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THE ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH AND THE PARISH OF ST ADALBERT IN KIELCE

ABSTRACT: Our findings on the origins of St Adalbert Church in Kielce are mostly working hypotheses. The article presents research findings concerning the origins of the oldest church in Kielce dedicated to St. Adalbert, founded probably during the reign of the Wrymouth. The applied method of retrospection as well as a broad perception of the beginnings of the territorial organisation of the Kraków church in the area of the Łysogóry allows for making the assumption on the seniority of this church centre in the area of today's Kielce and on its significance for the development of this settlement centre.

KEYWORDS: St. Adalbert parish in Kielce, St. Adalbert church in Kielce, St. Adalbert.

POCZĄTKI KOŚCIOŁA I PARAFII ŚW. WOJCIECHA W KIELCACH

STRESZCZENIE: Nasze ustalenia co do początków kościoła św. Wojciecha w Kielcach mają w większości charakter hipotez roboczych. Artykuł prezentuje stan badań nad początkami najstarszego kieleckiego kościoła, pod wezwaniem św. Wojciecha, prawdopodobnie ufundowanego w okresie panowania Bolesława Krzywoustego. Metoda retrospekcji i szerokie spojrzenie na początki kształtowania się organizacji terytorialnej Kościoła krakowskiego w regionie Łysogór pozwalają na ostrożne formułowanie hipotezy o starszeństwie tegoż ośrodka kościelnego w rejonie dzisiejszych Kielc i jego znaczenia dla rozwoju tutejszego centrum osadniczego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Parafia św. Wojciecha w Kielcach, kościół św. Wojciecha w Kielcach, św. Wojciech.

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The origins of the first church in Kielce, frequently connected with the foundation of the collegiate chapter as well, have been sparking continuous interest among the historians researching the first centuries of Kielce existence. It results from the fact that St Adalbert church

was mentioned by Jan Długosz to be the oldest Kielce church in his description of the collegiate chapter.¹ E. Wiśniowski remains the most significant monographer of the church and the parish of St Adalbert. He analysed previous studies (including those by Rev F. Mazurek from the year 1935²), and reviewed the existing written source material.³ His main conclusion concerned the fact that the parish churches were established in the already existing settlement centres.⁴ If medievalists unanimously advocate the idea that Kielce collegiate church and the chapter were established in the late 12th century, approximately in the year 1171,⁵ the foundation of the church whose endowment was included in the later benefices of the collegiate church⁶ must have been of much earlier origin.⁷

¹ J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* (hereinafter LB), vol. I, [in:] *Opera omnia Joannis Dlugossi*, ed. J. Łętowski, vol. VII, Kraków 1863, p. 449: '[...] ecclesiae parochialis quondam Sancti Adalberti in Kelcze, cuius adhuc extant lignae videlicet ecclesiae extra Kielczense oppidum reliquiae [...]'].

² F. Mazurek, *Kościół i parafia św. Wojciecha w Kielcach*, Kielce 1935, passim.

³ E. Wiśniowski, *Początki kościoła i parafii św. Wojciecha w Kielcach*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 1982, vol. 57, (includes the full bibliography of the literature that was referred to and of the source material that had been analysed before the 1960s), pp. 155-169. It should be emphasised that B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 3, Kraków 2000, p. 133, in one of the last studies of monography pertaining to the territory of the then Kraków diocese, did not express explicit stance.

⁴ This opinion was advocated in its entirety by E. Wiśniowski in his later monograph on the parish church structures in medieval Poland, see id., *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej w Polsce do czasów reformacji*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1, Kraków 1968, pp. 235-372; id., *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, „Dzieje chrześcijaństwa Polski i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów”, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 2004, pp. 9-16. Cf.: J. Kłoczowski, *Kościół w wiekach średnich na obszarze dzisiejszej diecezji kieleckiej*, [in:] *Księga jubileuszowa stulecia diecezji kieleckiej (1883-1983)*, Kielce 1986, pp. 193-214.

⁵ LB I, p. 436. Main literature: J. Szymański, *Kanonicy świeccy narzędziem feudalnej organizacji włości biskupów krakowskich na przełomie XII i XIII wieku*, „Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego” 1966, vol. 3, p. 124 ff; E. Wiśniowski, *Początki kościoła...*, p. 167 ff. Ostatnio L. Poniewozik, *Kapituła kielecka w średniowieczu, jej skład i uposażenie*, [in:] *Kielce przez stulecia*, Kielce 2014, pp. 39-45; Cz. Hadańnik, *Pierwsze wieki Kielc. Kasztelania kielecka od przełomu XI i XII do połowy XIV stulecia*, Kielce 2007, pp. 83-88.

⁶ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława*, ed. F. Piekosiński, part I, Kraków 1874, no. 9 (canon's benefice in Kielce was mentioned for the first time); L. Poniewozik analysed and discussed the source material, *Uposażenie pralatur*

Firstly, the term “parish” should be defined, since there have been numerous controversies in the literature concerning this basic concept, as a certain territory, i.e., a parish district or rather as *cura animarum*.⁸ The instance of Chomentów, whose parish district foundation act as of the years 1331/1332 was the first document of the kind to be discovered for the territory of the contemporary Kielce diocese,⁹ exemplifies multiple problems that the researchers of the basic Church structures in the Polish lands including the Świętokrzyskie region have been facing. Hence, the conclusion arises that the research on the beginnings of the oldest parishes based only on the preserved written sources seems futile. One should consider analysing multiple elements that a parish comprised such as the notion of already mentioned territory and a parish district, its role within the parish structure, description of endowment, the development of the dynamics of the parish and its range, *patrocinium*, and, last but not least, parish clergy so as to be able to reach beyond multiple, however, frequently inconsistent methodological assumptions.¹⁰

i kanonii kolegiaty kieleckiej w średniowieczu, „Studia Muzealno-Historyczne” 2011, vol. 3, pp. 53-85. Kraków bishop Iwo Odrowąż issued the document dated that year in which 6 prelates, 6 canons and 7 vicars were listed, see: J. Szymański, *Kanonicy świeccy...*, p. 124 ff; E. Wiśniewski, *Początki kościoła...*, p. 167 ff.

⁷ Ibid, p. 163. Also T. Lalik, *Początki kapituły wiślickiej na tle kształtowania się kolegiat polskich XII wieku*, [in:] *Odkrycia w Wiślicy*, Warszawa 1963, p. 189.

⁸ Cf.: *Parafia, parafialny kościół*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, ed. M. Nowodworski, vol. 18, Warszawa 1982, pp. 200-202; J. Szymański, *Organizacja Kościoła, Polska*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, ed(s). G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, vol. 3, part. 2, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, p. 510; M. Sitarz, *Parafia*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 14, Lublin 2010, kol. 1324-1326; A. Słowikowska, *Kościół parafialny*, [in:] *ibid.*, kol. 1330-1331. E. Wiśniewski presented the discussion including that of western historians, *Badania nad początkami i rozwojem średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Discernere vera ac falsa. Prace ofiarowane Józefowi Szymańskiemu w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Lublin 1992, pp. 43-55.

⁹ The copy of the foundation act of the parish in Chomentów is stored in the Diocese Archives in Kielce, see: *Zbiór dokumentów katedry i diecezji krakowskiej* (hereinafter ZDKiDK), ed. S. Kuraś, Lublin 1965, vol. 1, no(s). 38 and 39; P. Kardyś, *Wykaz dokumentów ze „Zbioru dokumentów pergaminowych i papierowych” Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Kielcach*, „Studia Muzealno-Historyczne”, 2018, vol. 10, p. 227.

¹⁰ A similar outline for the study including multiple features of various kinds (especially for the 14th – 15th centuries) was set forth by E. Wiśniewski, *Badania na początkami*, pp. 43-55, and they were reiterated by P. xzś, *Parafie w średniowieczu*

According to L. Poniewozik, the original *fundum* of the church of St Adalbert included the revenue from the extensively dispersed settlements: 1) the later established parishes in Daleszyce, Sędziejowice, Bardo, Brzeziny, Piotrkowice, Kije for the benefit of curator's benefice; 2) the parishes of St Peter in Sandomierz, Kije, Drugnia, Tarczek, Pierzchnica for the benefit of the schools under scholastic's administration; 3) the parishes in Daleszyce, Lisów, Chomentów, Kije, Łuków, Tarczek, Pierzchnica¹¹ for the benefit of the canon's benefice in Brzechów; 4) the parishes in Daleszyce, Bardo, Sędziejowice, Kije, Pierzchnica, Brzeziny for the benefit of the canon's benefice in Pierzchnica. It should be underscored that the rights to the above listed revenues could not have infringed the rights of the parish churches established at a later time in the listed settlements, thus they constitute the premise to assert the seniority of the church of St Adalbert and the extent of its endowment, at least, as compared to the above mentioned ones. L. Poniewozik also concluded that there existed a certain relation between the benefice of scholastic and Borzechów canon's benefice as well as the benefice of the curator and Pierzchnica canon's benefice concerning their endowment with the same settlements concentrated, outside Kielce, in the area of the later parishes in Daleszyce, Bardo, Sędziejowice, Kije, Lisów, Chometów, Pierzchnica, Brzeziny, Drugnia, Piotrkowice, Tarczek, Łuków. Since the revenue from the parishes in Kije, Lisów and Chomentów is of decidedly later origin, while the parish in Kije was established approximately in the year 1140¹² at the latest, our considerations might be limited to the boundaries of the parish in Kije to the south of Kielce. In the case of the area to the north-east of Kielce, according to Jan Długosz, the extended area of the parish in Chęciny (Szydłówek canonry¹³), established after the year of 1254, which belonged to the royal estate

na obszarze obecnej diecezji kieleckiej, „Kieleckie Studia Teologiczne”, 2014, vol. 13, p. 51.

¹¹ Before the year 1359 the revenue probably originated only from Kielce, Tarczek and Brzechów, see.: L. P o n i e w o z i k, *Uposażenie pralatur...*, p. 67.

¹² J. W r o n i s z e w s k i, *O początkach kościoła w Kijach*, [in:] *Cursus mille annorum. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Eugeniuszowi Wiśniowskiemu*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 48, 2000, vol. 2, pp. 627-632.

¹³ L B I, p. 465, 468; W. Z a p a r t, M. K a r k o c h a, *Dzieje parafii Chęciny do 1815 r.*, Kielce 2007, p. 10 ff.

stretching from Małogoszcz to Kielce, was included in the original *fundum* of the Kielce parish. It allows us to assume that the existence of the fifth benefice of the Kielce collegiate church originated from the time of establishing St Adalbert church.¹⁴

The studies on relations between the parish districts and the endowment areas (later tithe areas) should be undertaken to unequivocally analyse the issue, however, this suggestion remains unaddressed.¹⁵ Such studies would be especially engaging in the case of parishes of similar origins to the Kielce one,¹⁶ which are also related to the functioning or origins of small canonry groups such as Kije, Imielno, Busko, Małogoszcz, Mstyczów located in relatively close vicinity, as well as the ones situated further away e.g., Prandocin and Końskie.¹⁷ The complementarity of the settlement pattern in the area of St Adalbert church with the general settlement and proprietary situation remains another truism. Broadly speaking, it needs to be noted that it was not Tarczek, although better developed and managed with older settlement pattern and located on better quality soil, that became the central unit

¹⁴ It was noted by L. P o n i e w o z i k, *Uposażenie pralatur...*, p. 73 (notwithstanding, he allowed the possibility to separate this part of endowment of Szydłówek canonry from the primary *fundum* Małogoszcz parish).

¹⁵ Cf. A successful attempt to challenge the faulty analysis of the source material on the beginnings of one of the parishes of Kielce provostry was conducted by the author of the paper, P. K a r d y ś, *Parafia św. Leonarda w Mircu w średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej przestrzeni historyczno-geograficznej*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 2007, vol. 107, pp. 117-146, in which he proved the 12th century origin of the church.

¹⁶ E. W i ś n i o w s k i, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w prepozyturze wiślickiej w średniowieczu. Studium geograficzno-historyczne*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 68-69; Cf. D. O l s z e w s k i, E. W i ś n i o w s k i, *Parafia Kije. Zarys dziejów*, Kielce 1993, pp. 18-23. Jan Wroniszewski presented a different opinion, *O początkach kościoła...*, pp. 627-632; he lent credence to the hypothesis on royal foundation of the canonry and the church in Kije before the year 1140.

¹⁷ A study by J. S z y m a ń s k i on canonry groups remains the best and up-to-date, *Kanonikat świecki w Małopolsce od końca XI do połowy XIII wieku*, Lublin 1994, passim; id., *Kanonicy świeccy...*, passim; M. B i l s k a - C i e ć w i e r z, *Powstanie i organizacja kapituł kolegiackich w metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2007, pp. 20-95; E. W i ś n i o w s k i, *Rozwój sieci...*, pp. 68-69; cf. D. O l s z e w s k i, E. W i ś n i o w s k i, *Parafia Kije...*, pp. 18-23; J. W r o n i s z e w s k i, *O początkach kościoła...*, passim; J. D o b o s z, *Monarcha i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, passim; T. G i e r g i e l, *Rycerstwo ziemi sandomierskiej. Podstawy kształtowania się rycerstwa sandomierskiego do połowy XIII wieku*, Warszawa 2004 (especially pp. 109-142).

of the territorial management of the Kraków church – Kielce provostry; neither was it the centre to provide high income from the demesne nor the seat of the collegiate church and of a bishop. This function was to be performed by Kielce, a relatively small settlement including St Adalbert church – the decision might have been undertaken on the basis of its administrative significance, the existence of the market prior to the foundation of the town, the location by the route, as well as economic importance, which was emphasised by J. Szymanski who analysed the role of Kielce canons in the administrative and property management of the Kraków bishopric.¹⁸

The study of the parish network development in Kielce provostry embraces subsequent examples.¹⁹ For instance, Łągów with the church was a parish district of considerable size, it included castellan stronghold, confirmed in the Bull of Eugeniusz III of the year 1148,²⁰ which allows for the assumption on the existence of a church within the stronghold which possibly provided service for local residents. Waśniów sets another example as it appears in the source material in the 1140s as the settlement within the demesne of the Canons Regular monastery in Trzemeszno together with a church.²¹ The Waśniów parish district was also of considerable size and its beginnings date back to the late 11th century,²² however, the church appears in the source material in the year 1145.²³ The origins of the parish in Momin (currently Manin) are of similar background. Being the dominant central place (*vicinia*) of nucleated settlements ('[...] *momina cum*

¹⁸ A study by E. Wiśniowski provides numerous instances, *Rozwój sieci...*, passim. Also, Cz. Hadań, *Kasztelania tarska...*, p. 122.

¹⁹ See B. Rzewuska-Kurzeja, *Rozwój sieci...*, passim

²⁰ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Polski* (hereinafter KDP), vol. 2, part 1, ed(s). L. Rzyśczewski and A. Muczkowski, Warszawa 1848, no 1: '[...] cum castro Lagou et decimis eius [...]'; '[...] castellania Lagoviensis cum suo districtu [...]'; '[...] castellanium de Lagow cum servitutibus eiusdem'; on the assumed grant by Władysław Herman to Włocławek bishops in the year 1086, see Cz. Hadań, *Pradzieje i średniowiecze gminy Łągów*, [in:] *Gmina Łągów*, Kielce 2004, pp. 41-42.

²¹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (hereinafter KDW), vol. I, Poznań 1877, no(s) 10, 11, 12, 15; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, Kraków 1937, (ed. 2, Kraków 2006), p. 47.

²² B. Rzewuska-Kurzeja, *Rozwój sieci...*, p. 81.

²³ Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium...*, p. 46 (the forged document deemed reliable concerning the grant for the monastery in Trzemeszno includes '[...] Wasnoe [...] ecclesie sancti Adhalberti [...]').

districtu [...]’ mentioned in the 13th and 14th centuries²⁴), it was listed in the Bull of Gniezno of the year 1136.²⁵ The parish, present in later sources, included a dozen settlements, considerable endowment including the entire village of Momin, and what is vital, a church of St Adalbert dedication. This information allows for setting its origins for the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, however, not later than the first half of the 12th century. The origins of Świętomarze parish in Tarczek Stary are of similar background. The parish district of considerable size as compared to the parish in Tarczek Nowy seems to indicate the original administration centre of a bishop estate. Only later did a subsequent settlement of town character occur (in approximately mid-13th century) in Tarczek Nowy, where a spacious parish church was built. It denotes the origins of the parish in Świętomarze for the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, until the mid-12th century, especially if one considers its *patrocinium* of Blessed Virgin Mary,²⁶ as well as the fact of the endowment of Kielce provost with the revenue of the said church.²⁷

The oldest churches of the parish character in Wiślica provostry were of similar beginnings. E. Wiśniowski posited that their origins are always asserted by the size of the parish district and uniform proprietary relations confirmed in the source material and through the archaeological research or probable stronghold functions, the existence of the settlement centre, early *patrocinium*, market functions and the location by a significant route (or at the crossroads of the routes).²⁸ Kije, Gnojno, Szaniec, Janina, Małogosz, Połaniec, Kazimierza Mała, Opatowiec, Korczyn Stary, Stopnica, Pełczyńska, Chroberz, Pacanów, Busko, Chotel Czerwony and others epitomise the such pattern of the

²⁴ J. and E. Gąsso w s c y, *Lysa Góra we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 1970, p. 96; *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, Berlin 1861, Haupttheil 1, Bd 20, no 19 (‘[...] Mamina et villis eiusdem locis adjacentibus’; ‘[...] Momina vero cum hiis villis [...]’; after B. R z e w u s k a - K u r z e j a).

²⁵ KDW I, no 7.

²⁶ Z. Brzeziński, *Zagadka kościoła...*, passim; Cz. Hadamick, *Kasztelania tarska...*, passim (includes references to dedications of Mary, royal foundations of canonry groups in Wislica and Sandomierz as well as endowment for the said church with the church of St Adalbert in Sandomierz!).

²⁷ J. Szymański, *Kanonicy świeccy...*, p. 312; Cz. Hadamick, *Kasztelania tarska...*, p. 125, (It should be assumed that the endowment of the Kielce provost followed the previous rights of the vicar of St Adalbert church in the area).

²⁸ E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie...*, passim

development. The study by E. Wiśniowski is, in some sense, the manner to follow while conducting the research on the parish network in the area of our interest as he had access to the settlement studies by E. Dąbrowska,²⁹ as well as the archaeological ones,³⁰ which are generally non-existent in the case of the Kielce provostry.³¹

Last but not least, the issue of *patrocinia* should be considered. The existing research, admittedly rather unpopular, concerns the issues related to the late Middle Ages and the beginnings of the 16th century,³² as there exists relatively extensive source material pertaining to that period of time. Hence, existing research may only serve a purpose of comparison in this scope. However, it unequivocally indicates that dedications of St Adalbert, St Nicolas, St Giles as well as other dedications of Mary confirm the early origins of the churches of parish character, especially those established in the 11th and 12th centuries during the stage of the organisation of the basic structures of the Church.³³ The dedication of St Adalbert was especially popular during the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth, particularly from the second decade of the 12th century. It was at that time, in the year 1113, that Boleslaus the Wrymouth undertook the pilgrimage ([...] *ad*

²⁹ E. Dąbrowska, *Studia nad osadnictwem wczesnośredniowiecznym Ziemi Wiślickiej*, Wrocław 1965, *passim*.

³⁰ Fundamental studies included in the Treatises and Reports of Zespół Badań nad Polskim Średniowieczem Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego i Politechniki Warszawskiej.

³¹ The research programme on settlement issues in Kielce provostry in the Middle Ages has failed to be undertaken as yet.

³² G. Karolewicz, *Z badań nad wezwaniami kościołów*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 22, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 215-231; on the medieval period, see A. Gieysztor, J. Szymański, *Patrocinia*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4, part 1, ed(s). G. Labuda and Z. Stieber, p. 44; P. Szafrań, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, *passim*; B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji...*, vol. 4, p. 431 ff; the instance of rereviewing the date of the parish foundation presented in the case study: Z. Brzeziński, *Fundacja kościoła w Tarczku a rozwój kultu św. Idziego w Polsce średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Bodzentyn. Z dziejów*, pp. 33-38 and P. Kardyś, *Parafia św. Leonarda...*, pp. 125-126.

³³ Cf. P. Szafrań, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, pp. 70-80; J. Zathy, *Z dziejów kultu św. Idziego w Polsce*, „Życie i myśl” 2, 1951, no 9/10, pp. 274-310; D. Szymański, *Wezwania kościołów parafialnych diecezji krakowskiej na przełomie XV i XVI w. na tle jej rozwoju od początków XIV w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 41, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 83-159, especially p. 136. Also, B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji...*, vol. 4, p. 431 ff.

sepulcrum usque beati Adalberti [...] to the grave of St Adalbert at Easter and founded a gold coffin for the relics of the saint.³⁴ The cult of the saint must have been developing at that time since the Cathedral of Gniezno was consecrated in the year 1097. The researchers believe the date of the relics of the saint fell between 1085 and 1097 (the year 1090 seems probable).³⁵ They are of the opinion that it was connected with the discovery of the real or assumed relics of the saint during the reconstruction of the cathedral, which the Bohemian source material³⁶ mentions. Approximately at that time i.e., in the year 1124, there was a mission of St Otto of Bamberg to Pomerania; he followed St Adalbert, and the first churches in Szczecin and Wolin (and Bantow in Sławno land) were dedicated to St Adalbert. Three years later, the head of the saint was discovered during the reconstruction of the cathedral in Gniezno, which was commonly recognised, and it emphasises the cult of this saint throughout the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth.

J. Dobosz noted that all the information concerning the discovery of the head of the saint in the year 1127 was included in the source material of Małopolska provenance, however, the source material of Wielkopolska provenance³⁷ lack it.

The then popularity of the cult of this saint is evident in the case of the dedications of the churches of royal foundation located in the strongholds or in the vicinity of the strongholds of castellan nature, whose multiple examples dating back to the 12th century were listed in the work by J. Nowacki. The following churches are worth mentioning: the church located in Książ Wielki, the one in Sandomierz (given by Boleslaus the Wrymouth to the Łysogóry abbey), the one in Brzeźnica-Jędrzejów founded by the Świebodzice-Gryfit family (consecrated by bishop Maur 1109-1118), as well as the one in already mentioned

³⁴ H. Likowski, *Geneza święta „Translatio S. Adalberti” w Kościele polskim. Rozwiązanie sprawy o relikwie św. Wojciecha*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej*, ed. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1997, pp. 140-141.

³⁵ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Kraków 1895, pp. 102-106; H. Likowski, *Geneza święta...*, pp. 140-141.

³⁶ Cf. K. Kantak, *Dzieje Kościoła polskiego*, t. I, *Początki metropolii polskiej*, Gdańsk – Poznań 1912, p. 174, dated the discovery to fall in approximately 1101.

³⁷ J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni wobec kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 220-225 (which allows for assuming the popularity of the cult of the saint in Małopolska at the time).

Skrzyżńsk (founded by Piotr Włostowic approximately in 1132). It is assumed that the foundations by Piotr Włostowic and the Świebodzice-Gryfit family were of later origin and they followed the foundation activity of the monarch, Boleslaus the Wrymouth in that case, as their chronology seems otherwise difficult to trace. There are also two more: in Momin and Daleszyce. The dedication of St Adalbert in the case of the first mentioned location seems of significance, as it is commonly believed, Momin played the role of the so-called dominant central place of the polity; the written source material describes it as the settlement centre with nucleated settlements.³⁸

The popularity of the cult of St Adalbert during the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth is also confirmed by the issue of the coins, which are named “repentance bracteates” in the literature; thanks to the studies by Z. Wdowiszewski³⁹, R. Kiersnowski,⁴⁰ S. Suchodolski,⁴¹ E. Rozenkranz⁴² and A. Schmidt⁴³ another type of bracteates displaying the image of St Adalbert was introduced. The analysis proved the proximity of the time of their issue and of the identity of their producers; and setting them against the broader mid-European mint context allowed R. Kiersnowski to conclude that their issue occurred after 1130.⁴⁴

³⁸ Cf. J. Nowacki, *Z dziejów kultu św. Wojciecha w Polsce*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech*, pp. 244-263; M. Derwich, *Benedyktynski klasztor...*, p. 301.

³⁹ Z. Wdowiszewski, *Jeszcze o skarbach z Dobiesławic i Karczmisk. Nowy brakteat z Czasów Krzywoustego*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne” 3, 1959, vol. 1-2, p. 52 ff.

⁴⁰ R. Kiersnowski, *O brakteatach z czasów Bolesława Krzywoustego i roli kultu św. Wojciecha w Polsce*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech...*, pp. 312-331.

⁴¹ S. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo polskie w XI i XII wieku*, Wrocław 1973, tab. XV; id., *Jeszcze o brakteatach Bolesława Krzywoustego*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne” 22, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 32-41.

⁴² E. Rozenkranz, *O gnieźnieńskich brakteatach św. Wojciecha z czasów Bolesława Krzywoustego*, „Pomerania Antiqua”, 1975, vol. 6, pp. 585-596.

⁴³ A. Schmidt, *Duży brakteat ze św. Wojciechem monetą arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i Materiały Historyczne*, vol. 4, Gniezno 1995, pp. 179-188.

⁴⁴ R. Kiersnowski noticed and emphasised Polish-Bohemian dispute concerning the cult of St Adalbert, which might have originated in the first quarter of the 12th century; it is confirmed by the issue of Bohemian denarius in the years 1118-1120, as well as Chronica Boemorum completed before the year 1125, which described a ceremonial transfer of the remains of St Adalbert from Gniezno to Prague; the head of the saint was discovered during the reconstruction works in the Gniezno Cathedral in the year 1127. It all occurred while the Polish-Bohemian political relations were deteriorating. See id. *O brakteatach...*, pp. 320-321.

Interestingly, his analysis indicates a broader European context in terms of iconography of St Adalbert, which originated and became popularized in the late 11th century. The above mentioned information allows for determining the period of the foundation of the church of St Adalbert in Kielce to fall within the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth, when the saint bishop became almost the nation patron saint of the Church and the defender of the state, which was reflected upon in the Gallus's Chronicles.⁴⁵ The importance of St Adalbert was emphasised in terms of the tradition of the Gniezno centre, which is at the basis of the entire organisation of the Church in the Polish lands. Let it be reminded that it was the time when Magdeburg bishopric attempted to exert the rule over all Polish bishoprics, which was expressed by overtaking the patronage over the second mission of St Otto of Bamberg in the year 1128 and the Bulls of Gniezno of the years 1131 and 1133.⁴⁶ The analysis conducted by S. Suchodolski, which was based on bracteates with the name and the image of Adalbert and Boleslaus, supported the hypothesis on the connection between the person of Boleslaus the Wrymouth and St Adalbert to exist as early as the year 1113.⁴⁷ There exists reliable source information from the 1120s concerning *cura animarum* performed by the churches founded in missionary lands,⁴⁸ which is the reason why it should be considered that the church of St Adalbert in Kielce also performed such function; the description of the cathedral's foundation seems to confirm this. It needs to be emphasised that during the time from the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries until the decline of the 12th century, the church network seemed scarce and thus it can be concluded that every newly built church, if located in the vicinity of a settlement, performed some clerical functions, later called the parish activities.

L. Poniewozik similarly to E. Wiśniowski and J. Szymański, underscored the significance of the endowment of the collegiate church benefices with the land property of St Adalbert church, including entire villages; however, it should be noted that the latter ones suggested such

⁴⁵ H. L i k o w s k i, *Geneza święta...*, passim; J. Nowacki, *Z dziejów kultu...*, passim

⁴⁶ Z. K o z ł o w s k a - B u d k o w a, *Repertorium...*, no(s) 28 i 30; K. M a l e c z y Ń s k i, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, Kraków 1946, p. 222.

⁴⁷ S. S u c h o d o l s k i, *Mennictwo...*, table XV.

⁴⁸ E. W i ś n i o w s k i commented on it, *Rozwój sieci...*, p. 55.

possibility while L. Poniewozik rendered it certain.⁴⁹ It allows for the conclusion that St Adalbert church was of prince foundation built before Kielce and the entire region of the Łysogóry was granted to Kraków bishops. Cz. Hadamik is, however, of different opinion, which he expressed in his studies on Kielce castellany and Tarczek/Tarczeńsk castellany. Initially, he believed that the foundation of the church could not have originated earlier than during the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth, nevertheless, he accepted the stance that its probable origins fall to the mid-12th century and were the work of Kraków bishops.⁵⁰ Simultaneously, he supported a hypothesis concerning the functioning of both castellanies and granting them to Kraków bishops during the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth. It should be emphasised that regardless of whether they were under royal management or within bishop estate, the literature suggests that, in the land of our interest, the rulers granted ‘the Church the districts initially developed’⁵¹ and possibly at the same time, which is confirmed in scarce source material, however, repeatedly cited: ‘[...] *territoriiis Kilcensi et Tarsensi castellaniarum* [...]’ before the year 1227⁵²; ‘[...] *de Kylcyensi et tarsiensi Castellanis* [...]’

⁴⁹ It concerns the villages of Zagórze and Szydłówek, as well as the manses in the villages of Złota near Sandomierz and in Kielce, see LB I, p. 436, 465; L. P o n i e w o z i k, *Średniowieczne parafie kolegiackie w diecezji krakowskiej*, [in:] *Przestrzeń religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w średniowieczu*, ed(s). K. B r a c h a and P. K r a s, Warszawa 2010, pp. 124-125; id. *Uposażenie pralatur...*, pp. 53-54: ‘It should be noted that the origins of Kielce collegiate church date back to much earlier times and might have been linked to a ruler and not a Kraków bishop. Such is the case of St Adalbert church before it was granted to the Kielce chapter. The exact date of its establishing remains unknown; it might be referred to a relatively wide time span of the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century. In accordance with the detailed findings by E. Wiśniowski, it might be claimed that the foundation of the church was likely of the prince’s idea. The endowment of the church seems to prove it’; cf. E. W i ś n i o w s k i, *Początki kościoła...*, pp. 163-164, 167; J. S z y m a ń s k i, *Kanonicy świeccy...*, p. 309.

⁵⁰ Cz. H a d a m i k, *Pierwsze wieki...*, pp. 83-88; id. *Kasztelania tarska...*, pp. 122-124.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵² In the privilege issued by Leszek the White for Kraków bishopric as well as the content of the document issued by pope Gregory IX, *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława* (hereinafter KDKK), part I, ed. F. P i e k o s i ń s k i, Kraków 1879, no 17; cf. J. P a z d u r, *Dzieje Kielc do 1863 roku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, p. 37, see: J. S z y m a ń s k i, *O źródłach pisanych do dziejów Kielc w średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego” 1973, vol. 8, pp. 305-327. Z. W o j c i e c h o w s k i, *Ze studiów nad organizacją państwa polskiego*

before the year 1258.⁵³ Additionally, most of the historians who researched the subject previously point to a certain chronological sequence comparing granting Kielce and Tarczek areas to Kraków bishops with granting the Łągów area to Włocławek bishops⁵⁴. In the instance of the latter, there is no researcher who would question the Jan Długosz's account of granting Łągów to Włocławek bishops (in the 1120s together with establishing Włocławek bishopric⁵⁵), functioning of the stronghold (*castrum Lagou*) in 1148⁵⁶ and quite an extensive parish district including several dozens of settlements.⁵⁷ Interestingly, the church in Łągów was also endowed by the ruler with the revenue from one of the churches in Sandomierz (of Virgin Mary in Sandomierz) similarly to the church in Kielce.

Hence, there are no grounds to believe that the church in Kielce – the place constituting the centre for the estate management (both royal and bishop) – is of the later origin than the ones in Łągów and Tarczek Stary (Świętomarze)⁵⁸ although its size and form (especially the building material)⁵⁹ might have been different. Obviously, the term

za Piastów, Lwów 1924, pp. 46-47 believes it occurred as late as in 1258 on the basis of the document by Boleslaus the Pious '[...] de Kylcyensi et Tarsensi Castellanis [...]' (KDKK, part 1, no 41).

⁵³ KDKK, part 1, no 59. Similar in terms of the meaning and assumptions including the strongholds of Kraków bishopric in Kielce and Tarczek before the year 1254, see: *ibid.* no 41.

⁵⁴ J. S z y m a ń s k i, *O źródłach pisanych...*, pp. 57-58; M. Derwich, *Benedyktyniński klasztor św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 273-274; *id.*, *Osadnictwo regionu świętokrzyskiego w okresie średniowiecza. Uwagi na marginesie badań nad osadnictwem świętokrzyskim*, [in:] *Bodzentyn. Z dziejów miasta w XII-XX wieku*, ed. K. B r a c h a, Kielce 1998, p. 51; Cz. H a d a m i k, *Pradzieje i średniowiecze gminy Łągów w świetle dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych*, [in:] Cz. H a d a m i k, D. K a l i n a, F. T r a c z y ń s k i, *Dzieje i Zabytki małych ojczyzn. Gmina Łągów*, ed. R. M i r o w s k i, Kielce 2004, pp. 78-80; Z. B r z e z i ń s k i, *Geneza Tarczka*, [in:] *Bodzentyn. Z dziejów miasta*, ed. K. B r a c h a, Kielce 1998, pp. 80-83.

⁵⁵ M. D e r w i c h, *Benedyktyniński klasztor...*, p. 308; Cz. H a d a m i k, *Kasztelania tarska...*, p. 139.

⁵⁶ KDP, vol. 2, part 1, no 1.

⁵⁷ B. R z e w u s k a - K u r z e j a, *Rozwój sieci...*, pp. 79-80 (dates the establishing of the parish at the late 11th century.)

⁵⁸ Cz. H a d a m i k, *Kasztelania tarska...*, pp. 124-127.

⁵⁹ See W. G l i ń s k i, *Archeologia Kielc*, [in:] *Kielce...*, pp. 16-17 and N. Glińska & M. Gliński in the published conference paper; hitherto they have failed to locate the remains of the church, which might be possible in the future, especially considering the research conducted in the area of the present St Adalbert church.

‘was built at the same time’ should not be viewed explicitly; it concerns the approximate chronological timeline i.e., the period spanning from the late 11th century to the early 12th century (reaching the decline of the reign of Boleslaus the Wrymouth). Simultaneously, Cz. Hadamik posited that the areas granted to the bishops had already been provisionally organised, which must have meant the existence of a church in its centre. Thus, in the instance of the church of St Adalbert in Kielce the notion of the timeline from the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries until the 1130s is reiterated, which allows for advancing a hypothesis of it being ‘the oldest (or one of the oldest [P.K.] churches located on the south-west slopes of the Łysogóry)’.⁶⁰ The research results of the sacral buildings architecture or even small fragments of old churches revealed during the archaeological research or preserved artefacts found in the vicinity and tightly connected with settlements in its surroundings existing at the time (i.e., in the early Middle Ages)⁶¹ would be of value. The conclusions included in the research analyses by W. Gliński, N. Glińska and M. Gliński have proven to be of assistance in the case of the church of St Adalbert, as they discuss the history of the research itself and concern the latest exploration conducted in the area of the church. The outcome of the earlier research conducted by J. Kuczyński and Z. Pyzik enabled the dating process of both the settlement in the area and the burial site to be set to fall not later than in the early 12th century. The research conducted by W. Gliński in the years of 2006-2007 and 2010 when the relics of residential buildings of the 11th-12th centuries were revealed confirmed the above finding, which allows for reiterating the hypothesis that the church of St Adalbert was included in the early

⁶⁰ E. Wiśniowski, *Początki kościoła...*, p. 169.

⁶¹ Cf.: *Kolegiata wiślicka. Konferencja naukowa zamykająca badania wykopaliskowe*, Kielce 1965, passim; E. Dąbrowska, *Studia nad osadnictwem...*, passim; J. Tomaszewski, *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi na obszarze Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław 1974, passim; Z. Świechowski, *Znaczenie kościoła w Prandocinie*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 1, 1959, pp. 13-25; id. *Architektura romańska w Polsce*, Warszawa 2000, passim; S. K. Olczak, *Parafialne budownictwo kościelne w archidiecezji kurzelowskiej w średniowieczu*, Lublin 1966 (unpublished, Zakład Historii KUL); Z. Lechowicz, *Dzieje ziemi radomskiej w średniowieczu. Okręg grodowy w Skrzynnie*, Radom 2010, pp. 47-63, 77-98.

medieval settlement centre,⁶² thus the church could have been of the missionary character⁶³, which occasionally served as the parish church. Such finding renders it feasible to cautiously support the hypotheses advanced by W. Gliński which he set forth in the conclusions to the research: ‘Regardless of the founder, the church is likely to be the foundation of a prince’.⁶⁴

A subsequent argument in favour of the hypothesis on the early foundation of the church of St Adalbert within the then Kielce settlement centre constitutes the information on the death of Kraków bishop Radost who presumably died in his Kielce manor: ‘[...] *in curia sua episcopali Kyelcensi*’ before 1142⁶⁵. In the light of such unquestionable source information it seems highly unlikely to claim that the then bishop estate including the manor probably housing an estate manager failed to have access to a church providing service for a bishop and his retinue on a daily basis, as well as for the residents of the neighbouring settlements.⁶⁶

The attempt to define the then church of St Adalbert as the centre of the so-called extensive parish district might also be undertaken. The literature on the subject analysing the application of the term to the oldest churches seems extensive, however, Polish historiography has been discussing the issue somewhat marginally.⁶⁷ Churches founded

⁶² W. Gliński, *Archeologia...*, pp. 16-17. Cf. Cz. Hadań, *Pierwsze wieki...*, pp. 98-100 – the author contradicted the date and challenged the hypothesis on the beginnings of settlement in Kielce to fall earlier than in the mid-12th century, and he associated it exclusively with the activity of the Kraków bishops.

⁶³ E. Wiśniowski utilised such a term, *Początki kościoła...*, p. 169.

⁶⁴ W. Gliński, *Archeologia...*, p. 18.

⁶⁵ L. Łętowski, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*, vol. 1, *Biskupi krakowscy*, Kraków 1852, p. 58; *Katalog biskupów krakowskich*, [in:] MPH, sn., vol. 10, z. 2, ed. J. Szymański, Warszawa 1974, p. 153.

⁶⁶ The question arises whether a small canonry group, probably of prince foundation, existed within this church, which became the basis for the reform of the congregation and founding of the collegiate church by bishop Gedeon at the later time. See J. Szymański, *Kanonicy świeccy...*, passim.

⁶⁷ Z. Kurnatowska attempted this for the land of Wielkopolska, *Początki organizacji parafialnej polskiego Kościoła*, [in:] *Kościół w monarchii Przemysławidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 21-24 września 2006 roku*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, pp. 37-48, comment on this type of “institutions” (i.e., grand parish districts) was made by E. Wiśniowski in his synthesis on Church history in the Middle Ages; see id., *Parafie...*, pp. 34-37; cf. P. Kardyś, *Parafie...*, pp. 62-63.

in such circumstances were usually religious centres covering entire strongholds' areas, clustered settlements and estates; additionally, they became administration centres of more extensive church units including provostries and arch deaneries. Hence, they were founded for the purpose of particular local communities, the oldest strongholds, defence-type settlements, state administration and church administration centres. The literature on the subjects embraces the Bohemian and Hungarian examples, which also point to the development of parish network starting from more extensive units – called grand parishes – to smaller ones – parishes. It has been numerously underscored that Christianisation must have been based on state administration structure to be later overtaken by Kraków and Włocławek bishoprics and the Benedictine abbey in Łysiec. The surface research results conducted by W. Gliński and the outcome of Polish Archaeological Record (AZP) suggest that at the time of granting the settlement centre in the region of the Łysogóry⁶⁸ the area in question had already been organised, thus, the first churches of parish nature might have existed or the grounds for their construction emerged as the ownership relationship changed. Accordingly, the methodological presumption that the churches of such nature were founded in settlement centres and not otherwise (the then settlement centres should not be understood to be strongholds) mentioned in the introduction needs to be emphasised. The relics or written sources confirming the existence of two churches in the so-called grand parishes: one in the stronghold and another outside, which possibly provided parish functions, as they were generally accessible constitute yet additional argument in favour of this presumption. Wiślica serves as an example of such an organisation, and Kielce might also be of analogy, where apart from the church of St Adalbert built in the craftsmen borough (or trade one including the market by the church?), the Romanesque collegiate church was promptly constructed, which was suitable for the bishop administration centre and Church territorial unit; the collegiate church overtook the parish functions from the church of St Adalbert and became the centre of the

⁶⁸ W. Gliński, *Łysogórskie skupienie osadnicze z okresu średniowiecza. Wyniki badań powierzchniowych Archeologicznego Zdjęcia Polski. Próba przedstawienia problematyki*, [in:] *Bodzentyn. Studia z dziejów miasta*, ed(s). K. Bracha, B. Wojciechowska, Kielce 2005, pp. 31-77.

provostry. All the researchers of the origins of Kielce, especially those analysing the beginnings of the collegiate church have reiterated Długosz's view that the provost of St Adalbert church joined the Kielce chapter⁶⁹, which proves that the owner of the benefice could not have been an unimportant village vicar⁷⁰ (of a small ordinary wooden church) – the local provost became responsible for the management of an extensive Church territorial unit, Kielce provostry,⁷¹ while another member – dean – initially was the first in the chapter and managed Radom arch deanery.⁷² Another argument for the older age of Kielce parish and of the early foundation of the church of St Adalbert in the area in question is the amount of its endowment in the first period of time that entered in the source material i.e., in the years 1325-1327.⁷³ It amounts to 18 marks as compared to 12 marks in Daleszyce, which was second in terms of the revenue in the Kielce provostry; with reference to other parishes included in the sources (17 parish churches were identified in the area of the Kielce provostry), the revenue varied from 1 to 7 marks. Additionally, as Długosz stated, the parish church in Daleszyce was founded in the times of Iwon Odrowąż i.e., between the years 1218 and 1229.⁷⁴ Considering its location in the south end of the Kielce provostry, it might be assumed that it overlapped the lands of the Kielce parish. Even if it is assumed that the Kielce collegiate church was endowed with the estate of Kraków bishop at the time of its foundation, it needs to be agreed that

⁶⁹ E. Wiśniowski, *Początki kościoła...*, pp. 168-169; J. Szymański, *O źródłach pisanych...*, pp. 50-51; cf.: S. Trawkowski, *Zagadka prepozytury tarskiej*, [in:] *Opuscula medievistica. Studia nad historią społeczną Polski wczesnopiastowskiej*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 138-145; F. Kiryk, *Urbanizacja Małopolski. Województwo sandomierskie XIII-XVI wiek*, Kielce 1994, p. 54. B. Rzewuska-Kurzeja analysed the literature concerning the establishment and organisation of the Kielce provostry, *Rozwój sieci...*, pp. 71-77.

⁷⁰ See: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, ed. F. Piekosiński, vol. 2, Kraków 1876, no 383: '[...] kielciensis decanus Johannes et prepositus Adalbertus [...]']

⁷¹ B. Rzewuska-Kurzeja, *Rozwój sieci...*, passim.

⁷² The benefice of the curator was to belong to the prior vicar of St Adalbert church, see: J. Szymański, *Kanonicy święccy...*, p. 315; Z. Guldon, A. Massalski, *Historia Kielce do roku 1945*, Kielce 2000, p. 13; Cz. Hadamik, *Pierwsze wieki...*, p. 87.

⁷³ *Acta Camerae Apostolicae*, vol 1, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 1, ed. J. Ptaśnik, Kraków 1913, pp. 167-169.

⁷⁴ B. Rzewuska-Kurzeja, *Rozwój sieci...*, passim; F. Kiryk, *Urbanizacja...*, p. 38; Cz. Hadamik, *Pierwsze wieki...*, p. 138.

the basic part of its endowment at the time of foundation was the revenue from the old church of St Adalbert. Considering the fact that the one Kielce provostry amounted only to 2724 km² and included the so-called three Church estate castellanies: Kielce, Tarczek of Karków bishops and Łągów of Włocławek bishop, it might be safely assumed that the so-called grand parish area with its centre at St Adalbert church was established by the rulers before the area in question was granted to the two bishops, thus the church was the oldest one in the area.

The Wiślica provostry, Radom arch deanery and Kielce provostry present some examples. In the case of the Radom arch deanery there is no settlement analysis, however, the researchers of the Church structure unanimously believe that the oldest parish in the territory was the one in Stary Radom and it must have been of royal foundation, which is unquestionable in the light of the duration of the ownership relationships throughout the entire medieval period. They also believe that the foundation occurred in the late 11th century or in the early 12th century.⁷⁵ It indirectly points to the importance of Kielce as early as the beginnings of the 12th century if the Radom archdean obtained a choir stall in the collegiate church. In nearby Skrzyńsk, (Kurzelów arch deanery), the church of St Adalbert is mentioned and its foundation is ascribed to Piotr Włostowic before the year 1132; and as the research by Z. Lechowicz expressly proves, the settlement origins of Skarzyńsk do not fall earlier than at the turn of 11th and 12th centuries, thus, the foundation of the church must have initiated almost simultaneously with the origins of a settlement, which has been archeologically researched.⁷⁶

Summing up our findings concerning the origins of St Adalbert church in Kielce, we need to emphasise that they should generally be considered a working hypothesis. It is due to the scarcity of written source material, insufficient archaeological research, as well as lack of settlement studies for the area of Kielce provostry in the Middle Ages. Hence, retrogression, especially of broad geographical and chronological nature, should be applied to notice and describe patterns.

⁷⁵ B. K u m o r, *Dzieje diecezji...*, vol. 4, p. 81, 85.

⁷⁶ Z. L e c h o w i c z, *Dzieje ziemi...*, pp. 45-62.

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