later, it became clear that Muskata had won the appeal. The legate freed the bishop from all canonical charges made by Archbishop Świnka only in exchange for the promise that the bishop would apologize to Świnka, compensate him for the cost of the trial, free prisoners and refrain from the persecution of political opposition in Krakow.<sup>458</sup> Gentilis' approval of Muskata's excommunication of Duke Łokietek for

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<sup>454</sup> BP, no. 1010, 184; Theiner, no. 202, 116-117; AV, no.121, 86-95.

<sup>455</sup> AV, no.124, 97-99; no. 125, 99-100.

<sup>456</sup> KDM 2, no. 547, 215-216; AV, no. 129, 113.

<sup>457</sup> AV, no. 126, 100-101.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid., no. 131, 129-136.

the violation of clerical immunities additionally proved that the tactic the bishop used in his struggle with Gniezno worked effectively.<sup>459</sup>

The bishop of Krakow did not lose the conflict with the metropolitan see of Gniezno; the disastrous strike against Muskata came from a secular authority. In 1312 the uprising of the burghers of Krakow gave Duke Łokietek reasonable justification to stage a final confrontation with the bishop. The participation of Bishop Muskata in the rebellion of Wojt Albert did not have to be substantial to expose the bishop to Duke Łokietek's persecutions in the aftermath of the unrest, when the known enemy of both, the archbishop and the duke, still maintained extensive resources and exercised substantial influence. With no time to seek papal protection, Muskata fled Krakow. His authority did not revive with his return around the year 1317.<sup>460</sup> The cathedral of Krakow, with the relics of Saint Stanisław, served as a grand stage for the coronation ritual.<sup>461</sup> But the crowning entity, the archbishop of Gniezno, had not changed since 1295. Krakow regained centrality in a new Polish monarchy with apparent difficulty. Despite the fundamental importance of its bishop in Bohemian rule in the Polish duchies, the bishopric had been marginalized as a prime ecclesiastical power. Only the shift of the unification campaign from Great Poland to Krakow reversed the process. With the development of the royal council in the late Piast kingdom of Poland, in which the bishop

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<sup>459</sup> KDM 1, no. 146, 175-176.

<sup>460</sup> Tomasz Pietras, 112.

<sup>461</sup> There have been two major historiographical interpretations of the decision to crown Łokietek in Krakow: the domination of Krakow as an urban and political center, and the pretensions of John Luxembourg to Great Poland. For the former, see Oskar Balzer, *Królestwo Polskie, 1295-1370*, vol. 2 (Lwów, 1919), 247. For the latter, see Władysław Abraham, *Stanowisko kurii papieskiej wobec koronacji Łokietka* (Lwów, 1900), 30. More recently, Gerard Labuda, "Przeniesienie koronacji królewskich z Gniezna do Krakowa," in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa* (Krakow, 1995), 53-54, argues that the idea of a royal coronation in Krakow came from the papal court to avoid a diplomatic crisis with John Luxembourg who claimed the crown of the ambiguously defined "Polonia."

of Krakow held a crucial position, the new monarchy restored the traditional association of episcopal authority and secular power in Krakow.

## **Conclusion**

The hierarchical church, no less than the secular realm that had been rent by the struggle for the Duchy of Krakow, presented a crucial arena for the leadership and authority of the bishopric of Krakow. The bishops operated in the sphere defined by three major components of power negotiation: the papacy, the archbishopric of the Polish ecclesiastical province, and the rival bishopric of Wrocław. None existed in a political or ideological vacuum. Negotiations with one component impacted on Krakow's relations with the others. Those bishops who were not absorbed by local issues pertaining to their episcopal status or ducal politics acted on a broader platform to defend, expand or clarify the prime position of Krakow in the episcopal hierarchy. This battle was not a mere ideological conflict over theoretical principles. For the bishops of Krakow the continuous prestige of their see, assured by papal privileges, was an indispensable condition for negotiating factual power. The problem of Krakow's place in the precedence of the episcopal sees and relations with higher ecclesiastical authorities became acute when the ducal court could no longer enforce the practical primacy of Krakow among Polish duchies that rose on the ruins of a unified monarchy.

The bishops of Krakow manipulated historical traditions, used diplomacy and legal procedures with the papacy and the archbishopric, constructed cults of saints and allied themselves with foreign secular rulers – all in the quest for the stable and secure power of their see. The two papal bulls of 1186 and 1256 formally guaranteed Krakow's

prime position in the hierarchical structure of the Polish ecclesiastical province. The negotiation of ideological and political relations between the most powerful bishoprics and the metropolitan see of Gniezno verified their significance. When irregularities accompanied episcopal elections or conflicts with secular authority, the bishops of Krakow were compelled to change priorities. While the privilege of consecrating the new archbishops appeared impossible to maintain in the face of political instability in Little Poland and the growing papal centralization of the hierarchical church, maintaining second position in the episcopal precedence was crucial for Krakow if its bishops wanted to ultimately eliminate Wrocław's chances for superiority, in ecclesiastical as well as secular dimensions.

The papal bulls and the appeal to historical precedent had to be buttressed by direct contacts with the Apostolic See and the manipulation of the cults of saints to enhance Krakow's claim to power. Bishop Ivo visited the papal court to assure the determination of his see to fight for the most powerful position among Polish bishoprics. If the papal privileges appeared insufficient, Krakow had to become the repository of holy relics under the protection of the bishop's authority. The presence of the saints in Krakow testified to the power of its patron and the prestige of his see. The arrival of the relics of Saint Florian and the successful canonization of Bishop Stanisław did not have equally successful parallels among Krakow's greatest rivals. Neither Gniezno nor Wrocław attracted relics that could have been deposited in the cathedrals and testified to the spiritual and secular strength of episcopal leadership.

Because the protection of the ecclesiastical interests against the abuses of ducal power demanded episcopal solidarity, Krakovian ecclesiastical leaders did not refrain

from acting in defense of their Silesian peers. The rivalry returned as soon as Krakow found itself disadvantaged by local politics or a junior status of their consecration. Only the Premyslid expansion into Polish territories unified the two bishoprics through shared political allegiance to the Bohemian monarchy. At the turn of the thirteenth century the bishop of Krakow sought power through political means that were provided by the administrative demands of a new secular ruler of the Duchy of Krakow. Effective power in secular affairs had a chance to permanently guarantee the bishop the unchallenged superior position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy had not the collapse of the Premyslid monarchy destroyed his authority in the diocese. Muskata suffered defeat; his bishopric did not. The revival of royal presence next to the cathedral guaranteed Krakow's primacy in the future.

The act of coronation performed in the Krakovian cathedral on January 20 1320 was a great victory for the bishopric of Krakow not only in relation to Wrocław. It also indicated Gniezno's inability to retain its central position in a monarchy that favored Little Poland. The period between 1177 and 1320 revealed a lack of consistent policy of episcopal leadership in Krakow to challenge the archbishopric's formal authority. The bishops sought close relations with the papacy when they offered a promising mode of negotiation, protection and legitimization of their claims to power and superiority. If circumstances allowed, the bishops traveled to the Curia or sent their envoys to secure consecration, canonizations and privileges. The increasingly centralized papacy encouraged this communication that even the undisputed leadership of Archbishop Kietlicz in campaigns for ecclesiastical liberties was unable to arrest. The archbishop not

only temporarily secured Gniezno's practical leadership in the Polish church, but also forced Krakow and Wrocław to cooperate in the spirit of common clerical interests.

In the late thirteenth century an external force, although of a different character, contributed to a revival of amicable relations between the two sees. The Premyslids' attempts to unify Polish duchies under the Bohemian crown brought Krakow and Wrocław into the same political camp. As a new Polish monarch who was crowned at the cathedral of the early Piasts in Gniezno, Vaclav II promised extraordinary power for the bishop of strategically crucial and economically affluent Krakow. The see was able to successfully negotiate his authority on the grounds of episcopal lordship and disobeyed the metropolitan authority. The conflict that at first pertained mainly to clerical discipline soon metamorphosed into a greater struggle for hierarchical stability in the Polish church.

The final act of the grand negotiation for power and prestige proved that the secular authority was the decisive force that determined its final result. A diversion of political objectives between Krakow and Gniezno engaged the papacy that provided the former with the legal means of defense, but did not assure a permanent solution to the conflict. The political expansion of the Premyslid monarchy into Polish duchies offered a new platform for power negotiations. The Bohemians were able to unify the rival bishoprics of Wrocław and Krakow through forging common political interests and assured that the latter's prestige in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres would remain undiminished.

The dramatic conflict with the archbishopric, the fall of the Bohemian dynasty, and the defeat of Bishop Muskata did not herald the collapse of the Krakovian see. To the contrary, it was in the interest of a Piast duke who subjugated Little Poland and

obtained the royal crown from the archbishop to enhance the prestige of the bishopric. Krakow became the center of the new Polish monarchy. The royal power diminished the prospect of creating an independent episcopal lordship in Little Poland that would be fully liberated from the constraints of the hierarchical structure of the Polish ecclesiastical province. The new monarchy closely guarded its territorial integrity and the prestige of its political center. The king needed a bishopric that held holy relics, prestige, privileges and political influence. The power of the bishops of Krakow in the hierarchal church of Poland augmented, not lessened, the power of the Polish monarchy.

### **Chapter Three: Competition for Land, People, and Lordship**

During the crisis of central authority in Little Poland, the bishops of Krakow required a particularly public and tangible manifestation of their presence in order to hold a sovereign economic and judicial base of episcopal power. The increasing ownership of land by the see of Krakow publicly demonstrated its prestige and influence. Property rights were, however, an insufficient instrument of independent power. Along with landowning, ecclesiastical authorities chose to secure the means of executing full jurisdiction over people in ecclesiastical estates and buttress their activity with military resources. The more attributes of secular authority the bishops could appropriate, the more their control over larger territories increased. The temporal jurisdiction provided a foundation for ecclesiastical lordship, that is the means of controlling and exploiting land and people who occupied it, along with guarantees to eliminate the dukes' customary fiscal and legal prerogatives.

In Little Poland of the High Middle Ages the extent of episcopal control over territory was the object of assiduous negotiations with secular authorities. The dukes of Krakow were rarely hostile to the very idea of transferring land and parts of their traditional rights to it to the bishopric. The bishops often profited from the piety and the political interests of the Piast rulers who needed their support to gain stability and legitimize their presence in Krakow. The persisting problem pertained to the delineation of secular and ecclesiastical prerogatives and their implementation on a provincial level. The claims of the dukes and the bishops to hold monopoly in legal and economic powers in certain communities demanded precise articulation. This chapter will argue that for

the bishops, a strong and stable territorial lordship was the best guarantee of their undisputed leadership in Krakow.<sup>462</sup> However, from the perspective of the ducal court, the aggressive tendency of the post-Gregorian ecclesiastical authority to arm the bishopric with the qualities of secular authority presented a danger. The dukes tried to retain the basic level of control in the entire province of Little Poland and prevent the formation of a fully sovereign episcopal principality at its heart. This conflict of interests rarely outweighed the need for mutual support. The failure of the bishops to rule over sovereign territory came from the ultimate imbalance of economic and military potential of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The dukes proved their lasting superiority by consolidating power and uniting Polish provinces in the early fourteenth century.

The status of the ecclesiastical property that the Gregorian radicals viewed as an inseparable and indispensable element of clerical power required from the bishops of Krakow legal definition, diplomatic skills and superior administrative and economic organization. The ideology of the liberated Church and the fluctuating strength of ducal authority in a decentralized Polish realm do not suffice either to explain the bishops' ability to restrict the access of secular authority to ecclesiastical property or their ultimate failure to create an independent episcopal principality centered at Krakow. Power had many venues and only a close analytical study of the records pertaining to ecclesiastical privileges in the context of traditional ducal prerogatives, religious patronage and economic enterprise as three interactive elements reveals the means of negotiating power

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<sup>462</sup> It has been recently argued that German territorial organization served the Piast rulers as a model for their own administrative apparatus and territorial control of their duchies. The emulation of the broad system of exclusive rights related to the military, fiscal and labor exploitation of large castellan districts and the reorganization of market settlements was one of its main characteristics. Stanisław Gawłus, *O kształt zjednoczonego królestwa. Niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza społeczno-ustrojowej odrębności Polski* (Warsaw, 2000), 74-76; 80-94.

in Little Poland from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century. One should distinguish three overlapping periods in the development of the episcopal methods of controlling land. Immunity from the major customary labor and fiscal obligations, traditionally exacted by ducal authority, and the patronage of disciplined religious centers dominated the first phase that can be dated to the period between the arrival of Duke Kazimir the Just at Krakow in 1177 and the first grants of his grandson Bolesław the Chaste to ecclesiastical institutions in the mid-thirteenth century. The sources reveal the tendency to preserve existing episcopal property, manipulate ecclesiastical fiscal prerogatives to mark episcopal presence in colonized areas and eliminate local layers of authority held by regional lords in order to strengthen the bishopric as the second, after the ducal court, major locus of power in the province of Little Poland.<sup>463</sup> The second period that corresponds with economic growth produced by internal colonization added a very dynamic expansion of episcopal jurisdictional powers and competing claims to urban space to the ongoing process of eliminating traditional services exacted by secular authority. The persisting reservations, especially in legal and military matters, declared in the charters of ecclesiastical immunities, forced the bishops to seek ownership of new compact territories, where the scope of ducal authority was open to interpretation. The third and final chapter of negotiations between the secular and episcopal authorities that, despite its first promising circumstances for the bishops, did not produce an ecclesiastical

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<sup>463</sup> Power expressed through self-control was an effective diplomatic method of attracting new allies and justifying concessions by Christian rulers. In the context of early medieval kingship Barbara Rosenwein has demonstrated the broad ideological and political benefits from granting immunities and restraining royal agents from intrusions into sacred space occupied by select religious institutions. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999). The ejection of the lords, who were accustomed to act in the capacity of ducal officials, from a mediating position between the duke as the personal suzerain of the peasants and other landowners with similar proprietary rights has been perceived as the “privatization” of public relations and “feudalization” of Polish society. See Karol Modzelewski, “The system of the *ius ducale* and the idea of feudalism,” *Quaestiones Mediae Aevi* 1 (1977): 79-80.

principality covers the tenures of the bishops who had uneasy relations with the secular rulers of Little Poland. Bishops Paul and Muskata did not avoid open conflicts with the dukes and sought independent ecclesiastical territories with extraordinary determination. Military instruments and colonizing projects became the permanent new tools of enforcing the bishopric's political interests and ensuring its economic profits. The last episode in which a Piast duke took Krakow and eliminated the competing authority of the bishop permanently destroyed the territorial ambitions of the ecclesiastical leaders. The Polish monarchy was able to revive faster from disintegration than the pace at which the bishopric could have produced a large, consolidated lordship.

The bishops failed to conclude the process of creating a powerful episcopal principality not because of a shortage of ideological argumentation or spiritual power. The problem lay in the dynamics of the political situation in the Duchy of Krakow. The frequent changes in the ducal office impeded a stable line of negotiations with binding results. Each duke was eager to create an amicable relationship with the episcopal authority. At the same time the dukes tried to limit their concessions to a minimal level that did not cause particular damage to their rights in ecclesiastical estates. They were able to master enough resources to prevent the creation of an extensive, centralized territory under full episcopal jurisdiction. Negotiations merely created pockets of smaller territories where the bishops of Krakow were superior lords. Extensive immunities, episcopal castles and economic creativity were insufficient when the bishopric's political miscalculations in the early fourteenth century shuttered the final chance for an episcopal state at the heart of Little Poland before the rise of a new Polish monarchy.

The bishops as the leaders of their diocesan community claimed the resources that, from the clerical perspective, were necessary to sustain their protective powers and the very existence of the see. The witnessing of ducal grants to monastic communities and levying and granting tithes were all important marks of the bishops' presence in those deserted areas in the countryside and in the towns where the network of parishes and the bishops' economic initiative were infrequently inadequate or absent.<sup>464</sup> The sacred aspect of episcopal authority, lately reinforced by the centralized papacy and canon law, stressed special rights to exercise temporal power, despite disagreements as to what precisely constituted clerical power.

The secular sphere of episcopal office, a subject of dramatic conflicts during the Gregorian Movement, implicitly entitled the bishops to impose their authority in the manner of territorial lords. If lay rulers claimed to represent divine government, the ecclesiastical leaders had to counter them in the opposite direction and lay claim to temporal powers.<sup>465</sup> The most famous compromise that officially concluded the Investiture Controversy accepted the idea of temporal power as a distinct aspect of episcopal identity. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 fully legitimized the bishops-elect's

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<sup>464</sup> The methods of collecting tithe revenue by ecclesiastical authorities before the development of a new ducal lordship sustained by increasingly specific rights to land and its resources has not been definitively explained. The bishops received the tithes either directly from the local population or from the duke's representatives. Karol Modzelewski's model of the ducal fiscal system based on castellanies and exaction by the castellans of all levies including those in tithes has never been aptly challenged. See Karol Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego, XII-XIII wiek* (Wrocław, 1975), 110-111, 198. Karol Buczek, "Organizacja grodowa w Polsce (X-XIII w)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 86 (1979): 373-378, proposed to expand the scope of research to include the contribution of peasants' governing bodies to the sustenance of central government. Karol Modzelewski, "Jurysdykcja kasztelańska i pobór danin prawa książęcego w świetle dokumentów XIII w.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 87 (1980): 151, 158-165, has insisted that the physical exaction of all levies due to the secular authorities required well-defined administrative districts based on castles or the episcopal court, if the taxed area was a privileged episcopal castellany, and armed with the legal power to punish resisting peasants.

<sup>465</sup> Thomas Bisson, "Medieval Lordship," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 750.

material possessions and jurisdictional powers in secular affairs.<sup>466</sup> More complicated was the question of the rights of the secular ruler in areas that had been formally administered and owned by legitimate bishops. In Polish duchies during the High Middle Ages, bishops with temporal powers did not function in direct tenurial relation to the dukes. The object of negotiations was not, therefore, the legal or military obligations of the prelates to their secular superior. Instead, more attention was paid to the access to peasants occupying ecclesiastical estates.

One must note that the bishops needed to actively remodel the structures of power and command in the diocese of Krakow to assure the permanent state of their territorial control. Potent authority over people was impossible without the well working attributes of territorial lordship and the transformation of episcopal holdings into consolidated, judicial and economic enclaves in the duke's realm. The execution of law in ecclesiastical courts and the ability to extract taxes and services were effective forms of demonstrating temporal power. Episcopal holdings demanded two forms of protection. The see's own military retinues and the command of castles could provide physical protection to the property. The bishopric also needed to negotiate essential safeguards against the seignorial authority of lay barons and the dukes. The plenary exemptions that completely removed secular authority from the ecclesiastical territorial realm were unusual. The bishops seemed more successful in a gradual process of removing lay influence on a local level, in the areas that had already experienced a nominal incipient episcopal presence. They were compelled to become territorial lords and act as such to

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<sup>466</sup> For an excellent study of the origin and practical implementations of the temporal and spiritual powers of episcopal authority and their theoretical justifications in the context of the Investiture Controversy, see Robert Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968), 203-250, 303-346.

exercise real, not theoretical, authority in the constantly changing political situation in Little Poland. Their authority had to be visible and practical in order to be fully effective. Only when the bishop's court became a recognizable source of justice and protection could the episcopal leaders fully exercise sovereign power.

In the process of constructing episcopal lordship the bishops augmented their secular attributes of power with a concrete economic foundation. The monastic groups that had proved economically dynamic and efficient also appeared particularly useful for the bishopric as the vanguards of colonization.<sup>467</sup> The grants of land and tithe revenues to religious foundations created new economically vibrant areas connected to the bishopric of Krakow through the formal relation of diocesan authority reflected in the network of parish churches and the disciplinary districts of archdeaconates. The bishops' patronage created new opportunities to exempt religious institutions and the territories owned by them from secular interference. Land without people had limited value. The see of Krakow's participation in internal colonization and a dynamically rising market economy was no less important for episcopal power than the liberties from those levies and services that had been traditionally exacted by the dukes from the local population. The thirteenth century, with its dynamic economic changes caused by agrarian expansion, colonization and urban growth created opportunities to form compact ecclesiastical areas where power sought new rules of expression. Lordship was a demonstration of that power on a local level and a practical tool of territorial organization. The bishops and the

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<sup>467</sup> The Cistercians are the best known monastic order associated with internal colonization in the West during the twelfth century. For their early development in Polish duchies, see Tadeusz Manfteuffel, "Rola cystersów w Polsce wieku XII," *Przegląd Historyczny* 42 (1950): 14-22. Their effective agricultural methods and superb organization quickly dominated the local economy and influenced the status of the peasants who labored their estates. For examples of such activities in Silesia, see Piotr Górecki, "Viator to Ascriptitius: Rural Economy, Lordship, and the Origins of Serfdom in Medieval Poland," *Slavic Review* 42 (1983): 14-35.

dukes often shared responsibilities to govern the new communities. The secular leaders were ready to partially restrict their customary rights if the apparent concessions allowed them to consolidate their own power through expressions of generosity on the one hand and clearly delineated principles of enforcing law, exacting taxes and labor services on the other.

The secular and ecclesiastical authorities had to negotiate their position also in the context of founding, reorganizing and relocating rural settlements and urban centers by the ducal authority. The process involved not only new physical patterns of streets and market squares, but also the formation of municipal authorities with judicial and fiscal privileges regulated by German legal traditions.<sup>468</sup> It must be stressed that the new location of markets or implantation of religious institutions within the towns occasionally altered the customary property rights of the bishops and their prerogatives in territorial control. As in the case of rural estates, the access to the revenues generated by markets, tolls, customs and indirect taxes on trade was not monopolized by a single authority. Krakow, as the largest and most economically crucial town in the province, naturally formed an arena of renegotiation of power relations, although the bishops were unable to sufficiently transform it to a model of ecclesiastical lordship in a large urban center. As a consequence, the territorial control of specific parts of the town by the bishops never materialized. It was easier to negotiate ecclesiastical economic rights in the cathedral

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<sup>468</sup> Law of the Germans (*ius Teutonicum*) regulated the immigrants' land tenure, their legal status in the realm of the lord who had provided land for colonization and their complete dependence on seigneurial courts of justice. See Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100-1250* (New York, 1992), 193, 228-229. For the physical changes in urban environment caused by new patterns of settlement and economic exchange, see Benedict Zientara, "Socio-economic and Spatial Transformation of Polish Towns during the Period of Location," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 34 (1976): 63-66.

town as a whole than to force the dukes to transfer an entire quarter of the capitol to the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishop.

The bishops' readiness to systemize the methods of exacting peasants' obligations was necessary to keep pace with the ducal consolidation of power.<sup>469</sup> It was not the fastest means to accelerate the construction of a new social order and successfully control it. Immunities and exemptions that the dukes granted the bishopric usually pertained only to specific settlements.<sup>470</sup> Their restricted character did not allow the bishops of Krakow to consolidate all episcopal holdings into one single territorial lordship where ducal authority was merely nominal or even non-existent. Ecclesiastical castellanies that originated in the early royal grants to the bishoprics neither dominated political centers in Little Poland nor permanently banned ducal authority from their perimeters.<sup>471</sup> They were dispersed and lacked strategically important fortifications.<sup>472</sup> Only new investments into the military arm of the bishopric and organized colonization offered a chance to

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<sup>469</sup> It has been debated whether the charters that stipulated legal and economic relations between the landowning authorities and the tenants were a conscious attempt to "rationalize" seigneurial power. See Roman Grodecki, *Początki immunitetu w Polsce* (Lwów, 1930), 10.

<sup>470</sup> It has been rightly argued that the immunity charters alone are insufficient to reconstruct the exact list of liberties each ecclesiastical institution possessed by the end of the thirteenth century. See Zygmunt Wojciechowski, *Prawo rycerskie w Polsce przed statutami Kazimierza Wielkiego* (Poznań, 1928), 157 and Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce do roku 1381* (Poznań, 1936), 8-9.

<sup>471</sup> The surviving records do not provide direct evidence as to the exact origin, character and size of the compact territories that appear in the twelfth century as the property of the Polish bishoprics. It has been suggested that they were the Piast rulers' original grants of land with tenants to the cathedral sees at the time of their foundation. The immunities often accompanied the grants and created economically autonomous ecclesiastical enclaves. See Roman Grodecki, *Początki immunitetu w Polsce*, 57-59. Adam Vetulani, *Studja nad tekstami i znaczeniem statutu łęczyckiego z r. 1180* (Lwów, 1932), 57-72, doubts the existence of formal immunities restricting secular authority in all episcopal estates simultaneously before the known charters of the early thirteenth century. Also see, Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny*, 4-7, 182-186; and Karol Modzelewski, "Instytucja kasztelanii majątkowych kościoła w Polsce XII-XIII w.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 71 (1980): 473-477.

<sup>472</sup> There was no commanding castle of military value that represented episcopal authority and guarded local peasantry in Chropy, one of the most important and sizeable castellanies that already belonged to the chapter of the cathedral of Krakow in the late twelfth century.

establish large lordships with well-defined obligations of their tenants. Sometimes the process took place in territories that were episcopal property. More complicated were the cases of clearing open woodlands that in theory fell under ducal jurisdiction and property rights. In such instances the bishops profited from economic expansion only in conjunction with ducal privileges.

It should be argued that at the turn of the fourteenth century more political turmoil in Little Poland suppressed the impact of economic processes on the eminence of episcopal power. The prominence of the see of Krakow as a crucial pillar of Bohemian rule in the Polish realm provided the final and most effective means of practicing ecclesiastical lordship and negotiating its sovereignty. During this dramatic period, the secularization of the episcopal role in the power structure of Little Poland encouraged the bishop to employ secular attributes of power. With the escalating conflicts over the succession to the highest secular authority in the Duchy of Krakow, the elements of military potential at the bishop's disposal assured a basic level of protection for the territories claimed by the see. Muskata, more extensively than his predecessors, used castles and armed bands to force his enemies into honoring the special status of his authority. Krakow had a chance to evolve into an independent ecclesiastical principality had not the personal defeats of the bishop and the subsequent consolidation of Polish duchies under a new monarchy diminished the outgrowth of autonomous lordships.

Open military conflicts in the diocese at the turn of the twelfth century destabilized the secular power structure and initiated negotiations over the fate of ecclesiastical authority based on jurisdictional prerogatives and landowning. The dynamic changes in the region did not last sufficiently long to establish a new model of

authority in which the bishops exercised the unrestrained power of punishing, rewarding and exploiting episcopal tenants. The negotiations of power resulted in generous grants of legal and economic immunities to the bishopric. They did not aim to create a sovereign territorial enclave, where the bishops' control over land and people would be unrestrained. The dukes assured their influence in episcopal lordship through explicit reservations. The practical ability to exercise direct military power represented the last and failed chance to eliminate ducal authority from ecclesiastical possessions and create an integrated and large episcopal principality under the favorable circumstance of political instability. In the revived Polish monarchy of the fourteenth century, the bishopric continued to enjoy the extensive rights and privileges of an autonomous power. The bishops were, however, quickly incorporated into the advisory organs of royal authority. An episcopal lordship based in Krakow with complete jurisdiction over a large territory became impossible.

#### **A. Reduction of Secular Rights to Episcopal Resources**

At the end of the twelfth century the Krakow bishops obtained extraordinary opportunities to negotiate the first privileges for the land under ecclesiastical ownership and the rural population that occupied it. Because the dukes often approached the issue of ecclesiastical liberties with political pragmatism, the gains for the bishopric were in fact partial. To legitimize their command of Krakow, the dukes were ready to restrict a number of traditionally unobstructed prerogatives and restrict the strength of local lords, but tried to retain the crucial manifestations of ducal power as the highest authority. As a consequence the secular rulers in Krakow resisted the idea of the foundation of a

sovereign episcopal lordship that might directly undermine the prestige of the ducal court and preferred to see the bishopric as a weaker partner in power relations in Little Poland. To avoid direct confrontation, the bishops found a number of solutions that would enhance the scope of episcopal autonomy with the full consent of the highest secular authority. The preservation of ecclesiastical property at the time of vacancy in the see, the formation of close relations with colonizing monastic orders and the clerical communities of collegiate churches, and the abolition of most ducal demands unrelated to the security of the country were the necessary first step to allow direct control of the territories that held the status of episcopal property.

The grants of extensive privileges for the see of Krakow in the early thirteenth century were possible only in the context of the grand conflict in Great Poland that had been orchestrated by Archbishop Kietlicz. The archbishop's leadership and the weak position of Kazimir's son, Duke Leszek the White, led to the first paramount church immunities. But they needed renewal with each successive duke accessing Krakow in the future. In the thirteenth century most dukes made similar grand public gestures of generosity that emphasized their power and provided a basic level of security for the ecclesiastical possessions. The charters of general protection for church liberties did not guarantee episcopal lordship. To the contrary, they were to help those dukes who wanted to pacify Little Poland and establish a stable ducal authority in Krakow. Even when the highest secular authorities were forced to restrict their customary prerogatives under unfavorable political conditions, they still contained important reservations and indirectly enhanced ducal prestige. The public may have assumed that this generosity reflected the ruling duke's confidence, wealth, power and responsible leadership. The liberties of the

bishopric of Krakow developed at the cost of ducal power only from a historical perspective that contemporaries might not have been able to properly assess.

The bishops were not able to secure full immunity from ducal authority at once. The removal of the lower level of secular power was the first step in gaining control over territory. Curbing the lordship of the lay nobles benefited the bishops as well as the dukes. It should be argued that the bishops found a common interest with the Piast rulers in eliminating competition from local lords in provincial castellanies. By accepting the ducal grants of immunities the see of Krakow contributed to the two-tier structure of power in which lesser secular lords were marginalized. Even those who acted on behalf of the ducal court were officially forced to respect the boundaries of episcopal territories.

In the early stage of the decline of Krakow as the undisputed center of the highest secular authority, the bishops faced a significant problem that affected their initial economic and political strength even at the time of their accession to the see. The *ius spolii*, an ancient customary right of the dukes to appropriate movable goods after deceased bishops (“bona decentium pontificium”) became an object of particular attention in the post-Gregorian Polish church.<sup>473</sup> The dukes had no reason to view that particular property in different categories from any other economic benefit of secular patronage. By proposing a clear distinction between spiritual and temporal elements of clerical authority, the Gregorian reformers themselves unintentionally encouraged the secular authorities to claim property that had belonged to the deceased bishop.

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<sup>473</sup> Kadłubek IV, 9, 149. There has been a suggestion that those possessions may have included land and other real estates, although no solid evidence has been presented. See Alexander Gieysztor, “Nad statutem łączyckim 1180 r. Odnaleziony oryginal bulli Alexandra III z 1181,” in *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia AGAD* (Warsaw, 1958), 181. The appropriation of episcopal property and revenues by secular rulers during a vacancy in the bishopric was a common problem throughout Latin Christendom and resulted in frequent papal intervention. In the Polish ecclesiastical province of Gniezno, the diplomatic records do not reveal the confiscation of episcopal estates during an acceptable period of episcopal vacancy as a major problem or a source of clerical complaints.

It has not been sufficiently stressed that the conflict regarding *ius spoli* extended beyond the ideological struggle during the Gregorian Revolution. The dukes' appropriation of episcopal property at the time of vacancy in the see prevented not only the accumulation of resources by the bishopric. It also placed the bishops-elects at the very beginning of their tenure in Krakow in a disadvantaged position in relation to all secular lords controlling large territories in the diocese. While ducal properties were usually transferred along with changes on the ducal throne, the bishops were lords with more limited personal resources. Reliance on the institutional wealth of their see and personal patrimonial wealth could not have completely compensated the resources inherited from the elect's predecessor made immediately available. The Polish church as a whole treated the matter of *ius spoli* with due gravity as violence against the material welfare of the church. Vincent Kadłubek's chronicle mentions the problem as follows: "The princes insistently usurped the right to loot the goods of the deceased bishops, like some robbers, or to bring the goods into the princely treasury."<sup>474</sup> Before the bishopric could exercise power over land and people, its basic property had to remain secure and irrevocable. The rights to episcopal movable possessions at the time of vacancy in the episcopal office had to be clarified if the bishops wanted to underline its independent ideological and economic distinctiveness. Not coincidentally, the ducal prerogative of *ius spoli* was among the first objects of negotiations between the secular rulers of Krakow and the prelates of the Polish church during the formation of the Duchy of Krakow as a separate political entity in the Polish realm. The only unrestricted immunity from traditional ducal prerogatives that Kazimir the Just decided to guarantee at the well-known Synod of Łęczyca in 1180 regarded exactly that matter. The duke unconditionally

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<sup>474</sup> Kadłubek IV, 9, 148-149.

renounced any pretensions to the movable goods of the deceased bishops. Bishop Gedko assured that the violations of the agreement would paralyze clerical services in the diocese and threaten the duchy with political instability. According to Vincent Kadłubek's chronicle, the church authorities reserved the right to use excommunication not only against those who directly ignored ecclesiastical immunity. The prelates who accepted a despoiled bishopric also risked the same penalties.<sup>475</sup> At Łęczyca Bishop Gedko thus assured the protection of the initial material base of his successors at the time of their accession to the see and the continuity of responsibility among ecclesiastics for the economic base of episcopal lordship in Krakow.

At the assembly ducal and episcopal authorities also opened negotiations that directly pertained to the exploitation of resources produced by land and people who occupied it. For the first time, the authorities considered the services traditionally demanded by local lords as an element of definition of the boundaries of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical territories. The duke's pledge to curtail the abuses of customary taxes and services performed by peasants to lords touring the country (*stan, podwod*) made him the ultimate guarantor of justice and the only partner of the bishops in power negotiations.<sup>476</sup> The risk of damaging ducal prestige was high if he failed to restrain those local powerful

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<sup>475</sup> Kadłubek IV, 9, 150: "Set et qui spoliatum suscepit pontificium sine sublatorum integra restitutione aut certa restitutionis sponsione tamquam sacrilegus. Eidem consentaneus eiusdem innotet anathematis participio."

<sup>476</sup> *Stan* was the obligation to provide accommodation to the lord. It may also have included a regular levy, independent from hosting. See Karol Modzelewski, "Między prawem książęcym a władztwem gruntowym. Instytucja kasztelanii majątkowych Kościoła w Polsce, XII-XIII w.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 71 (1980): 450. *Podwod* required horses and carts for transportation. See Władysław Abraham, "Zjazd łęczycki w 1180 roku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3 (1889): 385-405. Kazimir and the ecclesiastical leaders agreed that the peasants remained liable for providing horses in case of the enemy's attack on the province. See Kadłubek IV, 9, 149.

men from arbitrary exploitation of ecclesiastical resources.<sup>477</sup> The agreement officially announced at Łeczyca was to reflect the responsible authority of the bishop of Krakow and the munificent power of the duke. It was to shield the see from the arbitrary manipulation of its resources by the secular baronage. The bishop and the duke presented themselves as guardians of peace, righteousness and generous providers of religious foundations. The bishopric successfully emphasized the positive effects of its exclusive ties with the ducal court, ties that became responsible for the basic stability of ecclesiastical property.

During the tenure of Bishop Vincent Kadłubek the see of Krakow received extensive privileges that assured the protection of episcopal property and explicitly empowered the bishops with temporal powers and economic rights. Vincent profited from the already mentioned political crises pertaining to Archbishop Kietlicz and Duke Władysław Laskonogi of Great Poland. In 1210 at Borzykowo Kietlicz was able to

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<sup>477</sup> The identity of those *potentes*, as described by Kadłubek in his chronicle, or *princeps terre*, as mentioned in Pope Alexander III's confirmation bull, causes certain problems. Kadłubek IV, 9, 148; KDW 1, no. 25, 32; Potthast I, no. 32081, 266. The term appears to have applied to baronial families. According to Roman Grodecki, *Początki immunitetu w Polsce*, 30-33, they were provincial leaders whose power had been eclipsed by the Piasts. They continued to exercise the old prerogatives of territorial lords that became "private" in the consolidated states of the ruling dynasty. Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland*, 132-133, has argued that there were two groups of those powerful noblemen; while the leaders who possessed horses confiscated fodder when they followed the ducal entourage, their poorer companions seized horses. Both may have only occasionally acted on behalf of the duke. The lack of certainty in this matter is significant because it obscures the extension of the restrictions Kazimir accepted for his power. If at Łeczyca the duke pledged to curb the abuses of his own officials touring the country in his name, that was a clear limitation of ducal authority and a challenge to the prestige of the ducal court. If the abusive nobles were generally local, Kazimir acted against the lords who constituted a competing power to the ducal as well as ecclesiastical authority. The text of the agreement as presented by the confirming bull of Pope Alexander III from March 28 1180, KDW 1, no. 25, 31-32, does not specify whether the peasants under protection were only those who were legally bound to the ecclesiastical estates. Władysław Abraham's opinion that the Łeczyca privilege applied to all estates, both ecclesiastical and lay, comes from the silence of the sources. Abraham, "Zjazd łeczycki z r. 1180," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3 (1889): 391-402. The possibility of the presence of secular nobles at the assembly did not mean that they secured the same benefits for their estates as Bishop Gedko did for his. Stanisław Smolka has rightly argued that Kazimir's renunciation of his customary right to exploit the hospitality of all peasants in lands under ducal control would have destroyed the basic mechanism of itinerary government. Stanisław Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek* (Warsaw, 1881), 319.

obtain from three Polish dukes, including Kazimir's two sons, partial abolition of the *ius spoli* in their territories. Leszek, Conrad and Odonic, the latter - Laskonogi's rival in Great Poland - recognized the bishopric's right to preserve all property except when the pope or his representative decided otherwise.<sup>478</sup> The possibility of seeking the consent of the bishops' ecclesiastical superior in order to claim ecclesiastical property was the last chance for the dukes to retain the traditional prerogative. Only rulers who exercised stable power could expect such diplomatic successes. In 1210 the three dukes were far from a position of political hegemony.<sup>479</sup> The initiative belonged to Archbishop Kietlicz and his allies, including Bishop Vincent of Krakow.

The meeting at Borzykowo provided an opportunity to renew the commitment demonstrated by the ducal authority at Łęczycza in 1180. Kazimir's renunciation of his profitable prerogative in vacant bishoprics was a one-time act of generosity to the bishopric of Krakow that did not bind his successors in Krakow by any legal terms except their good will and the bishopric's appeals to a precedent. In the bull from 21 April 1211 confirming the decisions made at Borzykowo, Innocent III stressed the necessity to return all appropriated goods to the cathedrals. The pope did not allow any of the exceptions that the dukes had tried to secure for themselves at the assembly. The bishopric of

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<sup>478</sup> Marian Fąka associates this document with a separate synod in an unspecified location that took place almost a year after the Borzykowo assembly. Fąka, "Synody Arcybiskupa Kietlicza," *Prawo Kanoniczne* 12 (1969): 103-106. Also see Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce* (Poznań, 1936), 182.

<sup>479</sup> Duke Henry I the Bearded of Silesia who in 1228 for the first time became the duke of Krakow did not renounce the *ius spoli* at Borzykowo. His strong political position did not require the same level of commitment for the cause of ecclesiastical reforms directed by the archbishop. Historians have tended to ignore the fact that he had also already made conciliatory gestures to the ecclesiastical reformers after Innocent III's bull from January 10 1207. The Apostolic See reminded him that by appropriating the estates and movable property (*mobiles ac immobiles facultates*) of the deceased bishops during the vacancy in the see the secular authority violated the basic principles of ecclesiastical liberties. See KDW 1, no. 60, 60-61; Potthast I, no. 2974, 253. The lack of official complaints from Silesian clerics indicates that Henry indeed respected the new status of episcopal possessions after the death of Bishop Cyprian shortly after the bull.

Krakow no longer had to face spoliation if a deceased bishop did not specify the fate of the most valuable gold and silver items, clothes and horses in his last will.<sup>480</sup>

The political limitations of young Leszek and his brother Conrad provided a great opportunity for the bishopric to initiate negotiations and to remind them about their father's legacy. They found common interests with Archbishop Kietlicz in a desire to neutralize Duke Laskonogi who guarded the traditional ducal prerogatives in relation to ecclesiastical institutions. Due to this disharmony in the secular sphere of power, the abolition of the *ius spoli* had time to solidify itself into an unquestioned tradition.<sup>481</sup> The collective commitment of the three dukes from three different duchies in the presence of the archbishop, ecclesiastical prelates and secular baronage significantly differed from Kazimir's single declaration pertaining only to his new realm.<sup>482</sup> Such a public declaration to protect ecclesiastical rights in most dioceses of the Polish ecclesiastical province of Gniezno held extraordinary propagandic value. There was no easy way to withdraw the pledge to guard episcopal property without serious damage to the ducal reputation.

The preservation of episcopal movable property provided the bishops with additional economic surplus to assist the growth of new religious communities.

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<sup>480</sup> KDM 1, no. 7, 12-13; KDW 1, no. 70, 68; Potthast I, no. 4239, 298. The lack of the original text of the privilege issued at Borzykowo or shortly thereafter raises a certain methodological question. Innocent III may have rejected the exemption that the dukes were able to secure during the negotiations with Kietlicz at Borzykowo. It is equally possible that the papal court merely reminded the public in general that the *ius spoli* had been an unacceptable practice and its abolition was anything but complete.

<sup>481</sup> Although the Łęczyca agreement did not pertain to the future rulers of Little Poland, there is no proof that Kazimir's sons, as Grodecki argues, did not treat the political consequences of the synod with utmost seriousness and planned to appropriate the goods left by deceased bishops. Roman Grodecki, *Początki immunitetu w Polsce*, 56.

<sup>482</sup> According to Karol Modzelewski, "Prawo książęce a władztwo gruntowe," 215, the immunity did not have a legal form guaranteeing its permanent application in the future. Its importance lay in its political declaration to carry out a comprehensive program of church reforms.

Confident bishops launched an extensive program of patronage that revealed not only their ideological and religious objectives, but also the tangible benefits from manipulating property rights and from the free management of episcopal revenues. The turn of the thirteenth century witnessed the bishopric's distribution of land and tithes in order to build close relations with monastic orders and collegiate churches.<sup>483</sup> The bishops were particularly generous to the communities in a few strategically important regions in Little Poland, either in close proximity to the already well-established episcopal centers in towns or in remote areas open to colonization. The patronage permitted the bishopric to compete with secular patrons and mark their presence in economically vital monastic orders and reformed urban churches.

It should be stressed that the bishopric did not attempt to endow monastic communities as a public demonstration of competition against the duke's prerogatives. Its inferior economic resources and the dominant political power of the secular rulers required cooperation, at least in the early stages of building episcopal lordship. Support manifested to the Cistercian monasteries at Wąchock in the Świętokrzyski Forest and Sulejów in the Pilica Forest, both in a remote northern part of Little Poland, and to the monastic communities located near Krakow and Sandomierz, the principal administrative centers of the province, revealed the confidence of the bishops who successfully built their political leadership in strategically crucial locations across Little Poland and gradually offered an alternative patronage to the ducal. Around the year 1179 Bishop Gedko founded a Cistercian community at Wąchock and generously endowed it with two villages, tithes from them and later also from a number of episcopal villages and a

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<sup>483</sup> Tithes were a particularly useful device of episcopal patronage, because their alienation fell under the bishops' jurisdiction and the cathedral chapter had only the veto right as to how they were distributed. Marek Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu* (Krakow, 2000), 28.

wooded district adjacent to Wąchock.<sup>484</sup> He also assigned tithes from episcopal and knightly villages to the canons regular at Miechow, 20 miles north of Krakow.<sup>485</sup>

Bishop Pełka continued the policy of supporting the monasteries in the two duchies that Kazimir had been able to hold since 1177. During his tenure one should note the utilization of tithes as a permanent instrument of expanding the episcopal influence in the countryside witnessing an expansion of a new monastic movement.<sup>486</sup> Shortly after his accession to the see of Krakow, Pełka was a key witness to an agreement that transferred tithes from villages held by the archbishopric of Gniezno in the region of Sulejów to a local Cistercian foundation.<sup>487</sup> In Koprzywnica, merely ten miles from Sandomierz, Pełka could assist the monks in a direct way by providing tithes from villages held by his own bishopric.<sup>488</sup> The bishop shared patronage with Duke Kazimir in regard to the Cistercians at Jędrzejów in the Kielce area, en route from the northern part of the Duchy of Sandomierz, while the town of Kielce offered accommodation for

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<sup>484</sup> *Katalogi biskupów krakowskich*, 47-48; Jan Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis*, vol. 3, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki (Krakow, 1864), 417-420.

<sup>485</sup> For the former, see KDM 2, no. 375, 12-14; no. 376, 16-18. For Długosz's note on Gedko's grant, see Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 59.

<sup>486</sup> For the essential contribution of tithes to the rise of monasteries, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), 16-19, 34-35, 114-126, 134-136, 242-149, 279. For tithes from monastic estates organized on newly cleared land, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, 105-106.

<sup>487</sup> KDW 1, no. 587, 547.

<sup>488</sup> DA VI, 138; "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 57. The Cistercian presence in the Duchy of Sandomierz has been occasionally associated with Duke Kazimir's plans to expand his realm into Orthodox Ruthenia. The lack of direct evidence and the regulation of the order's General Chapter that explicitly forbade the monks to perform pastoral duties put the missionary character of Cistercian foundations in Polish duchies into question. For a short review of the historiographical debate about the role of the new religious orders in Kazimir's political ambitions to the east of the Duchy of Sandomierz, see Józef Dobosz, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego* (Poznań, 1995), 133-149.

episcopal authorities and the forested region where the monastery was located appeared suitable for colonization.<sup>489</sup>

The transfer of the right to appropriate episcopal revenues to the Cistercians located in the Duchy of Sandomierz extended the network of episcopal patronage to the eastern part of Little Poland, that is, Duke Kazimir's patrimonial territories, and promised to establish episcopal control in the area between Sandomierz and Kielce. The patronized community Miechow was much closer to Krakow, within a 30-mile radius of the cathedral. These communities solidified episcopal presence in landed property that had been recently renounced by the duke on behalf of new religious centers. The episcopal patronage produced threefold and conflicting results: it enhanced the prestige of the monasteries, promised that patronage would offer a common platform of communication and close relations between the bishops and the dukes, but it also undermined the position of the dukes of Krakow as the sole benefactors of new monastic communities in Little Poland. The grants naturally buttressed the prestige and economic development of the diocese of Krakow.

The early thirteenth century did not introduce substantial differences in the episcopal manipulation of a crucial fiscal need to sustain patronage to new monastic communities in the countryside. The already prestigious houses in Jędrzejów and Koprzywnica enjoyed the support of the see in particular. Bishop Vincent's sympathies for the dynamic order predated his episcopal dignity. In 1206 Duke Leszek the White confirmed Vincent's grant of his own two patrimonial villages to the Cistercian center at Sulejów which had enjoyed the patronage of Leszek's father Duke Kazimir the Just.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> KDM 2, no.380, 21.

At that time Vincent as the provost of the collegiate church in Sandomierz could not alienate his chapter's property. The situation changed with his accession to the see of Krakow. It empowered him in legal as well as economic terms. In 1212 he was able to conclude negotiations with his relatives who finally approved the transfer of villages Gojców and Czerników to the monks at Sulejów.<sup>491</sup> The bishop's close relations with the monastery assured episcopal influence at the northern edge of the diocese, where the authority of the dukes of Krakow was often unstable or non-existent.<sup>492</sup> In 1210 the Cistercians of Jędrzejów received from Vincent the confirmation of Bishop Gedko's tithes to the monks and also new tithe revenues from an additional three villages that had formally belonged to the bishopric.<sup>493</sup> The grant of an entire village to the Cistercian monastery at Koprzywnica appeared especially generous.<sup>494</sup> In the Duchy of Krakow, the bishop did not overlook the canons regular of Miechów and assigned tithes from the village of Świniarowo to their aid.<sup>495</sup> These two communities still symbolized a new commitment to religious purity and discipline. Vincent's support for clerical claims, as advanced by Archbishop Kietlicz, forged natural relations between the see and the

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<sup>490</sup> KDM 1, no. 4, 9.

<sup>491</sup> KDM 1, no. 9, 14-15.

<sup>492</sup> Sulejów at the Pilica River was located in the province of Łeczyca-Sieradz that was claimed by Duke Conrad of Mazovia. Its ecclesiastical status in the High Middle Ages appears unclear. The borders of the archdiocese of Gniezno extended as far south as the river, but in the border area there may have been a few settlements under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Krakow, especially when the latter provided patronage to local religious centers. See Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Geneza województwa sandomierskiego* (Słupsk, 2001), 65-71. Józef Dobosz, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego* (Poznań, 1995), 147-148, has argued that the ducal court considered the Cistercians more reliable than local castellans in consolidating the extensive territory of the Duchy of Sandomierz.

<sup>493</sup> KDM 2, no. 374, 8-9; no. 380, 20-21.

<sup>494</sup> KDM 1, no. 93, 109.

<sup>495</sup> KDM 2, no. 383, 25-26.

economically dynamic and reformist congregations. Vincent's successor, Bishop Ivo, stressed this connection by generously patronizing a Cistercian foundation on the estates that belonged to his family. As in the case of Vincent's tithes for the cathedral, Ivo stressed his own pious initiative and personal economic means. The bishop did not draw from the cathedral chapter's resources to support the monks. They received villages and tithes from estates that formally belonged to the bishop's family.<sup>496</sup> The Cistercian foundations created a means of communication between episcopal and secular authorities and tested the dukes' willingness to abolish their customary prerogatives of exclusive religious patronage.

The grants of tithes to the Cistercian communities as an instrument of providing episcopal influence in newly colonized territories was clearly noticeable even during the more dramatic tenures of bishops Prandota and Paul in the second half of the thirteenth century, when the right to establish settlements in ecclesiastical land was a much more profitable commodity provided by the see. Prandota patronized the Cistercian community at Szczyrzyc in a remote area, but less than 30 miles south of Krakow, by granting the monks the right to convert a forest into arable land and collecting tithes from three villages.<sup>497</sup> In 1244 and 1266 he confirmed Ivo's grants of tithes and enhanced them with revenues from four more villages.<sup>498</sup> Bishop Paul transferred the same type of exactions from two episcopal villages to the Cistercian monastery at the already

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<sup>496</sup> See DA VI, 212-213; 220-221. According to one of the Cistercians' charters, the bishop acquired the foundation from one of his relatives and then transferred episcopal estates and revenues of substantial value to it. ZDKMog, no. 2, 3. The transfer of the community from its original location at Prandocin to a new location closer to Krakow at Mogiła also involved an alienation of family and episcopal estates. ZDKMog, no. 12, 10-11. Also see "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 59; Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 421.

<sup>497</sup> KDM 1, no. 67, 84-84.

<sup>498</sup> ZDKMog, no. 20, 15-16; no. 28, 21-22.

mentioned Jędrzejów.<sup>499</sup> He also took the Cistercian side in the dispute over tithes between the monks of Mogiła and the original landlord of a monastic village who still collected the revenues from it. The bishop not only confirmed the Cistercians' right to the tithes, but even ordered knight Stephan to produce full compensation for the revenues that had been unlawfully appropriated.<sup>500</sup> Paul also assured the monks of his financial assistance by confirming the earlier grants of tithes.<sup>501</sup> They were a reasonable addition to land that the bishopric was unable to alienate on a larger scale if its strong territorial lordship was ever to be materialized. The transfer of those revenues to monasteries contained one more benefit for the bishops of Krakow. It released the see from potential conflicts over their collection. There was always a danger that lay landlords and the dukes would treat the tithes in newly established monasteries instrumentally to augment their own revenues or resist the bishop's fiscal exploitation of the estates that were formally alienated by the see, not by the secular authorities.

Tithes from episcopal villages to monasteries signaled to the ducal court and the secular lords that the bishopric held a certain surplus of wealth and could initiate competition against them on the field of patronage.<sup>502</sup> Like the Cistercian monasteries, collegiate churches became an object of the bishops' assistance. The bishops were able to take initiative and strengthen the episcopal structure of the diocese through a network of reformed secular clergy organized into collegiate chapters and a system of disciplinary

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<sup>499</sup> CDP, vol.3, no 47, 67.

<sup>500</sup> ZDKMog, no. 39, 32.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., no. 39, 32.

<sup>502</sup> Józef Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła*, 358.

supervision enforced by archdeacons.<sup>503</sup> The collegiate communities that received tithes from the see marked the renewed presence of episcopal power and its expansion through the execution of traditional clerical rights.

It must be noted that the bishops of Krakow focused on the churches in the three most important administrative centers in Little Poland. The chapters at Krakow, Wiślica and Sandomierz received new buildings and tithes from episcopal villages. The arrival of the relics of Saint Florian in Krakow in 1184 was a suitable opportunity to establish a reformed canonical chapter just outside of the town. Bishop Gedko took the initiative to build a new church for the canons in the district of Kleparz, beyond the city walls. The bishop probably provided land for the construction because most sources do not record Duke Kazimir as the original founder of the church, although he undoubtedly quickly joined the bishop in assisting the new group of canons in Kleparz. Gedko's tithes from nine villages located around Biecz assured basic revenues for their chapter.<sup>504</sup> It may be argued that Gedko intended to cement close relations with religious communities in the urban environment of the cathedral. Only the episcopal control of the process of founding religious communities in Krakow could ensure that the cathedral would not

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<sup>503</sup> Tadeusz Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiaconatu w Polsce* (Lwów, 1927), 56-61. When the collegiate churches were conveniently located in the urban centers of archdeaconates but failed to reform the clerical life in the diocese, they occasionally served the bishops' officials responsible for discipline. See Józef Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacje i funkcje," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski (Krakow, 1968), 206-209, 220-230. For the instrumental treatment of collegiate communities used by the bishops and the reformed papacy against secular interference in clerical property, see Józef Szymański, *Kanonikat świecki w Małopolsce od końca XI do połowy XIII wieku* (Lublin, 1995), 59-65, 77-89, 95-102.

<sup>504</sup> RKK, 65; "Rocznik Traski," MPH, 2:834-835; "Rocznik krakowski," 834-835; "Rocznik świętokrzyski," 70; "Rocznik Sędziwoja," 875-876. It was the later narrative sources, Długosz's chronicle, his *Liber beneficiorum* and the account of translating the relics of Saint Florian, that included Kazimir as co-founder of the collegiate church, although none explains who possessed the settlement of Kleparz before the arrival of the relics. DA VI, 135; *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 1, 477; "Translatio sancti floriani," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1884), 4:757-759. Also see ZDKiDK I, no. 3, 5-6. For possible property relations in Kleparz, see Janina Dzik, *Kleparz do 1528 roku* (Krakow, 1932), 3-7.

become the only closely controlled area in Krakow and its suburbs. For that reason, as in the case of the foundation in Kleparz, Bishop Gedko did not leave the patronage of the Premonstratensian community at Zwierzyniec to a ducal monopoly. The dates are unknown, but from the information provided by Długosz, one can deduce that Gedko was able to respond to Kazimir's grant of six villages and forests with grants of tithes from three villages and a church.<sup>505</sup> Cooperation between the two main centers of authority at Krakow was always characterized by elements of competition and control over the religious holders of land.

The bishops of Krakow paid no less attention to collegiate chapters in the urban center of the Duchy of Sandomierz. After the church of Saint Mary had been reformed and elevated to the status of a collegiate church by Duke Kazimir the Just, shortly after his installation in Krakow, the bishops provided the canons with tithes. There is no reliable list of the church's holdings from that period, but the protection charter issued for the community on the occasion of the consecration of its new church in 1191, during the tenure of Bishop Pełka, lists thirty-five villages from which the canons had the right to appropriate the tenth of produce.<sup>506</sup> In the light of available records it is impossible to determine which settlements became liable for the tithes at the inception of the church.<sup>507</sup> Their substantial number in 1191 reveals the intense motivation of the bishopric to demonstrate a palpable association with new religious communities in the urban environment of the most important towns of the diocese.

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<sup>505</sup> Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 58-59.

<sup>506</sup> KDM 1, no. 2, 5.

<sup>507</sup> In Józef Dobosz's opinion, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego*, 93, the villages located near Sandomierz were the original sources of tithes for the collegiate chapter, probably at the time of its reform by Duke Kazimir in the 1170's.

Episcopal support for collegiate foundations in Little Poland extended beyond the two main centers of ducal and episcopal authorities. One should note the bishops' patronage in Wiślica and Kielce, the former as Kazimir's residence before he inherited the Duchy of Sandomierz from his brother Henry, the latter as a fairly large urban settlement in the northern part of the duchy, in an area of Cistercian intensive expansion. One should note that both locations were also the headquarters of district archdeacons who exercised legal and administrative powers on behalf of the bishops.<sup>508</sup> Bishop Gedko certainly cooperated with Kazimir and, as elsewhere, contributed to the welfare of the two foundations with tithe revenues.<sup>509</sup>

From the bishops' perspective the restriction of the duke's influence in new religious foundations to mere initial endowments of land was of fundamental importance. They allowed for more rapid centralization of the diocesan administration. Local churches organized into canonical chapters helped the see of Krakow supervise episcopal territories. The chapters of collegiate centers were a valuable intellectual asset of the bishopric and despite the lack of formal administrative responsibilities in the diocesan administration, canons assisted district archdeacons in judicial procedures and supervision of clerical discipline. The parallel patronage of the Cistercian monasteries delivered equally positive gains. The ideological importance of supporting a newly reformed order known for its economic dynamism and superb organization was difficult to underestimate. The association of the bishops with disciplined religious centers demonstrated the bishops' spiritual authority and was not indifferent to the perception of

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<sup>508</sup> Józef Szymański, "Początki prepozytur w diecezji krakowskiej," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 9 (1962): 19-23, 34.

<sup>509</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 40, 57, 89. See also "Rocznik Krasieńskich," MPH, 2:131; DA V, 94-95 and *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 1, 436.

their temporal power. The bishops dotted the diocese with loci that reminded the public and the dukes of episcopal power as a reformist and well-organized force in Christian society. Patronage offered by the see expressed the bishops' claims to specific regions. It built incipient footholds of episcopal influence in the new areas of religious activities. The Cistercians, Premonstratensians and collegiate communities received episcopal assistance in those areas particularly vital for political and economic interests of the bishopric. They were situated in the regions of promising colonizing activities and in the districts associated with episcopal and ducal authorities in Little Poland. Patronage in Krakow, Wiślica, Kielce, Sandomierz and in small rural settlements in their proximity accompanied the bishops' legal prerogatives and benefited from free access to the resources offered by ecclesiastical property. The implementation or reorganization of religious institutions in the realm under the formal secular authority of the dukes of Krakow constituted interference with his stable power.

The involvement in the expansion of monastic and collegiate communities through grants of land and tithes gradually appeared to be an inadequate device to assure direct territorial control of diocesan territories. Despite public demonstrations of its prestige and influence at Łęczyca and subsequent intensive patronage, the bishopric sought additional platforms of negotiating power relations with the highest secular authority in the duchy, especially in regards to legal rights to exploit the resources of ecclesiastical estates. The substantial restrictions of ducal jurisdiction were hardly the one-sided concessions of a declining secular rulership destined to collapse. The grants of paramount liberties for the church had little bearing without the precision of smaller agreements. Those, in turn, contained reservations that upheld the notion of the ducal

court as the ultimate source of power that was able to share select elements with religious institutions and, at the same time, retain the most crucial prerogatives for the duke's prestige. The progress of episcopal power was apparent, but expectedly slow.

The case of the Chropy district reveals effective methods of manipulating the already accepted prerogatives of the episcopal authorities in a territory that constituted an ecclesiastical property. A charter issued by the cathedral chapter for Duke Kazimir proves that the immediate elimination of ducal authority from the area was neither expected nor realistic. In 1189 the canons of the cathedral of Krakow re-received the district from the duke whose motivation for its appropriation in the past remains unclear. Despite the claims that the district (*prouncia*) had been held in good faith to improve its condition, Kazimir returned it to the cathedral with the reserved rights to hunt and demand transport service (*powoz*) in Chropy's forests.<sup>510</sup> Reclaiming ducal power in the territories where secular jurisdiction had once been constrained was no longer acceptable. But the charter mentions two traditional prerogatives of a ruler and the life-long duration of those prerogatives within the area. In another document, the cathedral confirmed the duke's privilege to exact three specified levies related to transportation, hunting and unspecified others in two forested areas of the district that, as a whole, must have already enjoyed immunity from secular authority. The duke was to benefit from the privilege for his lifetime.<sup>511</sup> This act of episcopal generosity proves that confrontation was an unpopular method of establishing exclusive ecclesiastical rights to land. Although it was

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<sup>510</sup> KDKK, no. 4, 8-9. Compare Maksymilian Baruch, *Pabianice, Rzgów i wsie okoliczne. Monografia historyczna dawnych dóbr kapituły krakowskiej w sieradzkim and łeczyckim* (Warsaw, 1903), 20, 27-29 and Stanisław Zajączkowski, "Opole chropkie. Przyczynek do genezy dawnych dóbr pabianickich kapituły krakowskiej," *Rocznik Łódzki* 5 (1961): 131-134.

<sup>511</sup> KDKK, no. 5, 9-10. For the origin of the Chropy district as the cathedral's property, see Józef Dobosz, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego*, 111-113, and Marek Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu*, 46-49.

the cathedral, not the bishop, who was the grantor of the economic rights, the ecclesiastical authorities clearly demonstrated confidence and political initiative. The charters complemented Bishop Gedko's support for installing Kazimir in Krakow in 1177 and the assistance Kazimir received from Bishop Pełka in the 1180's.

The generous grant to the duke could have only one reason: it was a form of a counter-gift to Kazimir's acceptance of restricting ducal prerogatives in 1180 and aimed to preserve the residual prerogatives of ducal power that were necessary for the prestige of the highest secular power in the diocese. The initiative belonged to the see. The bishopric used the rights to extract labor from the peasants as a means of modeling its relations with secular powers. The counter-gift from the ecclesiastical authorities underlined their claim to a peer position to the ducal court in the temporal power structure.

For the purpose of studying the bishopric's control of its territorial possessions the negotiations at Borzykowo in 1210, during the tenures of Archbishop Henry Kietlicz and Bishop Vincent, has a crucial importance that extends farther than the implementation of the Gregorian objective of removing secular power from the clerical realm. The agreement gave the bishopric of Krakow a privilege that made a direct impact on its episcopal lordship and provided essential tools for exercising power. The dukes initiated the process of liberating the episcopal estates from secular interference and elevating the bishops to the ultimate authority in their landed property. They agreed to renounce unspecified services traditionally rendered to the ducal court and its representatives.<sup>512</sup>

The records related to two successive assemblies at Wolborz and Kamień are more

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<sup>512</sup> DA VI, 209: "... privilegium ecclesiasticae libertatis in multis articulis, quibus ecclesiastici viri gravabantur, petiit et obtinuit confirmari." KDW 1, no. 66, 64-65. For Innocent III's confirmation, see KDW 1, no. 70, 68; BP, no. 92, 24; Potthast I, no. 4239, 298.

specific. They describe plenary economic and jurisdictional immunities of episcopal territories in the duchies ruled by Leszek, Conrad and two dukes from Great Poland and Silesia. The dukes stressed the legacy of providing ducal protection and liberties to ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>513</sup> The immunities freed the tenants who lived and worked on ecclesiastical land from an old levy in kind to the ruler and five specific obligations related to the ducal modes of transportation, the touring of the country by the duke's court and his representatives and to the ruler's hunting rights.<sup>514</sup> The liberties were itemized. This privilege in fact reveals the ecclesiastical estates' restricted scope of territorial autonomy.

Archbishop Kietlicz's campaign for ecclesiastical liberties was to harm the duke's ability to exercise lordship in ecclesiastical estates. The limitations of plenary privileges for the church in Polish duchies failed to compromise the first prime achievement of the bishopric of Krakow in the field of territorial control. Cultivators who occupied the land owned by the see were no longer tied to the traditional supreme power of the secular authority. How harsh the burdens of the service obligation were for them remains

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<sup>513</sup> KDW 1, no. 68, 66-67; KDKK, no. 10, 14-15. Also see Józef Umiński, *Henryk arcybiskup gnieźnieński zwany Kietliczem* (Lublin, 1926), 109. According to Roman Grodecki, the liberties that the Polish hierarchical church received at the turn of the thirteenth century did not initiate the process of exempting ecclesiastical land from the elements of ducal authority. The secular rulers stressed the continuation of their predecessors' legacy. The first grants of economic exemptions should be traced back to the early twelfth century, although the privileges granted at the assemblies in 1180, 1210 and 1215 represent the first restriction of traditional ducal prerogatives and economic immunities in all episcopal estates in Poland. Grodecki, *Początki immunitetu w Polsce*, 55-56, 74, 80. In Polish historiography the problem of geographical limitation of the privileges has not been sufficiently emphasized. The dukes' declarations did not pertain to the entire Polish church. They had no practical validity outside the duchies under the grantors' formal control.

<sup>514</sup> KDKK, no. 10, 14-15. The dukes renounced their rights to *powoz, przewod, przewor, narzaz, nastawa*. For the character of *narzaz* as a obligation of delivering produce, see Oskar Balzer, *Narzaz w systemie danin książęcych pierwotnej Polski* (Lwów, 1928), 262-286 and Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski Piastowskiej*, vol. 2 of *Wielka Historia Polski*, ed. Jan Pieszcachowicz (Krakow, 1999), 183. In Józef Matuszewski's opinion, the inconsistent formula and terminologies in immunity grants produces the possibility that the lists of exempted obligations in the charters might be incomplete. Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce*, 12.

unclear. The ducal demands must have depended on the region and time of year. Much more apparent was the beginning of the process of replacing a number of secular lords with an ecclesiastical. There is no reason to argue that the liberties aimed at freeing the peasants from the obligations rendered to a superior power and improving their standard of living.<sup>515</sup> One can suspect that the duke's officials who toured the countryside had to respect the same restrictions as those that applied to the duke. It was the bishop of Krakow who could now appropriate the renounced customary rights of the secular barons, buttress the prestige of the episcopal authority and improve communication in the diocese.

One of the ducal prerogatives renounced during the early thirteenth-century negotiations between the Polish dukes and the archbishop demands particular attention. On December 29, 1215, Innocent III confirmed a privilege that gave the ecclesiastical tenants liberty from providing the secular lords with hunting traps and probably battue (*nastawa*).<sup>516</sup> This service had an obvious relation to traditional prerogatives exercised by the duke and those who claimed baronial status. Hunting was undoubtedly an indication of superior power. It is not coincidental that another bishop who was particularly active in secular politics and attempted to advance episcopal lordship did not avoid this important attribute of power. Bishop Paul participated in hunting, an activity that generated criticism, but only in the context of the episcopal office in which spiritual

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<sup>515</sup> As Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce*, 80-82, has pointed out, the assumption that the bishops managed their territories in less exploitive and more rational manner than their secular counterparts find little evidence. Neither the ecclesiastical nor lay lords aimed at the irreparable exhaustion of their resources. But both exploited the land for profit and prestige. One might doubt that a long-term perspective always determined their treatment of peasants.

<sup>516</sup> KDKK, no. 10, 14-15; Potthast, no. 5016, 322.

and temporal powers needed to find acceptable proportions.<sup>517</sup> The special status of the episcopal castellanies was particularly beneficial for ecclesiastical claims to the privileges of fishing and hunting. In those districts the bishop was recognized as a temporal lord with ducal and knightly rights (*ius ducale et militare*).<sup>518</sup> Hunting was a worldly preoccupation, a spectacle of lords in control of their environment. If the bishops held courts, castles, the routines of officials and even military force, the traditional ducal rights related to hunting were a valuable additional manifestation of the extension of potential power.

Neither the extensive patronage of monasteries and local churches nor the reform campaign led by Kietlicz resulted in immediate episcopal lordship with the bishops' complete jurisdictional and economic control of the land. The papal letter to Polish church leaders from 1227 has not attracted enough attention in historiography, although it provides valuable insight into the persisting tension as to the factual ability of the bishops of Krakow to prevent secular power from enforcing its customary prerogatives. Pope Gregory IX responded to reports of Leszek's abuses of ecclesiastical property. The pope

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<sup>517</sup> Długosz explicitly criticizes Paul for particular fondness for hunting that resulted in the negligence of his episcopal duties and even the accidental death of a man. See DA VII, 175-176, 183 and "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich. Katalog Długosza," in MPHsn, ed. Józef Szymański (Warsaw, 1974), 10:181. According to Władysław Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski, 1266-1292," *Nasza Przyszłość* 9 (1959): 238-240, Długosz drew these stories from later traditions, some pertaining to Bishop Jan Muskata, rather than to Paul, and they seem unjustly exaggerated.

<sup>518</sup> The privileges of Duke Bolesław for the bishopric assured the bishops' exclusive exploitation of land in select episcopal districts that held the status of episcopal castellanies. KDKK, no. 41, 55-57; no. 59, 74-75. Despite the lack of its legal definition the term *ius ducale* has been understood as referring to public burdens exacted on behalf of the ruling duke and his right to exercise justice and enjoy customary prerogatives. See Karol Modzelewski, "The system of the *ius ducale* and the idea of feudalism," *Quaestiones Mediae Aevi* 1 (1977): 74, 90. *Ius militare* emphasized the correlation between the ownership of the land, power over dependent peasants and liberty from most obligations to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. An estate that was acquired through inheritance carried exemptions from taxes and services related to the defense of the duke's realm but also imposed the obligation to assist the ruler with horses. Karol Buczek, "Prawo rycerskie i powstanie stanu szlacheckiego w Polsce," *Przegląd Historyczny* 69 (1978): 36-40.

ordered the bishop of Wrocław, the abbot of the Cistercians of Lubiąż and the provost of the see of Kamień to restrain the duke from burdening ecclesiastical tenants with four specific services that had not been mentioned in the recent privileges for the see of Krakow.<sup>519</sup> The problem has been seen as a mere misunderstanding of ducal rights by reformist clerics who may have had unreasonable expectations about the duke whom they had supported during the civil war for Krakow.<sup>520</sup> An analysis of the problem from the perspective of episcopal lordship can offer a different interpretation. One issue requires particular attention: if Leszek was opposed for exacting peasants' obligations that he had not formally abolished on an earlier occasion, he must have frequently abused the existing prerogative without prior negotiations and proper justification. There is no indication that any group of local cultivators had been permanently exempted from participation in war campaigns, assisting in guarding and policing towns or paying taxes for the maintenance of garrisons (*stroza*), providing horses for transport (*podwody*) and food supplies (*powolowe*) to the ducal court. It is difficult to believe that the Krakovian prelates would have sought papal intervention and pressure on the duke merely because of an abstract reformist notion of church liberties if there had not been a serious violation of customary obligations mainly related to the security of the duchy.

During the tenure of Bishop Ivo, the see tolerated those crucial ducal prerogatives, especially as Leszek's close ally, as long as they did not place particularly heavy burdens on the cultivators of the ecclesiastical land. One can argue that the necessity to shield the

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<sup>519</sup> KDKK, no. 18, 25-26: "Uenerabilis frater noster.. Episcopus et dilecti filij Capitulum Cracouiense suam ad nos transmisere querelam. quod Nobis uir. L. Dux Polonie hominess ipsorum angarijs et perangarijs ac alijs exactionibus que Poduode. Stozza. et Pouoloue uulgariter appellantur. aggrauans et affligens. ut sumat occasionem spoliandj eos. ipsis expeditionis indicit. alias libertatem ecclesie multipliciter confundento in ipsorum et Cracouiensis ecclesie preiudicium et grauamen." BP, no. 225, 50; Potthast I, no. 7912, 387.

<sup>520</sup> Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny*, 185.

peasants from ducal authority arose only with Leszek's continuous military campaigns that put more pressure on the diocese's resources. It is important to note that the papal intervention took place shortly after long war campaigns and many years of military activity in Ruthenia and Prussia. Leszek could not have allowed himself to favor Ivo's peasants and remove the duke's last serious attributes of economic power from the estates held by the bishopric. From Leszek's perspective there was no compelling reason to restrain ducal power at a time of pressing military and economic needs.

The idea of exempting ecclesiastical peasants from services related to the defense of the country became precarious when the bishops did not hold castles on their own. The see's holdings and liberties required physical protection. The towns of Kielce, Tarsk and Hża that Leszek transferred to the bishopric were not fortified for another century.<sup>521</sup> Also not fortified was Sławków, which became an episcopal property only after the donation of the town by Bolesław the Chaste to the see of Krakow.<sup>522</sup> It must be stressed that the bishops' agricultural tenants who raised or repaired the duke's fortifications and assisted his military campaigns ultimately contributed to the security of the bishopric. It is important to note that the first strongholds that gradually came under episcopal authority were built by Henry the Bearded after Leszek the White's death. The factual military capacity of the bishopric increased only during the tenure of Bishop Muskata when he exercised power on behalf of the Bohemian monarchy. Only the apparent abusive exploitation of the local population by an unpopular secular authority to pacify

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<sup>521</sup> KDKK, no. 17, 25; KDM 2, no. 481, 135-137.

<sup>522</sup> KDKK, no. 88, 120-121.

the country by military means led to discernible protests.<sup>523</sup> The existence of the ducal prerogatives that Leszek had never renounced was not the object of Ivo's concern. A much more important and complicated matter was the ability to properly balance the benefits of ducal protection with its cost.

Pope Gregory's letter to the Polish prelates in 1227 revealed a particular problem but not a crisis in the relations between ducal and episcopal authorities in Little Poland. Perhaps it would have required a new set of negotiations that Bishop Ivo did not have time to arrange. The duke died half a year later and the perspective of accepting a duke with an infamous record of bad relations with reformist ecclesiastical circles created an opportunity to redefine the spheres of territorial control. The bishopric sought additional guarantees that the incoming Władysław Laskonogi, who already ruled Great Poland with unquestionable superiority over clerical elites in his own inherited province, would not continue the ruinous exploitation of local populations.

Władysław's confirmation and extension of his predecessor's privileges for the bishopric of Krakow pertained to the fundamental elements of territorial control. The new duke's actions require a fresh analysis to explain Ivo's acceptance of secular exploitation of rural population even in ecclesiastical estates. The continuation of certain military services in ducal forces was beneficial for both authorities, as it had been during the rule of Leszek the White. A frontal attack on this fundamental attribute of secular power was unthinkable and Bishop Ivo, despite reformist tendencies, was not a Gregorian revolutionary. One of the two charters that Władysław issued on March 23 1228 as a

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<sup>523</sup> One of the most resented aspects of Duke Conrad's rule in Little Poland was the forced labor that the ambitious duke imposed on the local population to strengthen the fortifications of the castles under his control. In 1244 the Polish prelates excommunicated Conrad for the damages he inflicted on the see of Krakow. See DA VII, 46-47.

price for his acceptance in Krakow lists the specific obligations of the peasants on ecclesiastical estates that the duke of Great Poland had decided to renounce.<sup>524</sup> Negotiations released the bishopric from a few levies and services pertaining to policing local communities (*pesi slad* and *stroza*) but not from the *podwody* and military service.<sup>525</sup> The bishop was fully equipped to organize the policing of settlements in ecclesiastical districts. The ancient prerogative of secular rulers to demand some forms of military service from general population demanded a careful approach. The dilemma was considerable. The bishop of Krakow could not uncritically accept the heavy burden required by military duty. Nor could he insist on complete liberty from this kind of customary obligation. One should note that Władysław Laskonogi promised to guard the traditional order that might be changed only to bring improvements and under divine inspiration.<sup>526</sup> Bishop Ivo welcomed an opportunity to impose new restrictions on ducal authority, but avoided the demands that could destabilize secular power or lead to an

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<sup>524</sup> Although Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny w dobrach kościoła w Polsce*, 185, rightly pointed out that the charters may have itemized the obligations only as examples, it is difficult to accept his argument that the preservation of the duties of the ecclesiastical peasants in regard to military campaigns was not part of the negotiations with the bishopric and reveals the failure of the ecclesiastical authorities to sufficiently press the accessing duke for concessions. A different duke, Bolesław the Chaste, explicitly abolished them on a much later date. Matuszewski ignored the fact that the renewal of privileges granted by the new ruler's predecessors was a common practice. It is more probable that the duty to assist the duke with transport and participation in war campaigns that the Apostolic See expected Władysław to abolish were too crucial for the defense of the country as well as too costly to ignore them in the official charter of privileges.

<sup>525</sup> KDKK, no. 20, 28. "Pesi slad" has contested meaning. According to Stanisław Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek* (Warsaw, 1881), 146, 440, the term referred to dog battue. Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny*, 186, prefers to see it as "foot track," but does not offer a theory as to its exact meaning. The problem lays in the transcription of the word *pesi*. As it stands, it is meaningless in Polish. Its spelling must be altered to mean either foot or dog. Richard Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław* (Philadelphia, 1989), 51, identifies "slad" as an aid to track thieves, rendered to the ducal authority by peasants in their localities. From the context of the charter the latter seems more probable.

<sup>526</sup> KDKK, no. 19, 26. In the charter one reads: "I wish to preserve the church in all these lands [Little Poland], where it had been diffused, in its possessions that it owns as acquired on the ground of old custom, or liberties granted by my brother, deceased Duke Leszek, untouched; with the exception of what I will like, with inspiration from God, to multiply and extend."

open conflict with the duke. Negotiations and compromise were the best solution. Władysław's concessions were after all "inspirante domino" and thus did not diminish ducal prestige. The duke's generosity to the bishopric of Krakow exemplifies a general practice of exchanging strict territorial control for a manifestation of power.

Ivo, the duke of Great Poland and Grzymisława, the mother of the legitimate young heirs to the Duchy of Krakow, all negotiated a new delineation of the secular and ecclesiastical spheres of territorial control that were easily acceptable for both ecclesiastical and secular sides. The charters produced at the assembly of Cienia in 1228 were a workable compromise. Władysław was gaining support among the elites of Little Poland in exchange for the limitations of his lesser prerogatives in a diocese that was not even part of his hereditary duchy. The absence of references to all the obligations that Pope Gregory IX had expected the duke to abolish did not represent a failure of episcopal ambitions. For the bishopric of Krakow the few concessions were already another step towards the full exclusion of secular power from ecclesiastical holdings.

The voluntary renunciation of power in land that formally belonged to religious institutions was a potent ideological method to stress legitimate authority and pretensions to leadership during a prolonged succession crisis in Krakow. It was not coincidental that at exactly the same time, Grzymisława, the widow of Leszek the White, who still expressed pretensions to the highest authority in the Polish realm through the usage of the title *ducissa Poloniae* and thus rivaled Władysław, granted the Cistercians of Jędrzejów extensive immunities. She even renounced her claims to extract labor and services from the free peasants who customarily fell under secular jurisdiction. The privilege included the liberty from the obligations that Duke Władysław officially retained as a new duke of

Little Poland. She renounced the ducal prerogatives pertaining to military and security matters, such as forcing the local population to build forts, maintain guards in towns and supply transportation for the ducal court, not to mention the reduction of the legal power of the local castellan who could no longer act independently of the ducal court and summon the defendants to their castles without prior consultation with the duke.<sup>527</sup> In this way Grzymiśława demonstrated particular confidence and the will to more evenly distribute power between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Grzymiśława's charter did not guarantee complete immunity from secular interference. Its importance for future relations between the bishops of Krakow and secular rulers lay in the concept of pious magnificence that sacrificed ducal power to prove its very existence. The privilege was a grand expression of power entrenched in piety. Grzymiśława signaled her role as a leading patron and offered the bishopric a chance to build new territorial enclaves outside ducal authority. The conflicts over the succession in Little Poland allowed the bishops of Krakow to demand restrictions of the customary lay prerogatives. The new regulations were able to protect the peasants, even those who were not legally bound to ecclesiastical estates, against a number of traditional obligations due to the secular authority. Those gains appeared nevertheless limited in character.

The major tasks that the see of Krakow faced after the assembly at Cienia and Grzymiśława's privilege were to negotiate a detailed and unconditional liberty from secular power, regardless of the status of the grantor. The exemptions from selected services restricted the power of the local lords more than that of the duke. The bishops had to eliminate the most crucial ducal prerogatives in their estates in order to lay solid foundations for an episcopal territorial lordship. They could claim full power over the

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<sup>527</sup> KDM 1, no. 11, 17.

peasants who tilled their land if the secular power did not make any reservations in regard to time and the social categories of the inhabitants of ecclesiastical land. Above all, the bishops needed to remove those peasants from ducal justice. The decisive protection of episcopal property, the patronage of well-organized religious communities, the reduction of power centers to the ducal and episcopal courts, and the elimination of major customary obligations to the secular authorities initiated a process of creating autonomous areas controlled by the exclusive lordship of the bishops. The bishopric sought new methods of controlling episcopal property without jeopardizing relatively amicable relations with the dukes. The bishops were forced to become a new and only source of power with the exclusive right to judge and punish. A close analysis of the delineation of legal prerogatives of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities illustrates the difficult process of transferring jurisdictional powers from the duke to the bishop in urban and rural communities. Alienation of land to the bishopric had to be accompanied by the alienation of all temporal powers over its inhabitants. With the accession of Kazimir's grandson, Bolesław the Chaste, to the Duchy of Krakow negotiations over the legal status of the peasants became particularly intensive.

## **B. Changing Notions of Episcopal Jurisdiction in an Era of Economic Expansion**

The second half of the thirteenth century broadened the area of exclusion of secular authority in the territories within the borders of the diocese of Krakow. The legal means of controlling local populations in rural and urban environments undergoing demographic and economic changes accompanied the ongoing process of elimination of ducal exactions of any type in ecclesiastical estates. This problem should be studied from

two perspectives. The first concerns the extraordinary intensification of the liberation of existing episcopal holdings from the enforcement of obligations related to the duke's physical presence within ecclesiastical territory and his military needs. The novelty of the new privileges lay in their inclusion of free cultivators with their own patrimonial land in the bishops' exclusive authority, as well as the dukes' complete resignation from their prerogatives pertaining to military activity except those related to security in strategically important areas. The second perspective pertains to jurisdictional claims in urban centers and village settlements. Secular and episcopal authorities competed in areas where new rural communities were emerging or old settlements, urban and rural, were undergoing reorganization according to German law.<sup>528</sup> The right to settle colonists ensured the expansion of the lord's jurisdiction and offered a new means of patronage. Authorities with financial and organizational capacities negotiated new principles of exacting dues and the enforcement of justice. Full legal control of those territories with economically valuable settlements lent the bishops the practical advantages of territorial control.

The extraordinary concessions the bishopric obtained from the dukes had certain limitations. These privileges, despite their generous scope, did not suffice to create fully sovereign episcopal principalities. They retained elements of ducal jurisdiction and continued to emphasize the ultimate authority of the dukes of Krakow. In many instances the negotiations over power pertained only to specific aspects of public interaction and produced a complicated web of shared jurisdiction, where power, lordship and church liberty were not definitively delineated between ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The

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<sup>528</sup> Law of the Germans (*ius Teutonicum*) regulated immigrants' land tenure, their legal status in the realm of the lord who had provided land for colonization and their complete dependence on seigneurial courts of justice. See Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland*, 193, 228-229.

dukes offered the bishops a partnership with an element of inequality. The reservation of a few elements of military prerogatives, the highest justice, and a number of fiscal rights eliminated the possibility of exercising effective territorial lordship without the military capacity to compensate legal limitations.

In the 1250's Duke Bolesław, often with his mother Duchess Grzymislava, granted the see of Krakow privileges that freed peasants who tilled episcopal land from all crucial services accompanying the traditional hunting, transport and visitation rights of the ducal court. The charter, which was issued in Oględowiec in 1252, confirmed at the council of Chrobierz two years later and substantially expanded at Zawichost in 1254, was particularly important for the restriction of ducal rights in ecclesiastical villages in the entire diocese of Krakow.<sup>529</sup> Besides receiving confirmation of the abolition of a levy in kind, Bishop Prandota and his cathedral chapter obtained for those peasants without solid rights of inheritance and bound to episcopal land immunity from supplying transportation for the duke and his deputies (*powoz*), even during war campaigns (*przewod rycerski*), exemption from contributing to patrolling villages, and freedom from hosting (*stacja* and *stan*) the entourage which accompanied hunting expeditions. Additionally, the canons of the cathedral chapter received the right to exempt all their bound laborers and a small number of free peasants with patrimonial estates from any personal service to the duke. The see's responsibility to maintain the duke's hunting parties was reduced to providing food for two people with two dogs. It is important to stress that the duke himself reserved the right to the peasants' hospitality and transport once a year in episcopal castellanies and to impose a special plow levy (*poradlnie*) in

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<sup>529</sup> The original charter has not survived. Its text can be reconstructed from the confirmation of the privilege in 1254. See KDKK, no. 41, 55-56; no. 42, 57-59; KDKK, no. 35, 45, and the editor's commentary.

emergency cases.<sup>530</sup> Bolesław's pledge to prevent hunting in the bishop's forests and limit his presence in them to brief transit enforced the notion of an autonomous episcopal territory, where ducal authority became the only secular authority, self-restricted by its own generosity, with residual rights in the area.

Through the reservations Bolesław attempted to retain the last reminders of the ultimate and just ducal rulership in ecclesiastical estates. He reinstated legitimate and generous secular power in Krakow after the abuses of power associated with his predecessor, Duke Conrad of Mazovia. The privileges abolished the presence of many elements of ducal power in episcopal territories. One should also see the 1252 charter as a response to Prandota's expectation to transform a temporary privilege with duration limited to Władysław's lifetime into a permanent liberty. In the charter Bolesław not only recalls his father's contribution to the wellbeing of the church that had found support from the local baronage, but also obligates his successors to observe all approved privileges. The duke initiated the practice of assuring the ecclesiastical beneficiary that the privileges would not expire with the death of the grantor.

The declaration of perpetual restriction of secular power in ecclesiastical districts indicated an irreversible change in their legal status due to the duke's power of self-restraint. This power, by Bolesław's act, became an attribute of secular authority in abstract form rather than a product of the personal will of a single ruler. The privileges continued to mark the superior position of the duke in defining the extension of secular

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<sup>530</sup> KDKK, no. 41, 55-57. The charter specified the obligation of feeding two men with their dogs only in the episcopal castellanies where the duke would rest during his tour. The ducal authority retained the obligation of defending the country against pagans, even in regard to monastic centers with extensive immunities. In the charter from 1250 that granted the Cistercians at Szczyrzyce immunity from most common services and levies, Duke Bolesław did not remove the duty to assist him in campaigns against invading pagans and other aggressors. See KDM 1, no. 31, 37.

power. In order to ease the burden of ducal authority without losing direct contact with the ecclesiastical territories, Bolesław focused on the demands of local lords acting in his name. The release from the obligation to provide room and board to the representatives of the highest authority was another device for removing the intermediate authority between the secular court and the see.

In the charters issued in 1255, 1257 and 1258 Bolesław extended the immunity of cultivators in ecclesiastical districts. The new privileges expanded the demographic scope of the earlier charters and permanently diminished the dependent status of the peasants in relation to secular authorities. The first two charters extended the liberty from furnishing transport and guides for the ducal court and troops (*powoz* and *przewod*) and from lodging the duke's envoys (*stan*) to free peasants with patrimonial estates, who had been traditionally less dependent on episcopal land and authority. Bolesław's only reservation pertained to transportation necessitated by military campaigns, such as food, captives and precious metals (*przewod rycerski*).<sup>531</sup> In 1258 the council of Sandomierz produced a charter in which the duke resigned from any reservations and liberated all the inhabitants of current ecclesiastical castellanies, as well as of the see's future acquisitions, from maintaining his own visitation during tours of the country (*stacja*).<sup>532</sup> This privilege represented a crucial extension of bishop's rights to all inhabitants of ecclesiastical land.

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<sup>531</sup> KDKK, no.43, 60-61 and KDM 1, no. 57, 68-69, respectively.

<sup>532</sup> KDKK, no. 59, 74-75. Stanisław Krzyżanowski, "Dyplomy Bolesława Wstydlwego dla katedry krakowskiej. Przyczynek do dyplomatyki polskiej w XIII.," in *Pamiętnik Akademii Umiejętności* (Krakow, 1890), 8:118. The extension of the immunities to the possessions that might come to an ecclesiastical institution in the future was exceptional. No duke prior to Bolesław the Chaste felt sufficiently secure in Krakow to allow the growth of an ecclesiastical institution without a safety reservation.

One can argue that Bolesław did not intend to transfer the practical elements of his lordship to the bishop of Krakow, but that he rather assumed full fiscal and administrative responsibilities for the defense of the diocese, including estates that had become ecclesiastical property, as well as safeguarding his superior position in the power structure with the usual insistence on maintaining peasants' duty to provide essential services for the defense of the country. The charter from April 1255 reveals this rearrangement of prerogatives. According to it, the duke freed the bishopric from assisting the guards of ducal castles, but expected the ecclesiastical authorities to build and maintain two keeps in the two provincial capitals, Krakow and Sandomierz.<sup>533</sup> A month later Prandota obtained another charter, in which obligations related to the military attribute of power were to preserve a formal distinction between free peasants and bound tenants in the ecclesiastical estates. Bolesław sustained the obligation of the former to provide transportation for knights and war spoils while the bound peasantry on episcopal estates were released from it.<sup>534</sup> A similar process can be observed in specific territories under episcopal jurisdiction. In 1258 Duke Bolesław released them from the burden of military campaigns, with one important provision. The two frontier castellanies of the bishopric that were exposed to pagan attacks had to assist the duke in defending Little Poland against the invading Lithuanians.<sup>535</sup> In the border districts and strategically important settlements the bishops were still responsible for the protection of the province's territorial integration. Even towards the end of Bolesław's life the duke did

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<sup>533</sup> KDKK, no. 42, 58.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid., no. 43, 60-61.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., no. 59, 74-75. The 1259 charter that released the peasants of the castellany of Kielce from contributions to the regular policing of local towns (*stroza*) did not have direct impact on the defense of the region in times of emergency. See KDKK, no. 60, 76.

not release an episcopal village with extensive immunities, located to the north of Krakow, from assisting him in maintaining local fortifications, responding to his transport needs in time of war, and participating in the common defense of the country.<sup>536</sup> Bolesław's death did not alter the priorities of his successor. In 1284 Leszek the Black, despite a very extensive privilege for the collegiate church of Sandomierz, still emphasized the responsibility of the church to participate in the defense of the region, which was exposed to Ruthenian and Tartar incursions.<sup>537</sup> The bishopric obtained new liberties from the duke who was required to spend more of his own resources to fulfill his role of a reliable and effective protector of the church and of people in lands under its ownership. The highest secular power in the duchy still insisted on imposing the last marks of ducal prerogatives on the general population, especially in episcopal estates with the duke as the only guarantor of the privileged status of the bishopric of Krakow.

The bishops required unrestricted power to judge and penalize their tenants in ecclesiastical courts in order to assure the full protection of ecclesiastical territories against secular lords. The negotiations of power had to extend beyond the general declarations of the grand privileges issued by competing dukes during the struggle for Krakow in the early thirteenth century. The famous privilege of 1215 did not assure a permanent and unquestionable jurisdiction of episcopal lordship because of its general rhetoric and the limitation of its duration to one generation of dukes who attended the assemblies organized by Archbishop Kietlicz. In 1215 the bishopric received legal immunity for all tenants in ecclesiastical villages, including those who lived on hereditary estates and enjoyed extensive property on ancestral land. The bull first mentions "the

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<sup>536</sup> KDKK, no. 81, 108-110.

<sup>537</sup> KDM 1, no. 104, 125-126.

villages of the Church and their tenants” that would enjoy the privilege of liberty. As a matter of clarification as to whom precisely the episcopal courts had the right to judge, the text identifies “the people of the church residing in their patrimonial land.”<sup>538</sup> There is no solid evidence, therefore, for arguing, as has been done in the past, that the privilege must have exclusively pertained only to the peculiar category of peasants (*ascriptitii*) who had been historically attached to the ecclesiastical estates by the Piast rulers at the time of investing the episcopal sees with land.<sup>539</sup> It should rather be argued that in 1215 at Wolborz the dukes assured the exemption of all peasants who had the right to occupy and transfer the land that they received through the rules of family inheritance, but they could exercise that right only within the area of ecclesiastical territory. In this

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<sup>538</sup> The relevant text of the privilege reads as follows: “Inde est quare nos promittimus et iuramus domino Henrico Polonorum archiepiscopo et successoribus ipsius, omnibus suffraganeis eius et etiam successoribus suffraganeorum, quod ab hac hora in antea quoad vixerimus volumus custodire immunitatem Ecclesie Dei, ne ullum dispendium per nos vel per nostros patiat, sed ville ecclesiarum et incole ipsarum omnimode gaudeant privilegio libertatis. Est itaque primum quod statuimus et custodiri volumus: ne quis hominum ecclesie inhabitans patrimonium, alias ad iudicium quam coram ipsius ecclesie prelato, vel coram suo iudice iudicandus petrahatur.” KDKK, no. 10, 14-15; Potthast I, no. 5016, 322. Roman Grodecki has unreasonably argued that the dukes referred only to those peasants that had been attached to the ecclesiastical land because one of the four dukes who had been present at Wolborz and fully cooperated with Kietlicz later issued a similar privilege for the archbishopric of Gniezno in which only the *ascriptici* fell under paramount ecclesiastical jurisdiction. See Grodecki, 75. In similar fashion, Józef Matuszewski, *Immunitet ekonomiczny*, 197, has pointed out that the legal distinction between the dependent peasantry and free landowners persisted until Bolesław the Chaste’s great privilege for the bishopric in 1258.

<sup>539</sup> In terms of legal status the *ascripticii* represented the middle category between slaves and free peasants. Like later serfs their mobility was restricted by formal attachment to the land of their lord. This crucial restriction of personal freedom also produced a fundamental difference between them and the slaves. The legal ties to the land allowed the former to preserve their basic hereditary rights to the estates under their cultivation and crucial personal liberties like property rights to movable goods and, most importantly, legal identity in ducal courts, later transferred to episcopal jurisdiction along with the territories granted to ecclesiastical institutions. For the *ascripticii* as a separate legal category, see Roman Grodecki “Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski XIII wieku,” in *Polska piastowska* (Warsaw, 1969), 335-336. Also see Stanisław Arnold, *Władztwo biskupie na grodzie wolborskim w XIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1968), 48. Stanisław Krakowski, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce w służbie książąt* (Warsaw, 1956), 83, has considered the *ascripticii* as a guarantee that ecclesiastical authorities were not deprived of tithes, because prior to the practice of investing bishoprics with land tithes were first collected by secular rulers first and then transferred to cathedrals. Also see Michał Wyszynski, *Ze studjów nad historją dziesięciny w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Lwów, 1929), 23-24.

formulation, the bishop obtained the status of the highest lord with full legal rights to the inhabitants of ecclesiastical land.

The immunity grant contained, however, one problematic imprecision. It did not include new settlers and thus failed to anticipate the impact of economic expansion on power relations. It must be noted that the exemptions guaranteed by the assembly unintentionally forced the dukes to seek the recuperation of their power in the exploitation of new settlers. New opportunities were especially clear when economic expansion and migration produced a new category of settlers with ambiguous legal status. Jurisdiction and fiscal rights in new settlements required new sets of negotiations. In areas of insignificant immigration the great legal privileges created pockets of exempted small territories -- those villages owned by the see, where the bishop exercised full justice. The duke did not reserve the right to exercise his jurisdiction even over capital offenses related to the most serious crimes committed on immunized land. There was no longer dispute over whether the episcopal authority had the right to try and punish people living in areas formally belonging to the see, but the problem of consolidating those districts into compact episcopal territories remained, a task that was difficult to achieve as the thirteenth century would reveal.

The issue of the legal immunity of episcopal land and tenants did not become an object of serious negotiations again until the accession of Bolesław the Chaste to the Duchy of Krakow. Initially, the duke attempted to exercise appellate jurisdiction and the right to interfere in episcopal jurisdiction in special cases. The charter that renewed privileges for the cathedral of Krakow in 1252 provided precision to the terms under which the bishops' legal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical territories was to operate and

eliminated all alternative sources of justice to episcopal and ducal courts. In cases in which a peasant from an ecclesiastical estate was a defendant the trial fell under the bishop's jurisdiction.<sup>540</sup> In this way, the cultivators of the estates protected by immunity could ignore summons before all secular lords except the duke. In an attempt to remind the public as to the identity of the ultimate source of power, the duke still reserved for himself the right to hear all cases at will and provide the final judgment at his court.

The sources do not indicate that this reservation intended to encourage appeals from the ecclesiastical courts to those of the duke. Bolesław preferred to build a system in which there would be no legal authority except the duke and the bishop. Resistance and appeals to the duke against local castellans who attempted to exact customary levies became legal, as the privilege for the peasants in the castellany of Tarczek reveals.<sup>541</sup> Bolesław continued the general policy of his predecessors and insisted on close negotiations with the episcopal authority, where the ducal court was the only partner of the bishops in the local structures of authority. Negotiations at Sandomierz that were to restructure and clarify power relations in the diocese responded to the problem of executing justice on land that was not formally ducal property. The gains for the bishoprics at the negotiations were paramount. The Sandomierz privilege of 1258 explicitly transferred to the bishopric full legal power not only from the leading secular

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<sup>540</sup> KDKK, no. 42, 57-59.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid., no. 60, 76. It seems overstated that, as Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk has argued, legal immunities were the dukes' preferable and conscious method of diminishing the local power of the castellans. Kaczmarczyk, *Immunitet sądowy w dobrach Kościoła w Polsce do końca XIV wieku* (Poznań, 1936), 57-58, 70-71. There was a rebellion of some castellans against Duke Leszek the Black in 1285, but this should not be interpreted, as Paweł Żmudzki argues, as their collective decision to force the duke to abandon administrative reforms favoring districts centered on new settlements in colonized areas. See Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 424. The abolition of the fiscal rights of the castellans should rather be seen as the result of the reinstated claim of the duke to exercise the highest authority and the resulting elevated status of ecclesiastical institutions as the prime object of ducal patronage.

lords in ducal service such as the castellans, the provincial judges and palatine, but also from the duke himself, with no reservation in regard to the nature of crime or the category of the suspect.<sup>542</sup> The bishop gained full rights to provide legal protection for those who might have been unjustly accused and drew revenues from this fundamental prerogative.

Economic expansion, urbanization and internal colonization along with German migration and the adoption of specific organization of urban and rural settlements in the Polish duchies offered the bishops of Krakow new opportunities to extend their lordship in towns and remote communities in the countryside. These dynamic economic and demographic changes created the problem of defining personal dependence and enhancing power through new resources. The customary obligations and social stratification of free peasants and those who were attached to ecclesiastical estates appeared insufficient in the age of German immigration and mobile free Polish peasantry who sought the economic improvement offered by colonization.<sup>543</sup> Economic dynamics forced the bishops of Krakow to compete against secular authorities on new grounds, where the conditions of leasing and renting land, tax incentives and legal liability assured by written contracts defined the bonds of dependence. These bonds accompanied and complemented the already existent system of power relations unrelated to the ownership of land but pertaining to the historical authority of the Polish monarchy, eventually transferred ducal prerogatives to the legal owners of the estates.<sup>544</sup> As in the case of labor

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<sup>542</sup> KDKK, no. 59, 74-75.

<sup>543</sup> Karol Modzelewski, "The system of the *ius ducale* and the idea of feudalism," *Questiones Medii Aevi* 1 (1977): 96-97.

<sup>544</sup> The concept of the distinction between the rulers' rights originating in the traditional state prerogatives and disseminated among the agents of ducal authority and those that the dukes executed as a personal

and fiscal rights and obligations, legal jurisdiction was redefined to accommodate the autonomous prerogatives of settlers organizing themselves according to German law. Dukes and bishops delegated the majority of their judicial powers to the heads of migrant communities.<sup>545</sup> The lords who provided resources and land for colonization usually defined the extension of the legal competency of those *scuteti* and *advocati* in villages and towns in the contracts of settlement.

The bishopric had a greater chance to expand jurisdictional control in smaller settlements in the countryside than in towns. The situation of the bishops of Krakow was complicated only insofar as the duke insisted on claiming the highest judicial power in specific cases. Negotiations aimed to create a workable system of shared jurisdiction between secular and ecclesiastical authorities in areas experiencing new waves of immigrants. When the dukes wished to provide the see with full economic and legal immunity for colonized areas, they did so for the same reasons they made apparent concessions for any other segment of the rural population, religious communities and episcopal leadership during political crisis in Krakow: a voluntary resignation from power was a demonstration of power itself.

The bishops of Krakow could not rely on historical precedents to permanently secure complete legal jurisdiction over all peasants regardless of their origin. In the immunity grants the legal status of the future acquisitions of the see appeared ambiguous. The rulers of Little Poland considered the immigrants a separate category of tenants

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suzerain of the population confined to the areas reorganized by colonization projects has been extensively discussed by Karol Modzelewski, "The system of the *ius ducale* and the idea of feudalism," 74, 79, 87.

<sup>545</sup> For the urban origin of the organizers with jurisdictional powers in new villages, see Antoni Gąsiorowski, "Ze studiów nad szerzeniem się tzw. prawa niemieckiego na wsiach ziemi krakowskiej i sandomierskiej (do roku 1333)," *Roczniki Historyczne* 26 (1960): 161-163, 167.

whose exemption from ducal justice depended on current relations between secular and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the good will of the ducal court. The colonists in episcopal administrative districts were often the first group of peasants untied to the ecclesiastical estates, whom the dukes were willing to exempt from their jurisdiction. As early as 1227 Pope Gregory IX confirmed Duke Leszek the White's privilege for the German colonists who settled the episcopal castellanies of Kielce and Tarczek.<sup>546</sup> A charter provided by Duke Leszek the Black for the ecclesiastical castellany of Sławków in 1286 also advanced the autonomy of old episcopal districts. It is worth noting that the duke expanded the liberties of the local peasants in the context of confirming the reorganization of the town of Sławków by Bishop Paul that was intended to revitalize its market functions. The duke retained his jurisdiction only in military affairs and in the right to board once a year during hunting in the region.<sup>547</sup> The bishop, as the owner of the villages in the castellanies and a lord who had already acquired significant administrative liberties, accepted the responsibility of maintaining peace in those areas. Duke Leszek armed the bishopric with the main attributes of power in a specific territorial dimension. In the three districts the duke became the superior lord only in cases of emergency.

The bishops could not be certain that the ducal authority would follow the spirit of Bolesław's privileges, which failed to specify the legal rights of the secular power in new settlements accompanying general economic expansion. That the problem required clarification was revealed in 1272, in the context of Bolesław the Chaste's land donation to a canon of the cathedral of Krakow. The duke reserved for himself the right to

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<sup>546</sup> KDKK, no. 17, 25

<sup>547</sup> Ibid., no. 88, 120-123.

intervene at will in legal disputes originating in the villages settled by the colonists in the future. In doing so, the duke created a reservation to the exercise of justice.<sup>548</sup> The privilege could not, therefore, assure sovereignty for ecclesiastical territories. This clause was symptomatic of the evolution of episcopal and ducal prerogatives during internal colonization.

Bolesław's successor in Krakow, Leszek the Black, emphasized ducal authority as the only guarantor of the highest justice. In 1283, on the occasion of liberating the Cistercian monastery at Koprzywnica from all military-related duties, Bolesław allowed the monks to appeal to the ducal court from the judgments of local secular authorities.<sup>549</sup> In 1284 the duke introduced similar principles to legal relations in the institutions with secular clergy. The collegiate church in Sandomierz obtained the confirmation of all the possessions and the transfer of certain attributes of lordship such as the right to found new settlements and hunt in the forest within the perimeters of the land the canons held as their church's property. The legal prerogatives were divided between the duke and the collegiate chapter with the aim of underlining the ecclesiastical right to judge the local population except in extraordinary cases that demanded secular intervention, such as capital offenses and appeals from disputed judgments. The ducal authority interfered with the autonomous status of the collegiate community only when an outsider had been killed or when the secular court was in special need for the peasants' assistance.<sup>550</sup> The reservations pertained to unusual situations and thus stressed the theoretical superiority of

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<sup>548</sup> Ibid., no. 69, 94-95.

<sup>549</sup> KDM 2, no. 495, 153,

<sup>550</sup> Ibid., no. 499, no. 160-161.

the ducal power but guaranteed legal and economic liberties to an important ecclesiastical center in the diocese of Krakow.

There is no doubt that neither Leszek's privilege for episcopal castellanies nor Bolesław's own grant of 1258 appeared adequate to the new reality. The duke needed to reinstate the extraordinary status of his power with the potential ability to enforce justice. Only upon initial examination does the reservation appear an arbitrary decision of the highest secular authority. In fact, it should be viewed as the product of a compromise and a case of shared jurisdiction in new territories populated with free and mobile tenants. The duke claimed the right to judge only those capital cases that appeared to be important to his interests. It is impossible to determine how often Bolesław utilized this right in practice. One can argue that the duke merely stressed his potential power in a dynamically changing demographic and economic situation.

The high cost of the colonizing projects prevented the bishops from being in the vanguard of colonization and economic expansion. The see, nonetheless, organized new settlements with continual effectiveness, although on a relatively small scale. Clear indications of the efforts to buttress the episcopal authority with benefits from a market economy appeared during the tenure of Bishop Paul in the late 1260's. The bishop acted in accordance with the cathedral chapter. The see granted new settlements legal and economic privileges and explicitly required from them the German model of organization, although at least one of the founders of the colonies, who later served as the formal head of the new communities, was a Pole. The bishop was the highest lord of the colonists, but most legal cases were under the jurisdiction of their own court headed by

the original recruiter and settler.<sup>551</sup> The bishop, therefore, held in the new villages a similar status to that of the duke in areas colonized with ducal resources. Both accepted the extensive legal autonomy of the settlers under the condition that the ultimate justice fell under episcopal power. A similar process took place in more dispersed German settlements founded by the bishopric in the second half of the thirteenth century. The power structure rested on direct agreements between bishops and the *sculteti* or *advocati* who practically organized new villages on the behalf of the see of Krakow.<sup>552</sup> However, the lack of consolidation of the colonized areas into large districts mimicking castellanies undermined the importance of the episcopal liberties benefiting from migration and economic expansion.

Intensive economic activity placed enormous pressure on episcopal resources, which often appeared inadequate to form new settlements and reorganize market towns. Negotiations with the dukes' cooperation were essential to retain the see's economic prosperity and expand its control over a new segment of the population. Changes in rural economy and urban social space shaped by migration and settlement, organized on the principles of market economy, became one of the crucial stages of the negotiations of power between the ecclesiastical leadership and the dukes. The bishops faced challenges from the reorganization of landed property and ducal jurisdiction within the towns. Despite its benefits for episcopal power, the bishops' control of urban space could do no more than complement ecclesiastical authority in the already existent territorial enclaves held as ducal grants by the bishops. The elimination of the dukes' power remained

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<sup>551</sup> KDKK, no. 67, 92; no. 76, 102-103. The headmen of the new villages (*soltysi*) were Radosc and Zachary.

<sup>552</sup> KDKK, no. 67, 92; no. 76, 102-103; no. 87, 119-120.

temporary as long as the bishopric did not fortify parts of the diocese and rival other lords in military capacity. The limited resources of the bishopric and the direct presence of ducal authority did not allow the bishop to launch financially demanding projects of reorganization of areas that constituted episcopal property and colonization of them with immigrants. An increase in property holdings and an influx of clerical and monastic population were the only opportunities to preserve episcopal authority in the main urban centers of the diocese.

Even the cathedral town of Krakow did not provide suitable ground for episcopal lordship on a municipal level. Its early property structure does not allow one to assume that the bishops claimed compact districts within the city walls.<sup>553</sup> The foundation of churches and monastic communities was intended to increase the ecclesiastical presence in the urban social fabric and political structures. It was the landed property, not the juridical rights that the bishops had more liberty in managing. When the first Dominicans arrived in Krakow with Bishop Ivo in 1222, their residence demanded a grant of land. The monks appropriated the older church of the Holy Trinity that may have belonged to the bishopric. A monastic compound required, however, a larger lot and the Dominicans' real estate came into being as a result of cooperation between all leading authorities within the town.<sup>554</sup> The Order of Preachers was not, of course, the

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<sup>553</sup> Stanisław Zachorowski, "Kraków biskupi," *Rocznik Krakowski* 8 (1906): 108-110; 112-119, has pointed out that Krakow had a particularly complex structure of landed property, where besides ducal and episcopal lots, many monastic and collegiate communities held some, mostly ill-defined, real estates. His attempt to reconstruct the bishops' original districts according to particular concentration of oldest churches and lots purchased by the cathedral falls into the category of mere speculation. The sources do not prove that by 1257, when Krakow was formally refounded by Duke Bolesław the Chaste, the bishopric possessed any specific quarter of the town with separate episcopal jurisdiction.

<sup>554</sup> RKK, 802; "Rocznik Krasińskich," MPH, 3:132; Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 449. In his chronicle Długosz wrote that in 1222 Bishop Ivo "having consulted in this matter the duke of Krakow and Sandomierz, Leszek the White, the [cathedral] chapter and magistrates of Krakow, assigned the church of

only element of the bishops' concern in Krakow. It is interesting that the second oldest parish church in Krakow was also built with the assistance of Bishop Ivo.<sup>555</sup> As in the case of the Dominican property, the origin of the Saint Mary church only suggests the existence of larger estates owned by the see in area. The transfer of the hospital of the Holy Spirit from the village of Prądnik to the Church of the Holy Spirit in Krakow in 1223 presents the same ambiguity.<sup>556</sup> The ducal patronage of the Franciscans and the Canons of Saint Augustine who received their own churches and cloisters within the town must have been a noticeable counterbalance to the bishop's activity.<sup>557</sup> The administrative relocation of the town by Duke Bolesław the Chaste in 1257 failed to establish a quarter where the bishopric could exercise paramount jurisdiction. The charter of the foundation of the new town of Krakow protects only a few fiscal rights of the bishop, including tithes, rents from already existent ecclesiastical fields and mills, all in a specific area north of the existing town, along the Prądnik River, now within the new municipal borders. The duke also forbade the town from offering refuge to peasants who were legally bound to ecclesiastical estates.<sup>558</sup> The bishop was not a partner in the enterprise of creating in Krakow a new community with substantial economic and legal privileges. The new settlers were to provide revenues to the duke. There is no clause

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the Holy Trinity, which was the original, first parish, and a specious place for a monastery and workshops to the brothers of Saint Dominic." DA VI, 234-235. Also see Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, "Założenie klasztoru oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie," *Rocznik Krakowski* 20 (1926): 15-18.

<sup>555</sup> DA VI, 234-235.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*, 236-237.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 279; VII, 115.

<sup>558</sup> KmK I, no. 1, 1-3.

about benefiting the bishopric from new economic activities noted in the charters, such as rents from new houses, shops and mills.

While in Krakow the success of the bishopric was considerably limited, the bishops had even less control over urban space in the other capitol town of Little Poland. At Sandomierz, the bishopric provided the Dominicans with a new monastic complex that included a separate church.<sup>559</sup> In Duke Leszek the Black's reorganization of property and legal rights in Sandomierz in 1286 there was no special place for an episcopal district. The charter of the reorganization of the settlement focuses on the power relations between the ducal and municipal authorities, their mutual rights and obligations, including the division of revenues from exercising justice and the military service of the local *advocatus*. Within the parameters of the located town Bishop Paul and the local collegiate church in Sandomierz merely obtained the right to construct taverns and collect rents.<sup>560</sup> Because the entire project fell under ducal prerogatives, the bishop was not even in a position to negotiate a formal agreement to collect tithes from those who were occupying the lots of a new district assigned for the town's formal location.

The monastic communities offered an additional religious structure in the main urban center of eastern Little Poland. They were compelled to rely upon the highest authorities in the two duchies of Little Poland to work and survive in a municipal environment. All the new religious foundations in the provincial capitols allowed the

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<sup>559</sup> "Katalogi biskupów krakowskich," 60; DA VI, 245-246; Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 454.

<sup>560</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Polski*, vol. 3, no. 63, 141-147.

bishops to mark their presence in urban space.<sup>561</sup> It is difficult to imagine, however, that the dukes felt compelled to create special zones of formal ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all the places where the bishops held land. Neither Krakow nor Sandomierz, despite the strong presence of episcopal property and administrative institutions, had been partitioned into secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictional zones.

The bishopric also benefited from the new economic privileges that monastic centers in Little Poland were receiving in the form of ducal patronage. The settlements organized by the Cistercian monasteries that enjoyed episcopal patronage quickly became the vanguard of the changes brought by the German legal traditions and contributed to the demographic and economic growth of regions where the bishopric might form new parishes and collect taxes. In 1251 Bolesław the Chaste released German colonists in the monastic possession of the Cistercians of Szczyrzyc from ducal jurisdiction.<sup>562</sup> In 1268 he granted the Cistercian monastery at Koprzywnica the right to locate the very village of Koprzywnica according to the organization of the new city of Krakow that had been refounded more than a decade earlier.<sup>563</sup> On April 23 1273 Bishop Paul, who had witnessed the Koprzywnica grant, personally confirmed the same type of privilege for the Cistercian community at Jędrzejów that the ducal authority had issued two years earlier.<sup>564</sup> In an area closer to Krakow, in the district of Prandocin, Duke Bolesław permitted the Cistercians of Mogilno to settle new colonists with all the liberties provided

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<sup>561</sup> The papacy recognized that the dependence of the Dominican Order on episcopal aid was beneficial and necessary. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV listed Bishop Prandota among those episcopal leaders who should provide patronage to the Preachers. ZDKiDK I, no. 7, 9-11. See also Potthast II, no. 11878, 1008.

<sup>562</sup> KDM I, no. 37, 42

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 77, 93-94.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 84, 101-102.

by German law.<sup>565</sup> The four areas became privileged economic zones where the bishop could mark his presence through the collection of tithes.

Bolesław the Chaste's successor in Krakow, Leszek the Black, preferred to specify the settlers' obligations to ducal authority and ensure their military duty. He had no reason to consider the colonists the exclusive subjects of those whose land they were settling. The duke could not impose all the traditional obligations on the immigrating peasants in ecclesiastical territories without risking an open conflict with the bishopric that had already enjoyed extensive liberties. One can observe the tendency to create a compromise in which the colonists' legal liberty would be constrained merely on the highest level of ducal justice. Monastic communities were a testing ground for the duke's ability to retain jurisdictional superiority. Leszek's grants to the Benedictine monastery at Tyniec illustrates the negotiation of power in new economic circumstances. The duke agreed to eliminate the legal rights of the local castellan and divided legal jurisdiction between the autonomous court of the settlers and the ducal court, which was to process only select, legal cases, that is capital crimes, according to German law. One must note that the privilege pertained to the unlimited number of settlements in all contemporary and future settlements founded by the monks. Leszek merely specified the area granted to the Benedictines for clearance.<sup>566</sup> Other monastic communities in Little Poland, especially the Cistercians and Praemonstratensian nuns, received similar permission to settle colonists on their estates and regulate justice with the headmen of the

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<sup>565</sup> ZDKMog, no. 34, 27-28; the chapter of the Krakow cathedral received similar liberties in the cathedral village of Raciborowice on May 19, 1273. See KDKK, no. 72, 97-98.

<sup>566</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, no. 30, 59-60; no. 36, 70-74.

new communities.<sup>567</sup> In such cases, the immediate benefit the bishopric could draw was associated with the collection of tithes, despite their unpopular character among German colonists settling in Polish duchies. It was easier for the see of Krakow to force each monastery separately to provide the tithes than to negotiate them with much more powerful dukes. The attitudes of the duke to the problem of the mobile population illustrate the political as well as legal novelties caused by migration. They reflect a constant struggle to allow legal liberty for those who arrived in the duchy as free laborers while retaining ducal prestige.

Even at the turn of the thirteenth century the rulers of the Duchy of Krakow still insisted on holding the ultimate legal power in new settlements. Bishop Muskata, who built his power through close cooperation with the Bohemian monarchy, had no incentive to oppose King Vaclav's claims to provide the highest justice, not through local officials but directly at his court.<sup>568</sup> He did, however, greatly advance episcopal control over the towns and villages that in terms of property rights formally belonged to the bishopric. His involvement in settling new areas within the diocese increased his chances to negotiate power. It proved him a capable leader and organizer with sufficient economic resources to support his political ambitions and military efforts. In 1294 Vaclav freed the bishop from the rent paid from the fairly large towns of Tarczek and Hża.<sup>569</sup> Negotiations required compromises and constant cooperation. A year later Muskata suspended one of his major prerogatives when the castellan of Sandomierz, Nicholas,

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<sup>567</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, 1: no. 11, 15-19; KDM 1, no. 64, 148-150; no. 114, 134-135, respectively.

<sup>568</sup> KDKK, no. 100, 136-137.

<sup>569</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 98, 134.

located his village. On May 21, 1295 the bishop joined King Vaclav II of Bohemia in granting the permission to reorganize the castellan's estates to accommodate colonists and free them from tithes for a period of ten years.<sup>570</sup> The acute interest of the bishopric in creating a less traditional economy was fully recognized by the Bohemian monarchy in 1297. In a series of charters Vaclav II gave the see of Krakow absolute liberty to establish new settlements and reorganize the old ones in the old episcopal district of Chropy.<sup>571</sup> Because the area had already enjoyed comprehensive legal and economic liberties, all the settlements were to enjoy immunity from secular authority.

After Vaclav's coronation at Gniezno and Duke Władysław Łokietek's return to Little Poland in 1304 Muskata lacked time to organize new settlements according to comprehensive economic principles and the German law of autonomous communities. It can be argued that for that reason the bishop acted arbitrarily and failed to consult his cathedral chapter. Political opposition to the bishop would have transformed a simple request to introduce economic principles to power relations into prolonged, risky negotiations.<sup>572</sup> A charter comes from that period in which Muskata approved the extensive economic privileges of a certain Paul, the executive organizer of the village of Jelen and, like other recruiting settlers with delegated power over colonies, its formal head. The bishop granted the privilege in exchange for a specified rent from him and the villagers after the tax-free period.<sup>573</sup> The absence of any reference to the canons of the cathedral strongly suggests that it was the bishop who exclusively collected the revenues

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<sup>570</sup> KDM 1, no. 124, 144-147.

<sup>571</sup> KDKK, no. 102, 138; no. 103, 138-139.

<sup>572</sup> AV, no. 121, 87.

<sup>573</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, 1: no. 15, 26.

and held the highest authority and political prestige in the settlement. In the context of economic reorganization of episcopal estates and colonization, misunderstanding and conflicts of interests between the bishop and the cathedral were inevitable. It is striking that a complaint of the witnesses at the trial against Muskata referred not only to the bishop's loss of episcopal settlements, but also to the emigration of the peasants who had traditionally been bound to ecclesiastical estates.<sup>574</sup> One can argue that the traditional status of those cultivators appeared quite irrelevant to Muskata's current needs. Their mobility and economic effectiveness was more important than the traditional legal restrictions. If the German colonists did not arrive in sufficient numbers, Muskata had to rely on the peasants who had already occupied ecclesiastical land, especially in a case like the village of Jeleń that was located in the region of Sławków, where the bishopric possessed extensive estates with numerous villages.

Vaclav's major opponent in Little Poland, Duke Władysław Łokietek, directly responded to the bishopric's economic interests. The general character of the privilege that permitted the see to locate towns as well as villages in the old ecclesiastical district of Chropy gave the episcopal authorities an unrestricted opportunity to create new areas, where secular lords no longer monopolized power.<sup>575</sup> To assure the see of the safety of current possessions and future investments Łokietek confirmed all the previous liberties of the cathedral chapter in the district. In the same charter the duke imposed a few reservations pertaining to the geographical scope of the grant and the legal prerogatives of the secular authority. He restricted the economic privilege to only one area that had been a long-standing ecclesiastical district. It is important to note that Łokietek

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<sup>574</sup> AV, no. 121, 87.

<sup>575</sup> KDKK, no. 102, 138; no. 103, 138-139.

conditioned his permission to bring settlers and organize new villages according to German law on the ducal reservation to judge arbitrarily selected cases.<sup>576</sup> The charter that demanded the recognition of such a right by the bishopric of Krakow could at least in theory block economic development of episcopal territories if the see had failed to secure the duke's permission for colonization projects. Those restrictions sent a clear signal to the bishopric that the new ruler of Little Poland would not tolerate the unconditional expansion of episcopal jurisdiction. Negotiations could pertain to specific rights or their objects, but the duke failed to reward Muskata's endorsement with the permanent alienation of the most fundamental prerogatives of secular lordship.

The duke's reservations manifested power; they also allowed the bishopric to have practical liberty in colonized areas if amicable relations with the ducal court made the use of ducal prerogatives unnecessary or potentially counterproductive. No duke was willing to leave all mobile peasants, those currently migrating to Little Poland and those who would arrive there in future, beyond the reach of ducal justice. The problem became particularly serious when colonization made advances in compact episcopal territories with extensive autonomous rights. During the tenures of Duke Bolesław the Chaste and Leszek the Black, the bishopric made extraordinary advances in the spectrum of legal privileges. The new secular prerogatives of the bishops elevated them to the level of the dukes' peers in the task of ruling the province. Power relations were gradually reduced to only two major centers of authority: the ducal and episcopal courts, although it must be stressed that relations between them were never at the level of full and equal partnership. Even the transfer of paramount legal prerogatives to the bishopric contained restrictions that pointed to one crucial objective of the ducal policy towards the episcopal authority in

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<sup>576</sup> Ibid., no. 102, 138.

Little Poland. The dukes expected and often legally demanded from the see responsibility for the security of the land that came to it as grants directly from the secular ruler or as a newly colonized territory. The rights to legal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of ecclesiastical estates also contained exception clauses that emphasized the ducal authority as the ultimate source of power and the guarantor of peace and justice. The stipulation that the duke would decide the cases related to the most serious crimes assured the superiority of secular over ecclesiastical jurisdiction when legal disputes resulted in the appeals to the ducal court. The famous grants of liberties did not create legitimate lordship of the bishops of Krakow because they were not created with such a purpose. Instead, the grants were compromises that retained and reemphasized the power of secular authority. The bishops were forced to secure military potential in order to force the secular rulers to a new set of negotiations about episcopal sovereignty in the territories where episcopal property was advanced and undisputed.

### **C. Military Instruments of Territorial Control: Border Districts and Fortifications**

A new period of political crisis prompted by the death of the last Piast duke in Kazimir the Just's direct line at Krakow revealed the bishops' determination to buttress episcopal authority with some form of military support. A number of fortified towns, strongholds and a new large and consolidated area held in a state of advanced autonomy could assure episcopal lordship with all of the crucial attributes of power over land and people. When the secular rulers of Little Poland did not permit partition of the duchy into secular and ecclesiastical principalities, the episcopal authorities concentrated on the military capacity of the bishopric. If the bishops controlled fortified and strategically

important locations in various parts of the province, their territorial power would be dispersed, but also palpable and adequate to rival the leading barons of Little Poland.

The conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authorities over the status of the Sącz district was one of the crucial elements of the negotiation of territorial power in the thirteenth century. For the latter, the territorial integrity of Little Poland was essential to prove their ability to govern more than a single Polish duchy. Duke Leszek the Black came to Krakow under unclear terms of succession and faced rebellions. His successor, King Vaclav II of Bohemia, met with the opposition of Duke Władysław Łokietek, who received support in the eastern part of Little Poland.

The district of Sącz had strategic value due to its location on the southern edge of the Duchy of Krakow. Its importance for the integrity of the duchy became a particularly sensitive matter after Duke Bolesław the Chaste publicly transferred the district to his wife Kunegund at the assembly of Korczyn in 1257. Kundegund obtained full ducal authority in the region from her husband, with one important exception. Bolesław reserved for himself the responsibility to defend the Sącz castellany, that is the compact area centered at the town of Sącz.<sup>577</sup> At the same time, to remind the public of his piety and power of patronage, the duke confirmed the foundation of a new monastery of the Order of Saint Clare in Zawichost near Sandomierz and placed his widowed sister there.<sup>578</sup> This burden was not without important benefits: Bolesław strengthened his prestige as the defender of the province and indicated that the sovereignty of the Sącz castellany was in fact incomplete. The duke's self-proclaimed duty to provide security legitimized the continuation of demanding assistance from a local population that was

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<sup>577</sup> KDM 2, no. 452, 106-108.

<sup>578</sup> KDM 1, no. 44, 52; DA VII, 119-120; *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 3, 309, 316-317.

now under the formal jurisdiction of the duchess.<sup>579</sup> Gender may have strengthened the rights of the duke to the territory. The duchess, like the bishop, lacked the customary association with masculine power that guaranteed sufficient protection. Bolesław took advantage of contemporary notions of gender in order to anchor his authority in the Sącz castellany and enable his successors in Little Poland.<sup>580</sup>

The famous conflict between Bishop Paul and Duke Leszek the Black in the 1280's pertained to much more concrete issues than the duke's desire to reclaim the Sącz area, which had received the character of an independent *dominium* at the southern border of Little Poland under his adopted mother Kunegund.<sup>581</sup> There is no reason, as has been argued, to consider the widowed duchess's foundation of the monastic community of the Order of Saint Clare in Sącz the sole cause of the conflict between Kunegund and the new duke of Little Poland. Nor should it be seen as her costly effort to secure the support of the bishop of Krakow.<sup>582</sup> The decision to establish and then generously endow a monastery at Sącz was certainly symptomatic of the assertion of Kunegund's independent power that appeared dangerous to the duke of Krakow, but promising from the perspective of the bishopric. As a legitimate ruler of the region with substantial resources, Kunegund was not required to seek Leszek's permission to alienate her

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<sup>579</sup> Bolesław did not underestimate the military value of local communities, including peasants occupying monastic estates. When he granted privileges to the Cistercian monasteries in Koprzywnica and Wąchock in the 1270's he demanded participation in the defense of the country from monastic villages.

<sup>580</sup> The clause about the defense of the country in the Korczyn charter appeared particularly important when, as Paweł Żmudzki has noted, after 1272 the duke no longer possessed the services of a castellan who could represent his interests in Sącz and coordinate defense forces. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa*, 310.

<sup>581</sup> In 1265 Bolesław the Chaste adopted Leszek, the son of his first cousin. See DA VII, 394.

<sup>582</sup> Paweł Żmudzki, 311.

estates.<sup>583</sup> The legality of Bolesław's alienation of a segment of the Duchy of Krakow to his wife at the Korczyn assembly in 1257 raised questions and led to future conflict with Duke Leszek the Black. Kunegund did not secure Bishop Paul's assistance because she founded a monastery, but because her conflict with the duke of Little Poland produced the promise of creating an episcopal territorial enclave.

A region ruled by a woman could benefit from the protection provided by the see of Krakow. The donation of the entire region to the bishopric was not an unreasonable anticipation if Bishop Paul effectively negotiated amicable relations between Kunegund and Leszek, or, if necessary, offered a reliable alliance to a female ruler who demonstrated her extraordinary piety through patronage. Neither Bishop Paul nor the duke sought confrontation. Rather, the unusual status of the Sącz district headed by an assertive and pious ruler forced the two to take opposite stands. Kunegund exercised lordship, disregarded ducal authority, but respected the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This situation led to an unacceptable, from Leszek's point of view, transfer of power: a former queen whose suitable ally was the bishop of the ducal capital was empowered to alienate large territories from the duchy. This was not a mere division of prerogatives and rights to local resources, but an open secession.

The strategic location of Kunegund's territory along the southern border of Little Poland, with vital passes across mountains to Hungary, was destined to attract Leszek's attention. The determined defense of a few villages in the Spis region at the southern frontier of the Duchy of Krakow against the claims of the Hungarian bishopric of

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<sup>583</sup> It is difficult to understand Paweł Żmudzki's claim that the act of foundation was "the striking proof of Kunegund's sovereignty in the dominium of Sącz." See Żmudzki, 311. The presence of the duke or his representative emphasized the solemnity of the transaction, but did not carry any additional legal bearing.

Esztergom demonstrated similar territorial concerns on the part of the bishopric.<sup>584</sup> The attainments of the ecclesiastical leaders depended on the success of the widow in relations with the new duke of Krakow. The see did not intend to antagonize either of the two sides in conflict. It must be noted that the bishop never openly challenged or assaulted ducal prerogatives in the disputed territory and the bishopric never became the direct beneficiary of Kunegund's land grants.

Ecclesiastical institutions provided the medium of negotiations. Having been challenged by Duke Leszek the Black and a legatine trial regarding her rights to the Sącz domain, Kunegund transferred the town of Sącz, neighboring villages, tolls and profits associated with them to the newly established monastery of the Order of Saint Clare through the Franciscans. On July 6 1280 the assembly at Sącz approved the legal fiction that it was not the ruler and princess of Sącz (*domina et princeps de Sandech*), but the provincial of the Franciscans Nicolas who legally founded the monastery and established its endowments with Leszek's consent.<sup>585</sup> The grant of land to the nuns was a means to protect them from the duke's claims. It was reasonable to expect that Leszek as a pious and responsible ruler would not attempt to repossess the territory. This unintentional compromise was based on the fact that Kunegund did not exercise exclusive jurisdiction in the alienated territory. The widow's *dominium* lost a significant portion to a religious

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<sup>584</sup> The conflict over three villages, Podoliniec, Lubowla and Gniazda, can be traced to the conflict over tithes that the collegiate church of Saint Martin in Spis collected from the villages despite Krakow's protests. Bishops Wisław and Prandota appealed to the papal court for help, with no positive results. For the Spis region as a place of historical conflict between the diocese of Krakow and the Archbishopric of Esztergom, see Teofil Emil Modelski, *Spory o południowe granice diecezji krakowskiej od strony Spisza (wiek XIII-XVIII)*, (Zakopane, 1926), 40-42.

<sup>585</sup> KDM 2, no. 487, 145-147. The landed and human resources at the disposal of the monastery were extraordinary: the town of Sącz and approximately twenty-eight villages. For the intervention of legate Philip of Ferno, see "Vita sanctae Kyngae ducissae cracoviensis," MPH, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, ed. (Lwów, 1884), 4:717.

institution that lay in the sphere of episcopal power.<sup>586</sup> The negotiation to retain control over the entire duchy was forced to shift its focus from the duchess' court to the bishopric of Krakow. The involvement of Bishop Paul in the conflict between the current duke of Krakow and the former duchess soon proved essential for the fate of Leszek's lordship in Little Poland. Colonizing activity in the areas of the Sącz region that had not become the property of the Order of Saint Clare created a much more important problem for the territorial integrity of Leszek's domain than the monastic patronage of the former duchess.

The problem of territorial integrity became particularly acute when the possibility of acquiring jurisdictional prerogatives in Kunegund's castellanies in southern Little Poland became realistic. The location of the villages of Golkowice and Gostwica according to German law shortly before the foundation of the monastery at Sącz indicated Kunegund's interest in supporting her lordship through a market economy.<sup>587</sup> Unlike the Sącz district, the castellany of Biecz, which also constituted the duchess's domain, retained its territorial integrity and offered the possibility to create a fairly large independent principality, secular or episcopal, depending on future relations between Kunegund and Bishop Paul. The first significant opportunity to base the security of the former's possession on an alliance with the see of Krakow came with the intervention of the papal legate Philip, who appointed the Franciscans and the bishop himself to resolve the conflict over the castellanies of Sącz and Biecz claimed by Duke Leszek. The

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<sup>586</sup> Paweł Żmudzki, 312, imprecisely defines "dominium" as "the state" ("państwo") and assumes that the character of Kunegund's lordship was royal. The widow's use of the title "princeps" in the act of foundation stressed her status as a ruler, not the status of the Sącz territory, which she clearly called "dominium."

<sup>587</sup> KDM 2, no. 482, 138-139; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, 1: no. 7, 11.

attempt to assure Leszek's recognition of the Biecz district as a territory legitimately ruled by the former duchess ended with partial success. The initial reconciliation clearly indicated that the duke merely suspended his claims. The rhetoric of the Czechow agreement in 1280 to postpone negotiations till a future council at Krakow explicitly questioned Kunegund's right to the Biecz and Sącz territories.<sup>588</sup> One might suspect that the possibility of a compromise between the duchess and Leszek prompted Bishop Paul to take initiative. It should be noted that in his public support for Kunegund the bishop connected the foundation of the monastery at Sącz with the status of all the other holdings. If the duke accepted the new foundation with the necessary land grants for its sustenance, he also needed to recognize Kunegund's ownership of the castellanies transferred to her by her husband. The harassment of the building project and the rulership in the mentioned castellanies and the settlement of Korczyn (*Chorczyń*) claimed by Kunegund, including the exploitation of endowments, had to be solidly compensated.<sup>589</sup> It has been noted that because the amount of the compensation exceeded the ducal income, the bishop offered unrealistic terms to prevent any chance of losing the

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<sup>588</sup> The ducal chancery stressed Leszek's submission to the papal authority and his positive gesture to establish peace. It also indicated that the two disputed areas belonged to the widowed former duchess only by her own claim: "... ad villam dicti domini episcopi Cechou nuncupatam, vna cum quibusdam baronibus nostris descendissemus, vt auctoritate a domino Philipo Frimano episcopo, apostolice sedis legato, commissa, inter illustrem feminam dominam Kunegundim, domini quondam Boleslai bone memorie patru nostri relictam, ex vna parte, et nos ex altera, super dominio terrarum de Sandec et de Bech, quas terras predicta domina dicit ad se pertinere, pacem et concordiam ordinarent ...." KDM 2, no. 490, 149.

<sup>589</sup> KDM 2, no. 490, 149- 150; no. 491, 150-151. The full identity of the third castellan, that of Korczyn (*Chorczyń*), has been debatable, particularly because Korczyn never obtained the status of an administrative district with its own castellan as a territorial representative of the ducal authority. In Paweł Żmudzki's opinion, Korczyn was a personal ducal residence that had not been part of the administrative network of the duchy. See Żmudzki, 316-317. Marek Barański questions the duchess' ability to enforce ducal authority in the entire district of Korczyn due to the diversity of properties and multiplicity of jurisdictions within its borders. Barański, *Dominium sądeckie. Od książęcego okręgu grodowego do majątku klasztoru klarysek sądeckich* (Warsaw, 1986), 103-104.

land to the duke.<sup>590</sup> One may argue that the greatest safeguard against Leszek lay elsewhere. The crucial element of the episcopal statement was a clause that allowed for the unconditional execution of the duchess' last will if the duke had not delivered the required payment. There is no evidence, contrary to what has been argued, that Kunegund ever considered the transfer of the disputed castellanies directly to the bishopric, although a generous grant of land to the see was a possibility.<sup>591</sup> One must note that the princess was invested with complete liberty as to the future of the Sącz province. Bolesław's grant to his wife assured that it would be lawful for the duchess to "sell, exchange, donate, let the said land and in whatever way to alienate it...."<sup>592</sup> Bishop Paul or his successor may have been a significant beneficiary of such a testament for another reason. A testament required an executioner and the bishop, a close ally of the struggling duchess, was well qualified for that role. Duke Leszek would have been forced to negotiate the status of the disputed castellanies with Paul and confront the tremendous prestige of the see.<sup>593</sup>

Leszek's bold decision to arrest the bishop and invade the duchess' domain in 1283 prevented the uncontrollable development of a situation with unpredictable results. Violent action brought Leszek immediate territorial acquisitions and a final opportunity

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<sup>590</sup> Żmudzki, 317.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>592</sup> KDM 2, no. 452, 106-108: "... dictam terram liceat sibi uendere, commutare, donare, locare et quolibet modo a se alienare."

<sup>593</sup> Władysław Karasiewicz's hypothesis that the difficulty to control a few villages on the border with Hungary influenced episcopal support for Kunegund in the Sącz region should be considered with caution. The eventual appropriation of the castellanies separating episcopal districts closer to Krakow and the episcopal villages on the mountainous frontier would be a sizable territorial extension but would not guarantee a more effective defense of the latter against the pretensions of the Hungarian church. The future proved that litigation before ecclesiastical and papal courts produced better results. See Karasiewicz, *Paweł z Przemankowa, Biskup Krakowski*, 195-196.

to acquire a compact and already autonomous territory that could easily be turned into an episcopal principality. Leszek temporarily allowed Kunegund to preserve only those estates that constituted the original endowment of the monastery of the Order of Saint Clare in Sącz. Without a ducal charter of protection it was not certain for how long Leszek would restrain his power in the monastic villages and modify the original land grants guaranteed by Bolesław the Chaste at Korczyn in 1257.<sup>594</sup> The imprisoned Bishop Paul was unable to intervene, but Kunegund's appeal to the Holy See provided a chance of retaining episcopal influence at least in the monastic foundation at Sącz. In the bull issued by Pope Martin IV in 1283 the Holy See took the monastery under its protection, along with the Sącz district in the dimension provided by Duke Bolesław in 1257.<sup>595</sup> Papal intervention saved nothing more than the original endowment of the foundation, and could not serve as a legitimization of an autonomous political and administrative entity.

The struggle for an episcopal protectorate in southern Little Poland ended in disaster. It should be stressed that after the bull, neither the former duchess nor the bishop maintained claims to the disputed castellanies. Kunegund merely retained her old title of the princess of Sącz; Paul never raised the issue of compensating her for territorial losses.<sup>596</sup> The Biecz castellany quickly lost its affiliation with the monastery. Bishop Jan Muskata officially recognized the ducal status of Biecz when in 1303 he agreed to receive

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<sup>594</sup> KDM 1, no. 44, 52.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 102, 121-122; Potthast II, no. 22044, 239.

<sup>596</sup> KDM 2, no. 496, 153-154; Potthast I, no. 22044, 239; KDM 2, no. 513, 175-176.

it from the Bohemian king Vaclav II in exchange for the only large village in episcopal hands in the Sącz region.<sup>597</sup>

The fate of Biecz signifies crucial developments in the efforts of the bishopric of Krakow to retain influence in monastic territories founded with ducal patronage. In the early fourteenth century villages in the Sącz region were treated as centers of economic expansion, not as the loci of administrative control of the land. The see no longer aimed at expanding episcopal territory through the acquisition of particular regions. At the turn of the thirteenth century the area in the possession of the Order of Saint Clare at Sącz retained its monastic status despite the formal claims of Gryfina, Kunegund's successor at Sącz, who was the widow of Duke Leszek the Black, to the territorial power expressed in the title "domina." Vaclav confirmed the monastery's property and even Gryfina's right to found new settlements within its boundaries. The fact of the duchess's arrival in the area along with the Bohemian king explains his tolerance of the territorial authority of the abbess of the Sącz monastery. Gryfina, who was Vaclav II's paternal aunt, was a Bohemian ally in the region. The order at Sącz offered ready support for Bohemian rule in Little Poland, eliminating Vaclav's need to negotiate a separate agreement with the see of Krakow.

Vaclav chose to demonstrate his protective powers, but left details crucial to the problem of the disputed castellanies in the Sącz region unresolved. The negotiations that allowed the Bohemians to occupy the Duchy of Krakow with the consent of the local elite in 1291 had a general character. In a charter the Bohemian king confirmed the land donations of his secular predecessors in Krakow to all monasteries.<sup>598</sup> There were no

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<sup>597</sup> KDKK, no. 111, 145.

provisions about the prerogatives of the owner of the donated areas and the claims of the bishopric of Krakow to monastic holdings in the Sącz region. When King Vaclav II agreed to confirm the privileges of the monastery at Sącz on November 8 1292 he merely legitimized Kunegund's foundation in general terms as a monastic center, but did not address the problem of the territorial districts.<sup>599</sup>

The episcopal control of the castellanies that were associated with Sącz and Kunegund's domain was not the only problem that the bishopric faced in the late thirteenth century. Duke Leszek the Black acted forcefully to eliminate the rebellious Bishop Paul from the political scene and break the economic backbone of episcopal authority. The duke practically immobilized ecclesiastical power by confiscating episcopal towns and strongholds. He also appropriated all revenues that belonged to the bishop and the cathedral chapter.<sup>600</sup> Even if Leszek had allowed the ecclesiastical administration to function, the fiscal system of the diocese would have transferred all episcopal revenues to the ducal treasure. The consequences of Paul's imprisonment had, nonetheless, a more positive result for the episcopal lordship. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of December 1284 Leszek made a great gesture of public penitence in Krakow. As a result of a meeting with Bishop Paul, Leszek created two miniature territorial lordships. As a temporary equivalent of compensation in silver for the violation of ecclesiastical liberties, especially those of the bishop, the duke offered the see one town and one village equipped with ducal prerogatives. The bishop had the right to enforce justice, collect taxes and market fees, demand services and impose military duties not only in the town

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<sup>598</sup> KDM 1, no. 94, 130-131.

<sup>599</sup> KDM 2, no. 521, 187-188.

<sup>600</sup> KDKK, no. 84, 114-116; Potthast I, no. 22009, 237.

of Korczyn but also on the people who occupied the town's locality for the period of collection of the necessary monetary compensation for the bishop. The episcopal lordship was also to receive paramount power in the settlement of Konary.<sup>601</sup> In both cases the local communities obtained a new lord for the period of at least three years, that is until the time when Duke Leszek was expected to recompense the bishopric with silver. The minuscule size of the area where Paul received formerly ducal authority undermined the importance of the episcopal lordship in Korczyn and Konary. The transfer of ducal powers to two small areas helped mainly the duke himself who appeared genuinely concerned about his return to peaceful coexistence with the bishop. The half-century conflict over the Sącz region ended with the reinstatement of ducal power. It proved that a duke who eliminated opposition and established stable authority would not allow the existence of an independent episcopal enclave within his domain. The bishopric needed to demonstrate its military value as an alternative means of negotiating power.

At the turn of the century, a new and extraordinary political situation seemed to offer new means not only of controlling the Sącz district, but also of providing episcopal holdings with military capacity. The final results were, however, disappointing. Bishop Muskata's alliance with the powerful Bohemian monarchy helped the see to control disputed villages by imposing and collecting tithes from them. The bishop decided to alter the traditional tactics that had been practiced by his predecessors in Krakow. Bishops Wisław and Prokop appealed to the papal court against the claims of the Hungarian archbishopric of Esztergom to the border villages, with no practical results for Krakow. In contrast, Muskata acted directly on the problem to enforce his power in the

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<sup>601</sup> Ibid., no. 85, 116-118.

region. The reaction of King Andrew III of Hungary who ordered the provost of the collegiate chapter in Spis to resist the bishop of Krakow vindicated Muskata's aggressive policy.<sup>602</sup>

The close alliance with the Premyslids ultimately provided the bishopric with a fundamental instrument of power and protection of territorial claims. King Vaclav's famous grant of the Plawiec castle in the Spis region was heralded as an apparent demonstration of episcopal lordship in the area.<sup>603</sup> But the practical importance of the grant for controlling the region by episcopal forces appears uncertain. The intention of the Bohemian king remained unclear. The coinciding royal grant of two contested border villages, Lubowla and Gniazda, to the Premyslids' German ally, Jordan de Gargow, strongly suggests that the Premyslid ruler preferred to diversify his support and that an episcopal lordship in southern Poland was not a dominant idea at the Bohemian court.<sup>604</sup> The fate of the village of Kamienica that had been reorganized by Bishop Paul in 1288 proves the difficulty of developing territorial power in the Sącz region.

Kamienica was one of the main settlements in the area and in close proximity to the controversial foundation of the Order of Saint Clare at Sącz. If the bishops of Krakow considered jurisdiction over monastic land in the future, the development of Kamienica as an episcopal center was crucial. Instead, Vaclav II confiscated it during the vacancy in the see of Krakow after Paul's death and founded a new town there. The role

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<sup>602</sup> Stanisław Sroka, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-węgierskich w późnym średniowieczu, szkice* (Krakow, 1995), 17-18.

<sup>603</sup> KDKK, no.105, 140. Sławomir Gawlas, "Człowiek uwikłany w wielkie procesy – przykład Muskaty," in *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. Roman Michałowski (Warsaw, 1997), 399.

<sup>604</sup> At the time Vaclav, as Vaclav V, was only the king of Hungary. The Premyslids' successor to the Kingdom of Hungary, Charles Robert, built a castle at Lubowla to cement royal authority in the northern frontier of his Hungarian realm. See Teofil Emil Modelski, *Spory o południowe granice diecezji krakowskiej od strony Spisza (wiek XIII-XIV)* (Zakopane, 1928), 43, 49-50.

of Bishop Muskata as an important advocate of the Premyslids' interests in Little Poland prompted Vaclav to resolve the issue by compensating the bishopric with the stronghold of Biecz and probably an adjacent town. The neighboring villages complemented the grant.<sup>605</sup> Biecz was the same economic and administrative center of a castellany that Duke Leszek the Black had tried to remove from the possession of Kunegund's monastery at Sącz. In 1303, therefore, the bishopric was gaining a region that had already had a chance of becoming an episcopal center, but without the loss of a settlement elsewhere.

In later charters there is no sign of an effort to recover Kamienica for the bishopric. Duke Władysław Łokietek's privileges for the town in September 1306 do not list any prerogatives of the episcopal authority, although Muskata witnessed the charter.<sup>606</sup> One can argue that the bishop, being aware of the importance of the town, sacrificed it in order to initiate peaceful relations with a major candidate for the rulership of Krakow. The treatment of the town as an autonomous municipal entity instigated the formation of close political relations between the duke and the community of the long-disputed settlement.

If not for later events, one may assume that by investing the bishop with another stronghold in Little Poland Vaclav purposefully aided Muskata in a process of building territorial lordship. Vaclav, the king of Bohemia and Poland after 1300, appeared in fact quite indifferent to the territorial interests of the bishop of Krakow. The limitations of episcopal liberty in controlling compact territories were revealed after the Biecz area had

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<sup>605</sup> KDKK, no. 111, 145; DA IX, 20-22. Also see Anna Rutkowska-Płachcinska, *Sądcczyzna w XIII i XIV wieku. Przemiany gospodarcze i społeczne* (Wrocław, 1961), 126-129.

<sup>606</sup> KDM 1, no. 136, 165-166.

been recovered by the Premyslid from its temporary occupation by the Hungarians. Vaclav restricted the bishopric's control of the town to the mere right of patronage in the local churches.<sup>607</sup> The bishop could not have been pleased with this restriction. Długosz even notes that Muskata was ready to take the side of his adversary, Duke Władysław Łokietek, if the Piast allowed him to recover Biecz from the Bohemians.<sup>608</sup>

During Muskata's tenure in the see of Krakow, Biecz was not the only place of military value that interested the bishopric. The support for the Bohemian cause in Poland provided Muskata with temporal powers necessary for the proper enforcement of episcopal authority. The improvement of fortifications guarding episcopal strongholds and the construction of walls around major episcopal towns held by the bishopric were tolerated by the Premyslid monarchy as a means to strengthen a crucial ally in the Duchy of Krakow. On June 20 1295 Vaclav granted the bishop the right to fortify the already legally privileged market towns of Iłża, Kielce, Tarczek, and Sławków, the latter with a fairly large castle.<sup>609</sup> The price of the bishopric's support for the Bohemian monarchy in the Duchy of Krakow was high. The towns with city walls offered Vaclav protection for his forces and gratitude from the bishop. However, fortified settlements could equally

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<sup>607</sup> DA IX, 35; Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 1, 485.

<sup>608</sup> DA IX, 35. There is no reason to mistrust Długosz simply because of Muskata's long history of cooperation with the Bohemian monarchy. The strength of Bohemian rule under Vaclav III who had just accessed the throne was unpredictable while the Polish duke had been making impressive progress in the conquest of Little Poland. It is not improbable that the bishop tested the reaction of the duke to the proposition of an alliance. Unfortunately, Długosz does not provide any further information in this matter.

<sup>609</sup> KDKK, no. 101, 137. For the castle at Sławków, see Jacek Pietrzak, "Wyniki najnowszych badań nad zamkiem biskupów krakowskich w Sławkowie, woj. Katowice," in *Śląskie Prace Historyczne* 3 (1994): 137-161. Information about the bishop's direct involvement in building the strongholds in Pełczyska and Kurow can be found in the testimonies recorded during the ecclesiastical trials of Bishop Muskata. In his chronicle Długosz also mentions Lelow as one of the first forts of the bishop that fell to Władysław. DA IX, 15-16. The absence of those strongholds in Vaclav's charter for Muskata was caused either by their earlier construction or insignificant strategic importance. See AV, no. 121, 83-84.

well hold the Bohemian forces at bay and present points of resistance to any force hostile to the bishopric.

The king strengthened specific locations; he did not intend to support the territorial ambitions of the bishop. There is no reason to believe that the term “princeps” used by Vaclav for Muskata in the major charter had a territorial connotation.<sup>610</sup> One can doubt that in this particular case the new king of Poland understood “princeps” as anything more than a dignity, especially when the language he chose to stress his close relations with the bishop needed to be more courteous than precise in technical terms. It should be remembered that young Vaclav III used the same title in reference to the bishop of Krakow in 1301 in Buda, shortly after his coronation as the king of Hungary. Along with the chancellorship of the kingdom Muskata was to receive the already mentioned castle at Plawiec in the Spis region.<sup>611</sup> Plawiec was another border stronghold in episcopal possession. Its potential contribution to the process of consolidating power by the bishop in one compact territory in Little Poland appears to be an unsubstantiated assumption.<sup>612</sup> It is necessarily to note that the location of the strongest castle held by Muskata, Lipowiec, in Silesia was highly irrelevant to the areas under episcopal control in the Sącz region at the border with Hungary. The absence of the final transfer of the Plawiec castle to the bishop demonstrated merely instrumental treatment by the

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<sup>610</sup> KDKK, no. 101, 137. Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa*, 92, perhaps too haphazardly equals the title and the grants of castles to Vaclav’s acceptance of Muskata’s territorial lordship.

<sup>611</sup> KDKK, no. 105, 140-141.

<sup>612</sup> For Muskata’s appropriation of castles as a means of preparing ground for the creation of territorial lordship during the Premyslids’ offensive in Polish duchies, see Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem*, 56-57. For Sławomir Gawlas the objective to create a sovereign episcopal lordship by the bishopric of Krakow was the major reason for dramatic crises between Muskata and Duke Łokietek. Sławomir Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa*, 92-93.

Premyslid monarchy, which simply required all frontier castles to be in the hands of reliable allies. The military objectives of the Bohemian rulers did not coincide with Muskata's aim to place entire districts under unquestioned episcopal control. It is worth noting that the office of the *starosta* held by Muskata in Little Poland for some time after 1303 aimed at consolidating the Premyslids' power in the province and was not designed to help him construct a territorial enclave outside of the Premyslids' realm. The paramount temporal powers invested in the office enhanced the authority of the bishop only due to his own political skills.

Muskata was theoretically equipped to continue episcopal control over certain strategic locations after the collapse of Bohemian authority in the Polish duchies. The prerogatives of the *starosta* also allowed the bishop to hire mercenaries and organize military campaigns by the power invested with him by the royal authority. The ability to exploit the local population for military purposes and raise armed forces provided crucial means to protect episcopal holdings or even expand their dimensions. Because Muskata exercised temporal lordship, the despoliation of the cathedral chapter to pay his military expenses, his orders of execution as well as his tolerance for his soldiers' robbery in the countryside that appears to have shocked his contemporaries were a logical result of his actions as an ambitious and effective leader.<sup>613</sup> Nevertheless, the Bohemian presence in the diocese of Krakow left the problem of the bishop's full control of a substantial and consolidated territory owned by the bishopric unresolved. It was a persistent difficulty of the bishopric to acquire and expand a compact territory where sovereign lordship could be formed under episcopal authority.

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<sup>613</sup> AV, no. 121, 80-91.

The weakness of episcopal power as an independent force in Little Poland was fully revealed during the offensive of Duke Władysław Łokietek shortly after his arrival at Little Poland in 1304. The duke quickly subjugated the main centers of episcopal influence in the duchies of Sandomierz and Krakow, including Sandomierz, Wiślica and even Tyniec, at a short distance from Krakow.<sup>614</sup> The episcopal lordship was not strong enough to organize an effective military counterattack. Muskata made desperate efforts to act independently even from the cathedral chapter. The accusation against Muskata of an autocratic style of exercising episcopal power was one of the themes of trials against the bishop in later years. According to court testimonies, in 1306 the bishop sent his mercenaries to Tyniec and established a garrison in the Benedictine monastery there.<sup>615</sup> The cathedral chapter did not have to provide consent to this radical action, but consultations were certainly expected. Much more problematic was another decision that the bishop made almost simultaneously. The transfer of ownership of the strongest castle held by bishopric Lipowiec from the cathedral chapter to his relative Gerlach de Culpen and the fortification of the collegiate church in Wiślica seemingly emphasized the arbitrary nature of the bishop's power.<sup>616</sup> It can be argued that Muskata was mustering the last available forces to retain a base from which he could launch a counter-offensive against Łokietek and rebuild his authority. It is not improbable that Muskata began to view his episcopal status as an impediment to the effective exercise of power in the

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<sup>614</sup> "Rocznik Traski," 853; DA IX, 33-34.

<sup>615</sup> AV, no. 121, 87-92. The occupation of Tyniec by troops loyal to Muskata was not unreasonable due to an earlier failure of the Benedictines to guard Biecz against the bishop's enemies. Tomasz Pietras, 72, argues that the occupation of Tyniec as well as Lipowiec was preparation for Vaclav III's Polish campaign.

<sup>616</sup> AV, no. 121, 82-84, 86-87. Tomasz Pietras, *Krwawy Wilk z Pastorałem*, 130, suggests that Muskata may have also strengthened the walls of the cathedral in Krakow after its damage in a fire, although nowhere in the testimonies referring to the bishop's presence at the church can one find a word about fortifications.

Duchy of Krakow, but only during times of emergency. The bishop built his defenses outside of the relations within the see of Krakow. From his perspective there was no time to use any other means of action except for military. To render his power effective, Muskata was required to make it personal rather than institutional.

The determination with which Muskata defended episcopal possessions against Duke Władysław Łokietek could not have been indifferent to the negotiations that pertained to the status of the bishopric of Krakow within a new state of the Piast duke. It is interesting to note that the grand privilege for the see of Krakow that the duke issued on September 2 1306 included a number of castellanies, that is compact territories under the exclusive authority of the bishop.<sup>617</sup> The inclusion of the castellany of Biecz with its castle in the Sącz region to the areas that would enjoy ducal protection was a step towards reinstatement of the bishop's economic and military power base. The additional promises to return the stronghold at Pelczyska and the grant of the Chęciny castle with eleven villages, all in a central part of the diocese near the towns of Kielce and Wiślica, would have sustained the essential elements of episcopal lordship.<sup>618</sup> The lack of any records of episcopal activities in Biecz and Chęciny after the meeting of the bishop with the duke in 1306 has produced the assumption that Łokietek had never planned to fulfill the agreement and that the generous grants were a merely temporary concession to pacify the situation.<sup>619</sup> One should doubt, however, that the duke contemplated the violation of episcopal privileges in an arbitrary and sudden manner. Instead, he preferred to act legally.

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<sup>617</sup> The charter names four castellanies with the centers at Kielce, Tarczek, Iłża and Biecz.

<sup>618</sup> KDKK, no. 114, 147-149.

<sup>619</sup> Tomasz Pietras, 132.

Between 1307 and 1309, when Muskata left the Duchy of Krakow, the fate of the episcopal economic and military centers depended on the last negotiations during Duke Władysław Łokietek's aggressive campaign to subjugate the western part of Little Poland. On June 7 1307 the duke issued a new charter for the bishopric at the council of Wiślica. In the document he formally annulled all the privileges and grants received by the bishop from the Premyslid monarchs.<sup>620</sup> Now the status of the fortification of episcopal holdings, especially the market towns, could be even formally challenged. The obligation to deliver the Lipowiec castle to Duke Władysław as a part of the peace agreement of July 2 1309 was the final act of depriving the bishop of a crucial element of the military backbone of the episcopal domain. The temporary acquisition of the prosperous episcopal town of Sławków by the duke as a guarantee of finalizing the Lipowiec transfer also put an end to even the basic venue of economic sovereignty.<sup>621</sup> There was no other important town that could fully compensate the bishopric' loss of Sławków. During the political crisis caused by the rebellion of the Krakovian burghers against Władysław Łokietek, the townsmen in the larger settlements that traditionally lay within the episcopal domain such as Sącz, Kamienica, and Lelów persisted in their loyalty to the duke. Even the long-promised town of Biecz was either insecure or remained a ducal possession.<sup>622</sup> Flight to Silesia spared the bishop the personal implementation of the agreement and ultimate humiliation. Practically, it deprived the

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<sup>620</sup> KDKK, no. 116, 151.

<sup>621</sup> AV, no. 124, 97-99.

<sup>622</sup> Tomasz Pietras, 108, has pointed out that when in 1308 another ecclesiastical trial advanced against Muskata, the bishop was blamed for losing the town. One, however, should be more skeptical about the trial records. The testimonies may have referred to a past state of affairs and Biecz had been recovered for the bishopric, a matter that biased witnesses would have preferred to overlook. The town was certainly confiscated by Duke Władysław around the time of the rebellion of the burghers of Krakow in 1312. Długosz explicitly connected the two events. See DA IX, 80-84.

episcopal forces of leadership. In this context the holding of the Lipowiec castle by Gerlach had merely symbolic meaning. It was unreasonable to expect that a powerful but remote fortress was a sufficient base to recreate paramount episcopal lordship in Little Poland. A new ruler of Little Poland and a future monarch of a new unified Polish state proved the weakness of the institutional authority of the bishopric, which depended heavily on the personal qualities of the ecclesiastical leaders. The sudden transformation of the bishop from a local arm of a powerful monarch to a major enemy of a new secular ruler of Little Poland demonstrated the limited military value of the episcopal strongholds in the interior of the Duchy of Krakow. The Bohemian kings failed to strengthen the bishopric with additional garrisons and castles under the bishop's command. The victory of a duke who did not find Muskata a reliable partner in ruling the duchy led naturally to the final elimination of the military attribute of the bishopric.

A combination of delicate diplomacy and aggressive assertion of territorial rights was not an unreasonable policy of the bishopric in Little Poland after the death of Bolesław the Chaste and renewed political instability in the province. The unusual status of the Sącz region offered the ecclesiastical authorities an opportunity to alter the power structure in its territorial dimension. The conflict between Bishop Paul and Duke Leszek the Black proved, however, that in direct confrontation the bishopric could not match ducal power without its own military force. The secular rulers tolerated paramount episcopal control only on a microcosmic level, in select villages and towns. The bishop of Krakow held a few fortified settlements and castles as a useful and also incapable of rebellion political ally, whose power would not present a threat to secular authority. The search for appropriate methods of engaging ducal forces did not enlarge episcopal

territorial control. The utilization of the traditional attributes of secular power without consultations with the cathedral chapter merely led to legal charges against the bishop.

An alliance with secular power, despite its positive assistance, was not the most reliable solution to overcome the limitations of episcopal authority in controlling land and its tenants. It seemed a suitable means of empowering the bishopric with all the practical attributes of effective lordship. The process of consolidating power was first interrupted and then completely shattered by the political difficulties of the bishopric. The perspective of a consolidated episcopal lordship with territorial powers ended with Bishop Muskata, who at the moment of defeat in Little Poland did not attempt to reorganize forces from a castle in the interior, but sought refuge beyond diocesan borders.

### **Conclusion**

During the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the fluctuating strength of ducal power destabilized the division of resources, especially land and taxes, between secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and directly affected the security of the see of Krakow. The bishopric, no longer supported by royal patronage, could not remain indifferent to the decentralizing processes in Polish duchies. Alterations in the ecclesiastical control of resources provided by land and its laborers were necessary to assure the prime position of the bishops in power relations on a provincial level. The ecclesiastical leaders did not ignore the fact that the consent of the dukes as the source of the highest secular authority was necessary in order to lay claim to specific territories. Negotiations conditioned by political circumstances in Little Poland produced a model of the dukes as powerful and confident protectors of a prosperous and unrestrained church.

The Piast rulers ultimately proved indispensable for the rise of sovereign powers of the see of Krakow, although the bishops were forced to acutely participate in macro and micro politics in order to correctly assess the motivations behind the dukes' actions and distinguish cases of genuine self-imposed restraint of extraordinary powers from manifestations of generosity and piety in times of political defeat.

A demonstration of the see's abstract power through property acquisitions and pious generosity was not sufficient if not properly protected from secular interference. Appeals to the ideology of clerical superiority were inadequate as an appropriate instrument of constraint. The bishop was capable of exercising his leadership only with practical means of controlling and exploiting land along with the peasants who labored on it. Lordship strengthened by the military instruments of power was the best method to initiate the construction of a bishopric with independent resources. The bishops' exclusive rights to draw taxes, execute justice, build fortifications and disregard traditional military duties testified to their propensity to adjust to the decentralization of power and compete with secular lords on a local level.

It should be stressed that ecclesiastical privileges did not aim to accelerate the rise of independent ecclesiastical structures. They were rather a result of a defensive mechanism against the danger of instrumental and arbitrary treatment by powerful laymen. The charters of church liberties tended to clarify the rights and obligations of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, especially when the ducal court accepted self-restriction of its customary prerogatives. The matter of proportions between enhancing power and making concession often appeared ambiguous. Negotiations undermined the traditional powers of secular rulers, but did not intend to threaten the dominant position

of the dukes in the province. Ecclesiastical possessions required ducal protection and the preservation of a few traditional exactions and legal jurisdiction by the Piast rulers assured administrative stability. To perceive the rise of episcopal lordship in Little Poland as a result of major conflicts would be anachronistic. The apparent concessions often revealed the willingness to compromise and share power with mutual benefits. Only dramatically opposing political commitments produced by succession crises in the Duchy of Krakow undermined the cooperation between episcopal and ducal authorities in various forms of controlling ecclesiastical land. It is clear that the abolition of a number of traditional ducal rights to appropriate ecclesiastical property and exploit the peasants who populated ecclesiastical estates was not a product of disinterested concession but rather the result of strict calculation. While a number of levies and traditional services performed for the ducal authorities relatively quickly disappeared from episcopal estates, other crucial attributes of lordship, such as the execution of the highest justice by the ducal court and its military command persisted as ducal prerogatives for much longer and hindered the bishops' ability to build independent territorial lordship. The new organization of settlements that accompanied the economic expansion of the thirteenth century was to revitalize parts of the diocese of Krakow, but ultimately failed to enhance the bishops' territorial control. The high cost of colonizing projects and the legal structure of the agreements between the executive organizers of the new settlements and the bishops restricted the scope of the judicial rights of the latter. The patronage of religious orders and reformed secular clergy in towns through grants of tithes and land produced similar results: the episcopal authority gained stronger presence in an urban

environment with no practical increase in exclusive jurisdictional rights to specific town districts.

The temporal aspect of episcopal authority, expressed in the ability to manage ecclesiastical land and exercise paramount legal jurisdiction without secular interference, had to be publicly recognized and accepted to legitimize the bishops' territorial control. There is no direct evidence that the bishops of Krakow purposefully aimed to undermine the integrity of Little Poland in order to found an episcopal principality. Their territorial control developed in a prolonged process of abolishing the power of local lords, removing the burden of ducal demands and acquiring the attributes of power that were traditionally associated with secular authority. The overlapping processes of removing select diocesan areas from judicial, labor and fiscal dependence on secular authorities were insufficient to establish a sovereign principality of the bishops of Krakow. The manipulation of tithes and land donations to dynamic religious communities were auxiliary methods of assuring episcopal leadership. As a result, in the early fourteenth century the construction of effective lordship in compact districts was well-advanced but fell short of establishing sovereign territorial enclaves under full episcopal jurisdiction. The privileged episcopal districts remained dispersed; few of them were able to completely eliminate all ducal prerogatives.

The relations between the bishopric and the dukes of Krakow suffered from legal imprecision as to the duration and full scope of privileges. Neither the charters secured by Archbishop Kietlicz in the early thirteenth century nor Duke Bolesław the Chaste's privileges in the 1250's assured a complete and unequivocal legal immunity of the inhabitants of all the episcopal castellanies, where the bishop had already exercised most

administrative rights. The twelfth-century problem of free and unfree peasants in ecclesiastical districts transformed into the question of jurisdiction over immigrants. As a result, even at the turn of the fourteenth century the bishopric was able to exercise full economic and legal jurisdiction only in a few districts. The only chance to acquire territory with exclusive sovereign powers disappeared under a forceful offensive by Duke Leszek the Black. Political negotiations were aided by the new status of episcopal leadership as a provincial power armed with its own military force and defined by secular functions within the Duchy of Krakow. The intrusion of the Premyslid monarchy in the Polish duchies in the end of the thirteenth century offered the bishopric the most suitable conditions to exercise territorial jurisdiction, although the Bohemian rulers, like the Piasts, did not permit the foundation of an episcopal principality. Negotiations between the bishopric and secular rulers pertained only to specific areas of jurisdiction within an integrated duchy. An attempt to create an episcopal lordship based on administrative and military prerogatives failed along with the collapse of the Premyslid monarchy that had found Bishop Muskata useful for Bohemian political interest in the Polish realm. The bishopric continued to control its extensive resources and exercise jurisdiction in dispersed areas with insufficient resources to guarantee fully sovereign legal, economic and political existence. The highest secular authority in Little Poland proved its ability to create effective safeguards against the territorial control of the bishops of Krakow. The dukes' reservations pertaining to the execution of high justice, military service and extraordinary taxes, their ability to retain strategically important castles and sustain economic initiative in a propagating market economy left the bishopric with few opportunities to compete for consolidated territories. It is worth noting that when a

fifteenth-century bishop was finally able to obtain a small sovereign principality, he did so through purchase, not organic growth, at the time of a strong and fully confident Polish monarchy.

## Conclusion

During the High Middle Ages the bishops of major sees negotiated their power in two dimensions that resisted separation in spite of the dramatic efforts of radical church reformers. The bishoprics were not only the active shapers of episcopal hierarchy and the administrative centers of diocesan life. Due to direct involvement in local politics, ideological prestige and acquired resources the prelates also exercised secular authority. When bishops negotiated church liberties, they acted on behalf of the Roman church as much as in their own provincial interests. The lay and clerical extensions of public power were characterized by close interdependence. Changes in episcopal hierarchy could have immediate impact on the bishops' ability to retain political influence within the power structure that had usually been organized around royal or ducal rulership. Conflicts with other centers of ecclesiastical authority, irregularities in episcopal elections and insufficient religious patronage damaged the general prestige of the bishopric and diverted the prelates' focus from secular to ecclesiastical affairs. This in turn diminished its strength in relations with lay competitors for power.

The decline of central authority in a medieval state presented a considerable difficulty and even danger to ecclesiastical institutions which benefited from the protection and patronage of the king, a prince or a duke well before the accumulation of land and military prerogatives allowed select barons to offer comparable benefits to their local religious communities. The ineffectiveness of local rulers could impair security and political stability for the bishoprics. The fluctuating strength of local secular authority, often located in cathedral towns, frequently resulted in a redistribution of power and thus

required careful negotiations to redefine the rights and liberties of the bishops. Between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth centuries, the resources of most Polish episcopal sees were still inadequate to directly counter the banal lordship of local lay barons and to fulfill their ambition to influence ducal succession. The continuation of close relations with the dominant secular authority ensured protection for ecclesiastical property and its efficient control. Where the competition for the highest secular authority was particularly fierce and frequent, lay leaders were willing to enhance episcopal authority in exchange for support. But those concessions were valuable only when their grantor held legitimate power and his strength promised the execution of the agreements.

The negative consequences of a paramount decline of the central secular power that resided in cathedral towns extended beyond the insecurity of ecclesiastical liberties and privileges. They eventually destabilized the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in which close association with the centers of royal power testified to the bishops' extraordinary status. With the rise of local lordships and the growing ambitions of rival bishoprics, episcopal leaders needed to reemphasize their authority and thus sought negotiations with the strongest secular ruler. The sees aimed to acquire effective means of controlling ecclesiastical land, secure a prime position in episcopal hierarchy and avoid demonstrations of open defiance towards regional territorial rulers. The attitudes of the latter towards the bishops fluctuated along with the distribution of declining central power. An unstable secular authority tended to release some of its prerogatives and either transfer them to the alternative centers of power, like the bishoprics, or abolish them altogether. The difficulty lay in the bishops' ability to ensure the balance between

rising decentralizing forces and the superior standing of the princes and dukes as the ultimate source of power, patronage and prestige.

The rise of territorial lordships in many regions of Continental Europe during the High Middle Ages challenged the traditional model of Christian authority that was defined by the distinct hierarchies of secular and ecclesiastical powers. The disintegration of public authority or even the collapse of a centralized state, therefore, did not immediately lead to consistent campaigning for creating sovereign episcopal lordships within consolidated territories. The bishops, like those in the Polish diocese of Krakow, preferred to negotiate their status with one single authority, royal or ducal, which dominated power relations in the entire diocese.

Between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries the bishopric of Krakow faced particularly dynamic processes of the decentralization of public authority, phenomena that cyclically appeared in other parts of Latin Christendom. The collapse of a stable royal order was challenging for an institution that, like in all other Christian states, relied on secular patronage for its very existence. The tradition of mutual benefits from close cooperation between a Christian ruler and ecclesiastical institution was strong and fully unchallenged in the early medieval Polish monarchy. The religious centers in the realm ruled by the Piast dynasty buttressed the prestige of the highest secular authority and assisted it in state administration. The kings as well as those rulers who did not formally obtain the crown but held the highest authority in the unified realm provided security and resources. Prior to a prolonged crisis of centralized monarchy, the Piast rulers exercised effective control over the young Polish church and freely exercised

traditional prerogatives that included legal jurisdiction, military demands and exclusive economic rights.

The Gregorian postulates to separate the clerical and lay spheres of Christian society along with the ultimate subjection of secular authority to ecclesiastical objectives appeared merely theoretical on the north-eastern frontier of the Latin world, where church institutions still needed a strong secular ruler to ensure their stability and future expansion. The few open conflicts between the bishops and the Piast rulers pertained to dynastic conflicts and the violation of traditionally understood public justice by the latter rather than the abstract notion of ecclesiastical liberties and powers. The episcopal leaders did not negotiate power relations as a single body. The territorial integrity of the state and the persistent focus of rising baronial forces on ducal authority discouraged the formation of sovereign territorial enclaves outside of the Piasts' control. The increasing dynastic conflicts in the second half of the eleventh century threatened the state with partitions, but they did not allow the local lords, including the bishops, to appropriate all the attributes and practical instruments of rulership.

The fundamental problem for the central secular power in the Polish realm was the progressing solidification of the provincial divisions initiated by Duke Bolesław Krzywousty's decision to provide each son with a separate duchy and simultaneously retain formal territorial unity through the supreme authority of the senior duke. The elevation of Krakow to the main permanent residence of this Grand Duke enhanced the already prominent status of the bishopric of Krakow in the hierarchy of the Polish church. The formal head of the Polish ecclesiastical province, the Archbishop of Gniezno, was in a disadvantageous situation because the provincial dukes of Great Poland, where the see

was located, based their court either at the neighboring town of Poznań, or in distant Krakow, which they occasionally occupied. The physical absence of the ducal authority at the see forced the archbishops to stress their superior ecclesiastical position in order to play a decisive role in Polish politics. In contrast, the Krakovian prelates experienced direct pressure from the dukes and compensated this pressure through active involvement in affairs that determined the fate of secular authority on a local level.

The crystallization of separate duchies out of the original provinces assigned by Bolesław Krzywousty to his sons did not diminish the appeal of Krakow as the most prestigious center of power and the means to control the wealthy and extensive province of Little Poland. The bishop of Krakow as the head of a prominent episcopal see became a crucial player in negotiating ducal power in that province. Political instability provided ecclesiastical leaders with numerous opportunities to secure additional privileges but carried the danger of only temporal solutions to crises and the uncertain attitudes of lay rulers. As in other parts of Europe, solidarity with other bishoprics proved insufficient to collectively resist violations of ecclesiastical liberties and to build a common front to pressure the secular lords for concessions. Specific local circumstances and the influence of the hierarchical church with an increasingly centralizing papacy on local churches in distant provinces affected the bishops' objectives and the methods of ensuring their see's superior position in the power structure of Little Poland.

The natural complexity of power as a public and social phenomenon is key to understanding the evolution of ecclesiastical authority in a decentralized medieval state. The bishopric of Krakow emerged as a crucial player in power relations in Little Poland, but it was reluctant to campaign for sovereign lordship. The bishops opted for a single

unifying secular authority, a preference that placed them in implicit alliance with the Piast rulers of Krakow rather than with local lords. The objective of the ecclesiastical elite in Krakow focused on stabilizing the central secular authority and obtaining from it instruments of reliable protection. The appropriation of ducal attributes of power was the only secure means to create effective episcopal leadership that would guarantee the stability and welfare of ecclesiastical possessions. The ideological strength of episcopal power based on the tradition of clerical powers involved practical methods of exercising control over land and people. With the wavering capacity of the central secular authority, the bishops needed to rely more effectively on the temporal aspects of public power. The practical ability to rule consolidated territories was the best method of enhancing episcopal status in Little Poland when the stable and effective authority of the dukes of Krakow became uncertain.

In a close analysis of episcopal power no single facet of public authority should be studied in isolation. Legal and constitutional aspects of power relations are not sufficient to explain the motivations and concerns of contemporary elites that chose specific methods of achieving, maintaining and expending their control over the necessary resources without which their status appeared endangered. The specific liberties the bishopric of Krakow received in ducal grants were usually the results of arduous negotiations. These privileges testified to the ultimate recognition of the episcopal leaders as crucial agents of public order and stability. The transfer of the attributes of public power, such as the right to judge, punish and tax local populations, colonize land, and fortify ecclesiastical districts were certainly significant concessions that the Piast rulers and the Premyslid monarchs rarely granted without the perspective of

political gain. But it is equally important to remember that in the context of the struggle to control Krakow, the secular rulers often restricted their rights in areas that appeared less fundamental for the practical ability to govern.

In the second half of the twelfth century, the bishopric of Krakow no longer represented a royal church with complete dependence on secular authority; the provincial ducal court often required episcopal assistance. The Polish church province maintained its formal hierarchical structure, but the major bishoprics competed for ecclesiastical leadership. The centralizing papacy became the ultimate mediator and judge of conflicting claims. External circumstances forced the bishops of Krakow to negotiate the extension of episcopal power simultaneously in both secular and ecclesiastical areas of their authority. Only the close interdependence of all the aspects of public control over a Christian society can explain the changes in episcopal power during the High Middle Ages. Activities such as participation in an electoral process of installing a new duke of Krakow or promoting a new cult of a saint should be viewed as only partial strategies in constructing an effective ecclesiastical authority. Thus, the bishops drew upon spiritual as well as temporal functions in the process of negotiations that defined the content and scope of episcopal power. The clerical leaders were fully engaged in secular political discourse and economic developments. They undertook religious projects that stressed the spiritual significance of the see and manipulated relations within a hierarchical church increasingly focused on the papacy.

The negotiations between episcopal and secular authorities in Little Poland during an era of political disintegration and the absence of monarchy produced a privileged bishopric with substantial liberties and the legally ensured means to control its landed

property. In the context of a crisis of central authority across Europe, the evolution of episcopal power in Krakow did not produce a sovereign principality, but only a highly privileged bishopric. The answer to the question of why the see of Krakow did not form a distinct and consolidated territorial lordship despite the fluctuating strength of ducal authority can be found in the focus and course of the bishops' negotiations with secular rulers. The bishops of Krakow sought effective methods of ensuring the primacy of their see, the security of their possessions and the potential expansion of ecclesiastical resources under episcopal control. Lordship armed with sovereign territorial powers was not the ultimate goal but a means to those three crucial objectives.

The crisis of succession to central authority in the Polish realm forced the bishops of Krakow to adopt a proactive approach to dynastic politics and the ambitions of the local baronial elites. Mere anticipation of generous patronage and lasting security no longer guaranteed success in a dominion without a powerful king. The bishops entered the process of negotiating power relations between new rulers of Krakow and their subjects. The electoral mode of elevating the Piasts to the highest secular position within Little Poland encouraged the prelates to stress their leadership in temporal affairs. The struggle for the Duchy of Krakow placed the bishops within the leading ranks of Little Poland's baronage. In the second half of the twelfth century, ecclesiastical leaders possessed substantial landed and human resources that allowed them to compete for power on the same level as their secular counterparts. Due to the determination and political skills of successive bishops, the see, as a distinct locus of public authority, avoided marginalization and the lay lords failed to monopolize access to ducal privileges and power.

In the period between the elevation of a junior Piast to the Duchy of Krakow in 1177 and the revival of monarchy in Krakow in 1320 the bishops of Krakow obtained four paramount privileges for their see and dozens of others that pertained to specific ecclesiastical property. It is important to remember that these privileges did not list all the jurisdictional rights of the bishops of Krakow but merely those that the secular authority officially renounced at a given moment. The famous agreements between Archbishop Kietlicz and the Piast dukes in the early thirteenth century did not guarantee permanent church liberties in every region. These privileges, nonetheless, proved the ability of the ecclesiastical elite to act in the interest of the church as a separate institution in the public domain. On a local diocesan level, Kietlicz's demands to abolish a number of traditional prerogatives exercised by secular rulers created crucial ideological precedents for restricting ducal authority through negotiations.

The dynastic conflicts over the position of the Grand Duke at Krakow, with superior powers over all Polish duchies, created suitable conditions for pressing incoming ducal candidates for concessions in exchange for the support of the provincial ecclesiastical elite. The elevation of Duke Kazimir the Just of Sandomierz to the principal Duchy of Krakow undoubtedly took place with the assistance of Bishop Gedko. Kazimir's son, Leszek the White, participated in the councils organized by Archbishop Henry Kietlicz and attended by the bishop of Krakow. In a 1228 charter specifically addressed to the Krakovian elite, Władysław Laskonogi openly accepted the role of the bishop of Krakow as a local leader. The paramount privileges of dukes Bolesław the Chaste and Władysław Łokietek, as well as those granted the see by the Bohemian King Vaclav II indicated the central position of the bishopric in the power structure of Little

Poland. The acquisition of public powers by the see accompanied their efforts to install stable ducal authority in Krakow that would be willing to recognize the prominent presence of the bishops in a just government in a Christian society. The grants of legal, economic or even military privileges that augmented episcopal instruments of controlling ecclesiastical land were the cost of securing the bishops' support during the competition for legitimate rulership in Krakow. This support was particularly crucial for the Piasts who were minors. In light of the claims pressed by the senior members of the Piast dynasty and the particular interests of the local oligarchy only the unswerving assistance of the bishops assured that Leszek the White and his son Bolesław the Chaste achieved ducal dignity.

The most explicit and grand gestures of cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular authorities were concurrent with particular stages in the ducal struggle for power in Little Poland. The succession crises and the efforts of episcopal leaders to stabilize secular authority made ecclesiastical privileges a crucial part of building reliable alliances between the bishops and the new rulers of the Duchy of Krakow. The ducal charters of 1228, 1255 and its later modifications, as well as those of 1295 and 1303, publicly manifested the guarantees of substantial episcopal rights that can be defined as seigneurial. But while the practical implementation of those privileges needed time and stable amicable relations between the bishops and the secular rulers of Krakow, the charters made an explicit ideological statement about the powerful position of the bishops in the hierarchy of provincial power and their ability to influence the formation of stable secular rulership at Krakow. The charters that were also endorsed by leading provincial barons testified to the dukes' acceptance of a partnership with episcopal authorities.

The success of the bishopric was especially significant because of internal difficulties. The see occasionally experienced crises due to disputed elections and conflicts with ecclesiastical superiors and episcopal peers. There was also a close correlation between the extension of episcopal power and the bishops' ability to overcome the limitations produced by foreign origin and strong divisions within the baronial oligarchy, whose interests often differed from those of the bishopric.

There was no linear rise of the bishopric within the provincial power structure of Little Poland. After the promising assertion of leadership by the bishops who deliberately promoted a new branch of Piast rulers to hereditary succession to the Duchy of Krakow came a shorter, but damaging period of crises. The gradual but evident decline of the practical power of the Grand Duke over other Piast rulers and the crisis of orderly succession to the Duchy of Krakow coincided with the tenures of determined and politically skillful bishops. Bishops Gedko and Pelka championed the cause of a new and just rulership on a provincial level. With the arrival of the young duke of Sandomierz at Krakow in 1177, Little Poland was unified and could now overcome the domination of Great Poland. The Krakovian prelates benefited from this shift of secular power, as they consistently supported Duke Kazimir and his line. Only the hereditary character of succession to the principal duchy guaranteed the permanent primacy of Krakow among ducal and episcopal capitals of the Polish realm.

Electoral practice that strengthened the fundamental role of the baronial elite in provincial rule presented the danger of the eventual suppression of episcopal interests by the local secular oligarchy. The bishops were unenthusiastic about the dominance of a regent government represented by provincial lords. An oligarchic government appeared

to be an unstable method of ruling the province and provided insufficient legal and economic means to assure generous church patronage. The bishops made conscious efforts to continue the model of the state based on power centered on the ducal office, but also in close cooperation with the episcopal court. Bishop Gedko took the initiative to place a junior duke, Kazimir the Just, in the capital of the principal duchy; Bishop Pełka remained faithful to Kazimir and protected the succession rights of the duke's sons. When the factional tension within the provincial oligarchy made the formal custody of the junior branch of the Piast rulers unfeasible and the senior Piast from Great Poland arrived at Krakow, the special institutional status of the bishopric allowed the ecclesiastical leaders to demonstrate neutrality and eventually secure amicable relations with the arriving duke.

The bishopric soon found a remedy to the temporary impediment to establishing a hereditary line of succession within Little Poland. Bishops took advantage of a reformist movement in the universal church to regain leadership and fight against the domination of Great Poland. The conflict between Archbishop Henry Kietlicz and Władysław Laskonogi, the son of the former senior Piast with prolonged claims to Krakow, ended with the victory of the archbishop and diminished Laskonogi's control of Little Poland. As a result, Bishop Pełka had more liberty to influence the succession to the Duchy of Krakow and install his protégé. This duke, Kazimir the Just's son, welcomed closer relations with the bishopric as a counterbalance to the ambitious provincial baronage. The first free episcopal elections in 1208 and the following extensive privileges reflected the duke's particularly amicable approach toward the see.

The consistent support of the bishopric for the junior line from Sandomierz produced a lasting alliance between Kazimir's successors and the episcopal court. This close cooperation appeared fundamental for the survival of the local branch of the Piast dynasty in Krakow. The reputation of the see as a reliable ducal ally and the assistance of the archbishopric of Gniezno prevented a sudden and dramatic collapse of the status of the Krakovian see when its bishops struggled to overcome their personal, social and ecclesiastical impediments. The first free episcopal elections, substantial privileges and the consolidation of episcopal power advanced even at a time when the see of Krakow was occupied by politically inactive prelates with an undistinguished family background. It was the Piast rulers themselves who perceived amicable relations with the bishopric as particularly advantageous. The case of Bishop Vincent, who obtained his office in free elections, revealed the interdependence between the immediate needs of a young duke of Krakow to find an ally during dynastic conflicts and the reformist demands of the hierarchical church headed by the archbishop of Gniezno.

Episcopal prestige and political importance were already well established by the tenure of Bishop Ivo. With the advent of a new duke from Great Poland at Krakow, the bishop was sufficiently strong to head negotiations about the prerogatives of ducal authority in the diocese. The tradition of close alliance between the ecclesiastical authorities and secular rulers was revived at the cost of local baronial oligarchy. As future developments would demonstrate, strong foreign dukes were compelled to accept episcopal leaders as baronial peers. The bishops manipulated the Piasts' competition for Little Poland in order to obtain security for clerical possessions and to successfully guard the hereditary order of succession that ultimately favored the rights of Kazimir's male

descendants. A bishop of baronial background, like Ivo, offered support not only from the provincial clergy but also from the ranks of the secular aristocracy. When a duke of Great Poland finally gained Krakow in 1228, the leading role of the bishop within the local oligarchy found official recognition and protection through a ducal charter. With a subsequent vacancy on the ducal throne, the bishopric again came to the forefront of political negotiations and rescued the hereditary rights of the Krakovian line initiated by Kazimir the Just and Bishop Pełka in 1177. The powerful Duke Henry of Silesia was accepted at Krakow only as a temporal ruler of Little Poland acting on behalf of Kazimir's grandson.

The short-term political upheavals that were taking place in the context of succession crises saved the see from permanent decline. The tenure of Bishop Wisław particularly exemplifies this problem. Wisław had limited ability to overcome his insignificant social background and the consequences of double episcopal election. He failed to prevent clerical separatism in the eastern regions of Little Poland and to negotiate power on his own terms with the two dukes whose claimed Krakow after Leszek the White's death in 1229. But consistent support for Leszek's widow and her son and gestures of acceptance towards the Mazovian duke, whose style of rulership appeared intolerable for the Krakovian oligarchy, maintained the bishop's importance as an agent of power relations. Wisław, who was ignored when the strongest among the Polish dukes at the time, the rulers of Silesia, were able to formally incorporate the Duchy of Krakow to their wealthy and extensive realm, reemerged as a mediator in the discourse between the persisting Duke Conrad of Mazovia, the local secular barons and the young heir to the duchy in a direct line from Kazimir the Just. As a result, Wisław's

successor in the see, Bishop Prandota, was more easily able to secure extraordinary church privileges in the mid thirteenth century.

An aristocratic background helped the new bishop serve the young Duke Bolesław, the grandson of Kazimir the Just, in the capacity of an influential supporter. Prandota's tenure at the see reveals the cyclical character of crises in episcopal power and the importance of the social status of the Krakovian prelates. Prandota's self-confidence, built over two decades of the duke's generous patronage, and effective rulership unintentionally contributed to future clashes between episcopal and ducal authorities. The strong position of the bishopric in a provincial power structure profiting from close cooperation with the ducal court eventually led to aggression in defending episcopal interests by the next generation of the bishops of Krakow. However, these confrontational attitudes were not dictated by any idea of ecclesiastical emancipation from the secular structures of the state. The ecclesiastical objective was to negotiate power as a distinct political entity with the same legitimacy as the local lay barons. The increasing militancy of the bishopric revealed the capability of the see to resist the arbitrary decisions of a ruling duke who threatened the interests of the Krakovian oligarchy. His lack of consultation with the local elites in regard to the transfer of ducal power in Krakow reinforced the sense of unjust rulership that the bishops of Krakow had been exploiting during conflicts over ducal succession and justified their opposition to certain rulers in Little Poland. Duke Leszek the Black's violation of the tradition initiated by the consent of the major secular barons and the bishop to install a ruler of their choice in Krakow in 1177 justified the disloyalty of the bishopric to secular authority in the last two decades of the thirteenth century. Bishops Paul and Prokop

either openly supported baronial rebellions against the duke who threatened the superior position of the Krakovian oligarchy or remained neutral and thus broke away from the tradition of close and amicable relations with the ducal court.

The intervention of a secular force that could overcome all internal divisions and tensions within the province demanded a change in the episcopal assessment of local power relations. The Premyslids, Vaclav II, king of Bohemia and from 1300 also the king of Poland, as well as his son Vaclav III created a chance to finally reunify Little Poland, which had remained practically partitioned by a number of Piast dukes after the death of Bolesław the Chaste in 1279. There was no heir in a direct line from Kazimir the Just to be championed in Krakow. New negotiations officially reemphasized the bishop's leadership in the Krakovian community and aimed at rebuilding the close alliance between the royal and episcopal courts. Meanwhile, the provincial secular baronage was divided and lost its ability to determine the accession of a single ruler of Little Poland. From the bishops' perspective, the lords did not offer a beneficial alternative to the Piast dukes who after the death of Bolesław the Chaste failed to incorporate the Krakovian elite into the process of their decision-making and establish clear rules of succession. The search for a more effective ruler by the bishop was penalized by imprisonment and persecutions.

The support given by Bishop Muskata to the Bohemian force at Krakow should be seen as an attempt to recreate a two-tiered public authority centered on the capital of Little Poland. Muskata negotiated for the status of his bishopric as a partner of the greatest power in the Polish duchies. The decision to support a foreign ruler was beneficial from the episcopal perspective. Disaster came with the sudden and

unpredictable collapse of the Premyslid monarchy. Only then could negotiations with a new Polish duke create a stable secular authority in Little Poland and a privileged church. The success of the bishopric in these negotiations was partial. The revival of the Piast monarchy in Krakow in 1320 guaranteed the prime status of the Krakovian see in the episcopal hierarchy, its wealth and privileges as well as the leading status of the local ecclesiastics at the royal court. The bishopric of Krakow was safe and prosperous but no longer able to negotiate power relations as an autonomous institution capable of single-handedly directing the course of political evolution in Little Poland.

During the negotiations over Piast succession to the Duchy of Krakow the bishops had a crucial advantage over their secular counterparts. The episcopal leaders could manipulate power relations within the hierarchical church to enhance the general prestige of their see in the secular sphere and defend its vital interests. The papal efforts to centralize ecclesiastical structures across Europe and bind them to the Holy See through legal and political means opened new opportunities against the inimical action of rival bishoprics. The legal decisions that appeared unfavorable to Krakow but found confirmation by the episcopal superior, the archbishop of Poland, were not final in the post-Innocentian Roman church. The bishops of Krakow, like their ecclesiastical peers across Latin Europe, sent appeals to the Curia to overcome their limitations on a local level. Collaboration with papal legates was essential for political success. However, papal decisions were occasionally unfavorable and required from the bishops direct interventions at the Holy See to ensure its constant support for Krakow.

The protection of the essential interests of the bishopric of Krakow required constant discipline and decisive reactions to the hostility of those sees which undermined

the leading position of Krakow in ecclesiastical hierarchy. The conflict between Krakow and Wrocław over episcopal precedence was understood as a serious element in ecclesiastical relations. The bishops from both sides perceived their towns as political centers in which the extension of ducal power and the relations between the secular and clerical authorities were frequently negotiated. In the fierce competition between Krakow and its most serious rivals, the Archbishopric of Gniezno and the Silesian see of Wrocław, appeals to historical precedent and the papacy were popular methods of negotiating the first position after the archbishopric in the hierarchical order of Polish metropolitan sees.

The legalistic procedures, papal reforms and the ability of the bishops to impose their political will on local secular leaders required additional ideological support in order to establish a permanent ecclesiastical order favoring Krakow. The episcopal custody of relics served as a useful instrument of generating prestige that transcended the purely religious significance of the cult of saints. The search for new relics for the see of Krakow coincided with the bishops' efforts to establish a new succession order in Little Poland during the twelfth century. The acquisition of saintly remains was a common practice among religious centers and demonstrated the palpable presence of divine powers under their custody. In the case of Krakow the presence of relics produced various results depending on their character and current circumstances in the province.

The first generation of the bishops who cemented the succession revolution in 1177 enhanced their authority by importing the relics of an Italian saint to the town in 1184. In the middle of the thirteenth century, current political stability and Duke Bolesław's extensive privileges for the bishopric provided suitable opportunities for

promoting the cult of a local saint that emphasized the heroic qualities of the episcopal office while avoiding a direct conflict with the secular authority. As in the case of Saint Florian, collaboration between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities initiated formal procedures that were concluded with the canonization of the eleventh-century martyred Bishop Stanisław in 1253. The papal legitimization of the cult stressed the authority of the bishopric of Krakow as the custodian of divine powers that sprang from episcopal office. No other see could claim a bishop who allegedly was martyred due to his opposition to an unjust duke. The almost parallel rise of the cult of Saint Hedwig, a Piast duchess of Silesia, and the lasting popularity of the cult of Saint Adalbert, the bishop of Bohemian Prague who died from the hands of the pagans in the tenth century, did not present a serious challenge for the new Krakovian saint. The bishops of Krakow held the relics of their predecessor, who through his ultimate sacrifice in the name of justice and subsequent miracles ultimately validated the superiority of Krakow over other bishoprics. Neither a Piast widow cloistered in a ducal monastery in Silesia nor a hero of the missionary age on the fringes of Latin Europe could enhance the prestige of the episcopal authority in the same spectacular manner as a martyred bishop of Krakow. The canonization and the formal subscription of the feast of Saint Stanisław into the liturgical calendar also promoted cooperation among sees under the leadership of the bishop of Krakow.

The Silesian ecclesiastics assisted the investigation into the merits of the Krakovian saint and attended the celebration of the canonization despite the accompanying papal recognition of Krakow's primacy among Polish bishoprics. In the second half of the thirteenth century the collective identity of the Polish bishops was

more precisely articulated and produced ecclesiastical cohesion, especially in the cases of open tension with the laity. Open conflicts between the secular and episcopal authorities in one duchy cemented clerical solidarity across Polish ecclesiastical provinces. Shortly after the canonizations of Krakovian Stanisław and Silesian Hedwig, the effective opposition of the bishop of Wrocław to ducal fiscal abuse led the sees in Little Poland and Silesia and the archbishopric of Gniezno to form a common front. The subsequent political crisis within Little Poland prevented Krakow from initiating a revival of competition for episcopal primacy. The arrival of a unifying secular authority was a crucial factor of the new cooperation between former competitors. The Bohemian rulers acquired the support of both the bishops of Krakow and Wrocław for their claims to rule Polish duchies. This cooperation ensured that Bishop Muskata found reliable assistance at the Silesian see during the ecclesiastical trials against the bishop of Krakow in the early fourteenth century.

Amicable relations within the hierarchical church shortly before the unification of Polish duchies were ensured by an external secular force with the ability to impose its authority over a number of Polish duchies and dioceses. The coronation of Bohemian Vaclav II at Gniezno in 1300 appeared acceptable for Muskata as long as the bishopric of Krakow remained the foundation of the Premyslids' lordship in Little Poland and thus exercised paramount and dual ecclesiastical and secular powers. The history of Krakow's uneasy relations with other ecclesiastical centers discouraged discrimination in the search for potential allies.

The frequent instability of the episcopal hierarchy meant that current supporters quickly changed into opponents. Political circumstances affected by secular rulers and

Krakow's ecclesiastical superior as well as direct contacts between church leaders determined the course of action taken by the Krakovian prelates. The papacy, the archbishopric of Gniezno and the bishopric of Wrocław, three main elements of the ecclesiastical power structure crucial for the status of Krakow, were often inconsistent, although rarely openly hostile, in their attitudes towards the episcopal see in Little Poland. As a consequence, the bishops of Krakow could not rely on the same single ecclesiastical authority for reliable assistance. In the late twelfth century they sought and obtained from the Holy See consecration, confirmation of ducal privileges, as well as the confirmations of Krakow's primacy among Polish bishoprics. The bishops also benefited from the apparent effort of the papacy to control the cult of saints through legal procedures. The papal bulls that granted Krakow the second position in episcopal precedence in 1186 and 1256 were subsequent to the formal organization of the cults of two saints in the town.

The reformist campaign led by Archbishop Kietlicz in response to the centralizing tendencies of the Innocentian papacy benefited negotiations to establish amicable relations between the bishopric of Krakow and its ecclesiastical superiors. The archbishop was able to organize a broad political alliance that included Bishop Vincent. When at the turn of the fourteenth century the see of Gniezno appeared particularly hostile to the bishop of Krakow, the increasingly legalistic papal court offered the possibility of appeal. The bishop of Krakow joined his ecclesiastical peers across Europe who manipulated the centralizing tendencies of the Holy See in order to negotiate their own status and power. From Krakow's perspective, the papacy offered crucial assistance when the secular authority failed to provide effective support. It was not easy to

convince Boniface VIII to accept the Premyslids' unrestrained expansion in Central Europe and their threats towards the papal ally, the Habsburgs, but it was possible to delay ecclesiastical penalties or even overturn an unfavorable sentence imposed by Krakow's provincial superiors.

The formation of the distinct Duchy of Krakow threatened the supreme position of the archbishopric, especially when the dukes of Great Poland failed to extend their power to Little Poland. A stable, unified royal authority, if based in Great Poland, benefited the church as a whole and Gniezno in particular. In 1295 and 1300 the formal rulers of Great Poland were crowned in Gniezno by the archbishop. But neither Piast Przemysł II nor Bohemian Vaclav had time to consolidate their realms. In 1320 the papal court, the archbishopric and the bishopric of Wrocław all accepted the revival of the Polish monarchy in Krakow. Different motives and circumstances determined their attitudes. From the papal perspective, a Polish duke who enjoyed support from the archbishop deserved the crown, especially because the authority of the Premyslids had been terminated and there was no alternative to Piast rulership to unify major Polish duchies. The decline of Silesia as a strong and integrated duchy along with the disastrous collapse of the authority of Bishop Muskata in Krakow additionally favored the Krakovian coronation. Due to the absence of a forceful secular authority, Gniezno failed to match Krakow's elevated status. If Great Poland could no longer serve as the source of the territorial unification of the Polish duchies, the archbishop could still stress his superiority by crowning a new king of Poland at the see where its bishop had recently been deprived of power.

Bishop Muskata's conflicts with his ecclesiastical superiors and the intensity of his struggle with Duke Władysław Łokietek fully revealed the practical implementation of episcopal lordship that had been dynamically evolving during the previous two centuries. The negotiations of power produced legal provisions that often stipulated the character and extension of major instruments of rulership. The bishops of Krakow developed the practical means of controlling land and its inhabitants in response to political instability and new economic currents. The episcopal leaders did not have any preconceived and consistent program of building a sovereign principality. The security of episcopal possessions and the primacy of the bishopric among the centers of public power were their fundamental concerns. The ideological arguments for clerical leadership that developed in the context of papal reforms and the cult of saints were insufficient to exercise effective authority within diocesan borders. The concepts of episcopal superiority based on the divine powers obtained through consecration and confirmation, the participation in the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope and direct access to the saints' relics were predominantly fine theoretical matters. Nevertheless, they helped the bishops demand respect for their extraordinary office and the security of ecclesiastical property.

In an era of fluctuating strength of the secular authority and the redefinition of ducal prerogatives, the bishops of Krakow needed to demonstrate power in a concrete and palpable manner to revive their status as the effective and stable holders of public authority. The possession of temporal instruments of power, especially jurisdictional and fiscal prerogatives and military force, allowed the prelates to find a common platform for negotiating the see's privileges as well as its obligations to the secular ruler of the duchy.

The bishops found it easier to protect the fundamental interests of their see if they held traditional attributes of secular authority. The ability to exercise justice and military force, when economically supported by participation in internal colonization and the market economy that developed across Europe, constituted the practical power of the bishops of Krakow. Episcopal leaders were fully respected only as peers of the secular lords in the public domain of power. Seigneurial attributes of power provided prestige and practical means to control defined territories. With the economic expansion manifested in internal colonization, migration, and market activities, the bishops obtained new opportunities to augment their leadership.

It is difficult to note any consistent campaign to completely liberate ecclesiastical structures from ducal authority. Such radicalism was neither realistic nor beneficial for the bishopric of Krakow. The Piast rulers exercised a pragmatic approach towards the issue of episcopal authority. Even on the occasions of granting paramount privileges to ecclesiastical institutions, the dukes clearly demonstrated their reservation to retain the essential instruments of rulership, such as the execution of highest justice and military force. But frequent political crises made the elimination of effective ducal authority dangerous for the bishopric. The political and territorial disintegration of Little Poland threatened ecclesiastical resources and required separate negotiations with each ruler who controlled Krakow. Open confrontation with the Piast dukes created unpredictable risks due to the disproportion of resources. Instead, the bishops sought peaceful symbiosis with those secular rulers who promised stability and protection against all who appeared to have abused customs and the contemporary sense of justice. The ideal of the two tiers,

royal and episcopal, of a Christian community involved cooperation cemented by a clear delineation of mutual duties and rights.

The termination of the apparent violation of ecclesiastical rights was an important initial step in forging amicable relations between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The problem of *ius spoli* provided opportunities for displaying amicable gestures and acceptable ducal concessions. The disproportions in resources made the abolition of the right to despoil the see at the time of its vacancy endurable for the ducal coffers and highly appreciated in episcopal circles. Subsequent negotiations shifted focus from guarantees against powerful lords' arbitrary and violent action towards the church to the transfer of public authority from the ducal to episcopal courts. The dynamic economic growth and expansion of urban settlements in the thirteenth century opened unsullied ground for the demarcation of powers. The bishops supported new religious foundations within towns as well as in remote parts of the countryside in order to generate economic profits and underline their power as entrepreneurial patrons. New monasteries and collegiate churches marked the extension of the bishops' influence in the areas open to political and economic competition.

The augmentation of ecclesiastical liberties not only lent precision to the scope of episcopal authority. It also restricted and eventually eliminated the rights of local lords to exercise power over the bishopric's land and its inhabitants. The reduction of the number of major agents of power to two, ducal and episcopal, elevated the bishops to the position of ducal peers. The councils that aimed to reform the Polish church in the early thirteenth century also decided on the liberation of episcopal people from ducal justice and selected services due the secular ruler. The reservations made by the dukes help explain the

difficulty with which the bishops obtained the crucial instruments of rulership. While the exclusive right to hunt stressed the prestige of the ruler, the reservation to exact service related to military activities, judge colonists and intervene in cases pertaining to the most serious offenses indicated the persisting imbalance of power between the bishops and the dukes of Krakow. During the first half of the thirteenth century the bishops, nonetheless, developed most seigneurial powers. Negotiations that produced substantial liberty from many traditional prerogatives of secular authority and the appropriation of many of them by the bishopric as a legitimate agent of public power accompanied dynastic turmoil as well as stable periods of ducal rulership.

The increasing prerogatives of the bishops were the results of ducal concessions to potential allies within the episcopal circle. The transfer of public rights revealed the determination to create a clearly defined structure of power, in which the welfare of the episcopal guardian of one dynastic line of succession testified to the confidence of the ducal grantor. The extension of the ecclesiastical rights granted by the dukes did not necessarily indicate the weakness of the secular authority. The dukes who forcefully fought for Krakow offered the see a reward for accepting their presence. The ability to voluntarily surrender traditional instruments of public authority, such as fiscal rights and wealth, became a popular manifestation of one's extensive power.

A secure and lasting ducal rule created palpable benefits for religious institutions. In Little Poland the enduring rule of Bolesław the Chaste exemplifies the model of an omnipotent secular power with a deep sense of responsibility for the church. In an act of gratitude for supporting the ducal line of succession to Krakow that had been initiated by his grandfather, Bolesław stressed the permanent character of previous privileges and the

protection of the bishopric against those lords that did not act directly on the duke's behalf. As a result, the status of the castellans sharply declined. The inhabitants of episcopal land were explicitly freed from most crucial services related to the presence of ducal representatives in the countryside and military activities, except the defense of the province. Only free peasants were persistently liable for most military obligations and ducal justice.

When German colonists began to settle in episcopal districts in Little Poland, they augmented the segment of the population claimed by both ducal and episcopal jurisdictions. Despite the bishops' increasing liberty to exercise power over peasants in ecclesiastical estates, the dukes reserved for themselves the military leadership and the function of the ultimate judge in the province. The arrival of German settlers in Little Poland was part of a noticeable economic expansion across Europe marked by migration, internal colonization, increasing market activity and urban growth. The local lords expected the colonists to initiate the economic development of unpopulated areas, usually forested, and in the long term to bring specified revenues to those who claimed the highest authority in colonized areas.

During the High Middle Ages in Little Poland only dukes and bishops held enough resources to organize colonization on a larger scale. The latter were, however, disadvantaged by the possession of few compact territories in which the see enjoyed complete economic and legal liberties. The competition for authority over free Polish peasants and German colonists resulted in ducal privileges for the bishopric. Ducal charters allowed a number of episcopal castellanies to clear forests, establish new settlements and exercise substantial jurisdiction over them. The mobility of free peasants

required redefinitions of lords' rights to local resources, especially when the imported German law stressed the extensive legal autonomy of the colonists. The bishops were only partially successful in isolating the settlers from ducal jurisdiction. The dukes' insistence on retaining ultimate authority, especially legal, constrained episcopal lordship even in the areas where episcopal colonizing efforts and ownership of the land were formally recognized and approved. But in the second half of the thirteenth century full liberation from ducal jurisdiction took place in select colonized districts. Economic changes offered a chance to directly advance ecclesiastical control of land by opening certain rural areas to territorial lordship of the bishops of Krakow.

In towns the economic and demographic dynamism of the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries produced equally significant challenges and opportunities for the see. In the process of re-founding settlements according to German municipal law and redesigning urban space into regular grids of streets, the bishops were forced to negotiate access to specific parts of towns. Their patronage of the Mendicants through land donations and tithes paralleled episcopal support for the Cistercians, Praemonstratensians and other smaller orders in the countryside. This involvement in monastic expansion stressed the bishops' piety as well as their formal authority in regions undergoing dynamic economic and social changes.

The liberties of the bishopric of Krakow, the mundane elements of episcopal authority and its political and religious initiatives appeared fragile without appropriate instruments of territorial control, especially in an era of rising provincial centers of power. In Little Poland banal lordship did not dominate power relations due to the persisting strength of ducal authority. Krakow and the ducal throne remained the focus

of baronial struggle and the competition among the Piasts. From the episcopal perspective, the major problem lay in the territorial fragmentation of Little Poland and increasingly legalistic concepts of power that defined the essence as well as the extension of secular jurisdiction. The charters reveal the process of defining ducal authority through the reservation of exclusive rights to specific services and taxes. Written agreements replaced customary demands. Relations with the bishops of Krakow advanced these legal clarifications. The episcopal leaders gradually acquired the instruments of power that previously characterized only secular rulers. The right to impose taxes, exercise justice, demand services from the inhabitants of ecclesiastical districts and even build fortifications allowed the bishops to effectively operate in the secular dimension. Military power guaranteed the physical protection of legal and economic lordship and testified to the ability to enforce authority.

It might appear surprising that for the bishops of Krakow the military instruments of lordship were not a priority during negotiations with the Piast dukes. In a few episcopal castellanies, the see received permission to build fortifications and free their inhabitants from military obligations to the secular ruler. The alliance with the Premyslid monarchy equipped the bishopric with additional castles and mercenaries. But the bishopric lacked larger territorial units under its jurisdiction and ownership that were necessary to construct episcopal principalities like those in the German Empire. Most promising in this regard was Bishop Paul's support for Duchess Kunegund, who held a compact territory in southern Little Poland. The Sącz district found protection from the see as a personal property of the widowed duchess. The bishops also acted as the patrons of the Order of Saint Clare, whose nuns settled in the region. What shattered the chance

to transform the area into an episcopal lordship was the persistent superiority of ducal power and its political consequences. Despite Paul's diplomatic skills in building alliances among baronial ranks, as the 1280's rebellions against Duke Leszek the Black proved, the alienation of the entire Sącz area from ducal domain never materialized. The limited territorial and military value of smaller units, like isolated castellanies and estates, and the later grants of a few strongholds did not advance the perspective of founding an episcopal principality. The strategic locations of a few castles on the frontier on the Duchy of Krakow benefited the Bohemian grantors more than the episcopal grantees. The right to fortify select towns by the bishopric was also insufficient without an entire military system that would ensure their maintenance in the future.

The bishops seriously considered the issue of military power when they negotiated their status within the power structure of Little Poland. One can observe the gradual progress from seeking protection against lords with military capacity to the recognition of the bishop's prerogative to initiate military action and construct defenses. There were, however, two major obstacles to advance the bishopric as a militarized territorial lordship: the bishops remained economically and politically weaker than most secular rulers of Little Poland during the High Middle Ages and the episcopal military instruments developed only as a response to certain opportunities and particular dangers, not as a long-term policy. The bishopric looked to the ducal court for paramount patronage including the physical security of ecclesiastical possessions. The insistence of the dukes of Krakow in exercising traditional military prerogatives additionally discouraged the see from building its own defenses.

Little Poland exemplifies a rise of episcopal lordship in the context of a general crisis of central authority. An autonomous episcopal principality was not a noticeable objective despite the potential possibility to expend ecclesiastical privileges in that direction. The most impressive military activity initiated by the bishopric took place only in the early fourteenth century. Bishop Muskata's active participation in military campaigns, acquisition of castles and mercenary service were products of negotiations with the secular power that promised political stability and favored the bishop's lordship in the Duchy of Krakow. Muskata obtained military tools not in order to act as a banal lord aiming to undermine a central authority, but to act on that authority's behalf in a direct manner. The bishop became a leading regional lord with practical means to engage his enemies. This was a grand manifestation of seigneurial authority that carried serious limitations due to increasing political isolation and the disproportion of episcopal and ducal resources.

During the long decades of the partitioned Polish realm, the bishops of Krakow never materialized as territorial princes equipped with full jurisdictional powers and military force. Despite the noticeable gains of concrete seigneurial powers, the objectives of the episcopal leaders were much more complex. As figures of public authority, they operated in ecclesiastical as well as secular dimensions. The interdependence of the two dimensions manifested itself in the bishops' strategies to guarantee the welfare of the see. The negotiations of power in Little Poland between 1177 and 1320 offer valuable insight into the reaction of bishops on the eastern fringes of the Latin church to the challenges of secular as well as ecclesiastical forces. Political decentralization, succession crises, ecclesiastical competition, papal reforms and economic expansion, all in constant

interaction, placed extraordinary pressure on the see, which struggled to secure permanent recognition of its principal role in the institutional structures of the Duchy of Krakow and the Polish church but lacked sufficient resources to seek complete liberation from ducal rule. The involvement of the bishops in ducal succession reflected the crisis of central authority that led to regional fragmentation of power. The rise of episcopal leadership was related to the moments of power vacuum and factional conflicts within the provincial elite, when the bishops had the opportunity to compete in an effective manner with the secular barons. The see of Krakow persistently supported a new branch of the Piast dynasty associated with Little Poland or, when the line expired, effective rulers who were able to provide stability and patronage. Despite dynamic changes in the scope of public power, the bishops' actions reveal the tendency to maintain the traditional model of authority in which duke and bishop were the fundamental piers of order and justice. The bishops of Krakow were traditionalists who negotiated their power under constantly changing circumstances. Ecclesiastical demands for liberties from the traditional prerogatives of secular rulers did not aim at an arbitrary appropriation of public authority. Episcopal liberties were the outcome of careful negotiations between the bishops threatened by political instability and the ducal successors to a collapsed monarchy. Direct involvement in political affairs offered the prelates a chance to find protection through the augmentation of their own privileges. In the case of Little Poland, ecclesiastical liberties, granted by the secular rulers, guaranteed protection at a time of frequent crisis.

Political instability in the secular sphere of power affected the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the status of particular bishoprics. The periodical decline of ducal

authority in Little Poland undermined the claim of the Krakovian see to the prime position within the Polish church. The bishops sought new methods to mitigate the negative consequences of the formation of the distinct Duchy of Krakow, where the secular ruler no longer held practical power over all Piast provinces. The bishops turned their attention to the religious elements of public discourse. The conflict over episcopal precedence during church councils and the patronage over the cult of saints in Krakow cast additional light on the life of ecclesiastical institutions on the peripheries of the Latin church. The negotiations of episcopal power took place in the context of competition within provincial churches and papal centralization that reached even such distant parts of Europe as the Polish duchies. Ecclesiastical alliances, like those among secular lords, were rarely stable and reliable. The effective resistance of the bishopric of Krakow against attempts to diminish its prestige demonstrates the effects of manipulating hierarchical relations within the Latin church.

The centralization of the Innocentian church brought noticeable changes in negotiations of power on a provincial level. The association with the reformist currents radiating from the Holy See initiated the bishops' special relations with the centralized papacy. When a conflict of interests between sees arose, the papal court served as a means to resolve them and secure special privileges in episcopal hierarchy. The bishops of Krakow utilized the legal instruments of appeal to overturn the unfavorable decisions of their ecclesiastical superiors. If the archbishopric of Gniezno lay claim to clerical authority over Krakow, it also needed to recognize the superior jurisdiction of the papal court. A clear order of prerogatives in the ecclesiastical hierarchy effected legal as well as spiritual aspects of episcopal power. The formal introduction of the cult of saints into

the religious life of the diocese of Krakow during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries exemplifies the general acceptance of the papal claims to legitimize local cults. On the local level, successful canonization procedures and the inclusion of the feast of new saints into the liturgical calendar emphasized the bishops' organizational skills, pious patronage and the divine protection of the see.

Despite their direct impact on the public perception of the bishops of Krakow as leading lords, the ecclesiastical venues of power relations appeared insufficient to ensure territorial authority of the prelates. The redefinition of ducal prerogatives during the succession crises in Little Poland reveals a society in which public authority received specific legal dimensions. Secular rulers offered privileges to the clerical elite in gestures of ducal magnificence. By obtaining jurisdiction in select ecclesiastical estates, the bishops of Krakow gradually approached the ranks of territorial lords. The case of the Polish bishopric demonstrates, however, limitations in the forms of banal lordship exercised by religious institutions in Piast Little Poland. Ducal authority effectively prolonged its traditional prerogatives while the episcopal districts lacked territorial consolidation. The military capacity of the bishopric was usually restricted to a few strongholds and towns dispersed throughout the province. The episcopal leaders had limited resources and legal means to raise troops. For most of the period between the middle of the twelfth and the early fourteenth century, records indicate the absence of a system based on military tenures. The failure to forge a reliable alliance with secular barons ultimately forced the bishopric to rely on mercenaries. Only full participation in economic expansion allowed the bishops to raise appropriate revenues for defense. Thus, the economic revolution exemplified by internal colonization and urban growth affected

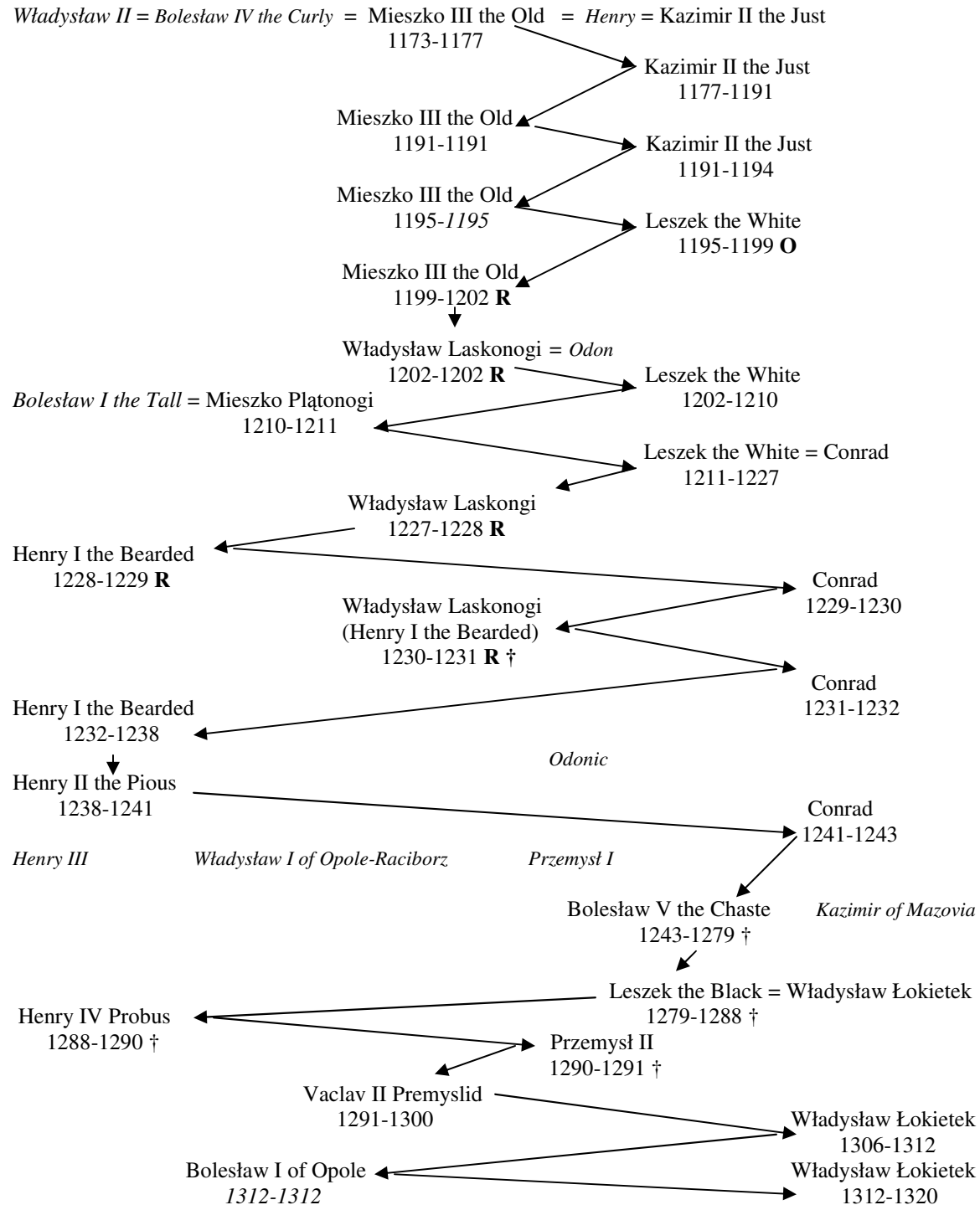
ecclesiastical authorities even on the fringes of Europe. The bishopric's efforts to organize new settlements, patronize religious communities in remote parts of the province and safeguard jurisdiction in reorganized towns were particular responses of the see of Krakow in a new economic reality.

A proper assessment of the course and methods of the negotiations of power in Little Poland during the High Middle Ages requires a closer look at the specific contexts of acquiring and developing the effective methods of enforcing public authority. Polish bishops responded to the grand currents that brought changes in economy, ideology, political power relations and religious practices across Latin Europe. Attempts to study them in isolation would diminish chances to understand the complexity of public expression of episcopal power. There was no period in which only one element defined formal relations between episcopal and ducal authorities in Little Poland. The bishops constantly sought new and effective methods of negotiating power in various spheres of public life. The ideological pressure to respect clerical liberties by secular rulers and the patronage of local cults of saints required economic and military support. Secular elements in the scope of episcopal authority brought the bishops to the world of laity and encouraged secular definitions of power and influence.

In their relations with ducal authority, the bishops of Krakow approached the problem of power from a perspective that rarely separated clerical and lay elements. This analysis casts light on ever-changing challenges and particular responses the episcopal leaders made to defend and, if possible, to extend episcopal authority in Little Poland. It contributes to a better understanding of the institutional and social history of medieval Eastern Europe. The processes known in other parts of the continent such as the

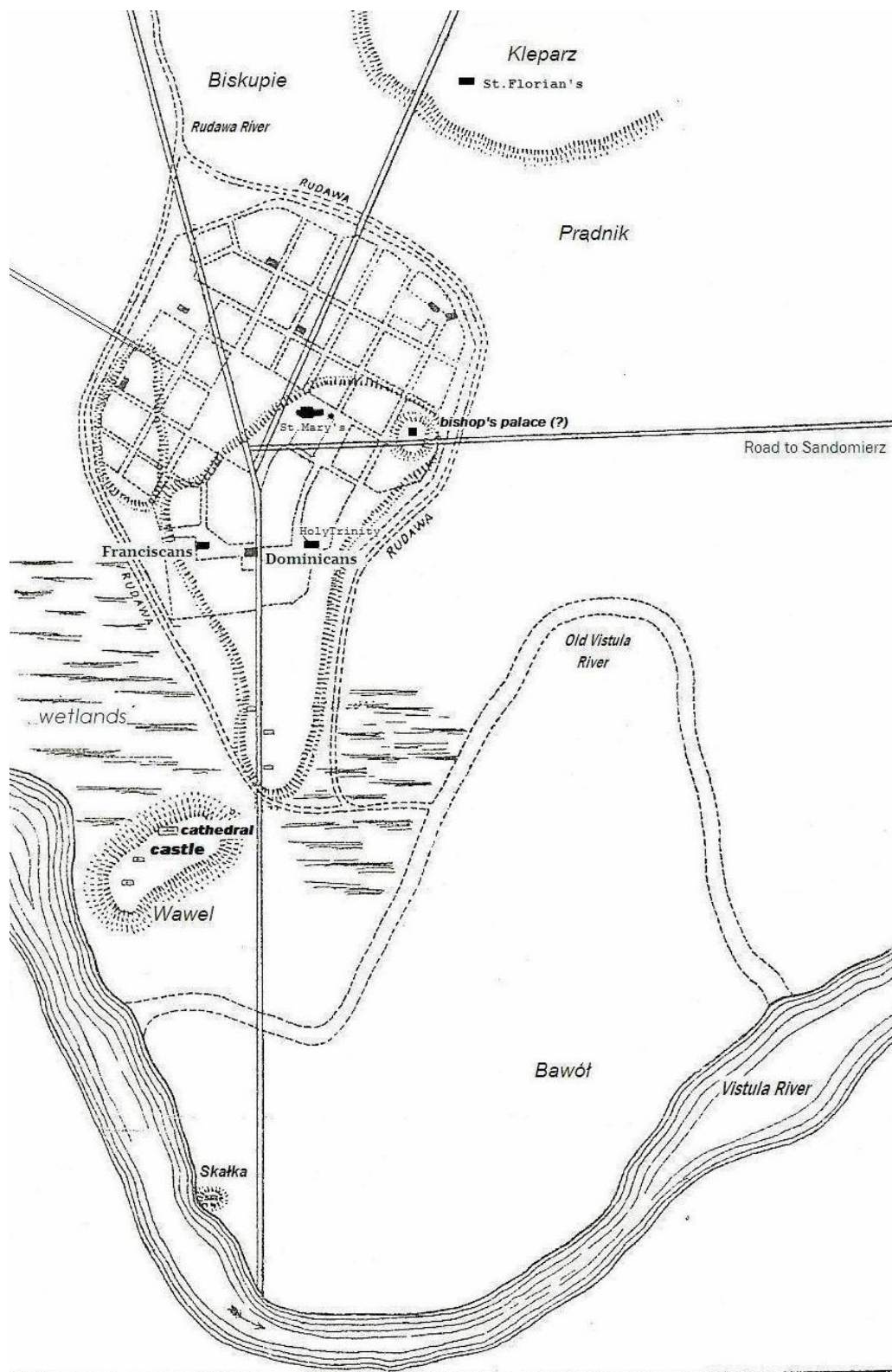
ideological conflicts between secular and ecclesiastical realms of medieval society, the expansion of the economy and the crisis of centralized monarchies that led to a rise of local lordships found unique expression in the particular context of High Medieval Little Poland. The period between 1177 and 1320 provides a particularly interesting local context due to the formation of a distinct duchy within the former Polish kingdom, a process that created suitable conditions for redefining public authority. The bishops of Krakow confronted political, legal, social and economic changes that immediately affected their ecclesiastical institution. The response of each bishop was unique and dependent on the local conditions he experienced during his tenure. Many new challenges that the Krakovian episcopal elite faced during the time of frequent succession crises were familiar to other bishoprics across Latin Europe and thus testify to an increasing integration of Latin Christendom during the High Middle Ages. This study reveals the complexity of mechanisms of negotiating and constructing effective episcopal power in a crucial province of medieval Poland. It demonstrates the practical application of the powerful ideological currents that struggled to form a perfect Christian society ruled in a just and orderly fashion.

### The Rulers of Krakow: 1173-1320



↓ - direction of succession  
**O** – oligarchic regent government  
**R** – ducal regent government

1173-1177 - years as Duke of Krakow  
 = sibling relations  
 † no male successor



### Medieval Krakow

Map based on the drawing by Stanislaw Guzek and Stanislaw Zachorowski. For the original map, see <http://www.wawel.net/play.htm>

**Confirmation of Duke Leszek the White's Privilege to the Bishopric of Krakow by  
Pope Gregory IX in 1227<sup>1</sup>**

Gregory, bishop, the servant of the servants of God, greetings and the apostolic benediction to the venerable brother, Bishop of Krakow. Because it was requested that – as the vigor of knights is just and honorable so does order require method – a suitable effect would be achieved through the concern of our office. For this reason, our venerable brother in Christ, uniting in approbation for your rightful requests, we confirm and, with the protection of this writing, strengthen liberties and immunities regarding founding castellanies in the territories of Kielce and Tarczyn that the beloved son, noble man Leszek, Duke of Poland, granted to you and your successors due to his pious and provident good will, inasmuch as it is contained in his writing, so you justly and peacefully possess them. Let no one, then, be allowed to invalidate this document, confirmed by us, or oppose it with a reckless deed. However, if someone undertakes this attempt, let him know that he will act against almighty God's wrath and his apostles, Peter and Paul.

Done in Lateran, on the fourth day of the Ides of May, the first year of our pontificate

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<sup>1</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława, 1166-1366*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica (Krakow, 1874), 1: no. 17, 23.

**Granting of Privileges to the Bishopric of Krakow by Duke Władysław Laskonogi in  
1228<sup>2</sup>**

I, the duke of Poland, for the salvation of my soul, and for the augmentation of eternal reward, with full devotion, have acknowledged that the church of God needs to be honored and adorned with my privileges – having intended to honor, as much as possible, in dignity and liberty the very son of the very Highest [God the Father] thanks to whom kings rule, who is his [God's] true beloved, so that I become worthy with Him, supported by the recommendation of the Church, so I will rise in temporal glory and enjoy the eternal [glory], because He compensates His [Jesus's] temporal duties sweetly carried out with eternal reward. Everything should be for Him; for us only the things considered suitable to be received as ours. That is why I speak along with King David: all is yours my Lord, and what we have received from your hand, we returned to you; and also: Lord, I have adorned the beauty of your house. Having desired to ease the burdens imposed on the ecclesiastics that have been solidified, and with piety to bestow a reward resulting from ducal generosity, therefore, it is that I freely and willingly grant the Church of God canonical liberty, freeing the Church from all undue burdens and levies, especially from those: *prevod, povoz, povolove* or *poradlne, stroza, naraz, pesi slad*. I will preserve especially the rights of the Krakovian Church untouched, and the rights of established religious houses in the Krakovian diocese, that had been obtained either due to the generosity of the dukes, or due to long custom.

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<sup>2</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława, 1166-1366*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica (Krakow, 1874), 1: no. 20, 28.

Dated at the incarnation of our Lord 1228, at the council in Cienia, in the presence:

Vincent, the archbishop of Gniezno, Ivo, bishop of Krakow and Paul, bishop of Poznań, Litfryd, abbot of Tyniec, Bozon, the provost of Gniezno, Radolf, cantor of Krakow, Andrew, prior of St. Florian's and John, archdeacon of Sandomierz, Pakoslaw of Sandomierz and Mark, Palatine of Krakow, Mszczuj, the castellan of Wiślica and many others.

**Confirmation of the Bishop of Krakow's Second Position in Episcopal Precedence  
by Pope Alexander IV in 1256<sup>3</sup>**

Bishop Alexander, the servant of God's servants, greetings and the apostolic benediction to the venerable brother, the bishop of Krakow. It results from your piety that you will easily receive what you rightly ask us for. Indeed, your request that had been presented to us contains, due to the old, respected and till now obeyed custom that you appear to hold and has been preserved, that the bishop of the Krakovian church, who has been canonically consecrated, receives the first place and voice after the metropolitan bishop, among his suffragans, even if he had been consecrated later [than others]. Therefore, due to our respect for sainted martyr and Bishop Stanislaw, whose revered body, as you desired, rests in your church, and by desiring to honor the same church, with apostolic authority we confirm the tradition of that kind [the bishop's primacy] and support with the protection of this writing. Thus, let no one be allowed to violate this document of our confirmation or oppose it by a daring deed. However, if someone would like to undertake to try it, let him know that he will go against almighty God's anger and His apostles, SS Peter and Paul.

Done at Lateran, on the fourth day before the Nones of March, the second year of our pontificate.

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<sup>3</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława, 1166-1366*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica (Krakow, 1874), 1: no. 53, 69.

**Vaclav II's Privileges for the Duchies of Krakow and Sandomierz in 1291<sup>4</sup>**

We, Vaclav, the king of Bohemia by God's grace, the duke of Krakow and Sandomierz, Margrave of Moravia, want this document to reach all present. Because we want to preserve all in their rights, but especially venerable in Jesus Christ Father Lord Bishop Paul, the Krakovian chapter, and also the regular and secular clergy, barons, knights, burghers, and all the subjects of our duchies of Krakow and Sandomierz. Therefore, we want them to be able to use and enjoy their old and reasonable rights, customs and liberties. We will bestow dignities and offices in those duchies and lands, having taken counsel with the mentioned bishop, and the senior barons of those duchies. This is just as it is said to have been respected since former times. We will pay knights according to the old custom, hitherto respected by our rightful and legal predecessors, the dukes and lords of those duchies, from the produce and resources of those duchies that are sufficient for it and for other duties and needs of the same lands. Also the donations of villages, having been done by the same our predecessors in a reasonable way to the clerics and monasteries of those duchies or done for the knights and confirmed by their [the predecessors'] privileges, we wish them to remain in confirmation from us. We do not want to exact from them any new and undue taxes. In addition, we do not want to retain and support robbers or any malefactors who do harm and plunder in these lands. In the end, we wish that all the nobles, knights, the clergy and the laity all in these lands remain safely in their houses and villages. To testify to this matter and secure it, we have commanded that this document be made and then reinforced with the protection of our seals.

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<sup>4</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława, 1166-1366*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica* (Krakow, 1874), 1: no. 94, 130-131.

Done in Lutomyśl by the hand of Master Peter, pro-notary of our kingdom, a canon of Prague and Esztergom. The year of Our Lord 1291, on the calendar day of September 1, during the fourth indiction.

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### Abbreviations:

- AV *Analecta Vaticana 1202-1366*, vol. 3, Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, ed. Jan Ptaśnik (Krakow, 1914).
- BP *Bullarium Poloniae*, eds. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś, vol. 1 (Rome, 1982).
- DA *Johannis Dlugossii annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 4-6, lib. 5-9 (Warsaw, 1974-1975).
- KDKK *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1, MMAH (Krakow, 1874).
- KDKTyn *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lwów, 1875).
- KDM *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1, in MMAH, vol. 3 (Krakow, 1876); vol. 2, in MMAH, vol. 9 (Krakow, 1886).
- KDMK *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta krakowa*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1 (Krakow, 1879).
- KDW *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, 2 vols. (Poznań, 1877-1878).
- MMAH Monumenta mediae aevi historica, 10 vols. (Krakow, 1874-1887).
- MPH Monumenta Poloniae historica, 7 vols. (Lwów-Krakow, 1864-1893).
- MPHsn Monumenta Poloniae historica, series nova, 12 vols. (Krakow-Warsaw, 1946-1996).
- RKK "Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej," in *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskiej i kalendarz*, ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, MPHsn, vol. 5. (Warsaw, 1978), 21-105.
- ZDKMog *Zbiór dyplomów klasztoru mogileckiego przy Krakowie*, ed. E. Jonata, (Krakow, 1865).

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- Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski* (part 1). Edited by Franciszek Piekosiński. Vol. 3 of MMAH. Krakow, 1876.
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