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## Seals of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna (1301–1319)

### Pieczęcie biskupa Henryka z Wierzbna (1301–1319)

**ABSTRACT:** Did Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna use his seals only for legal and political purposes? Establishing this is the purpose of the article. For this purpose, the extant seals were analysed for the sealed image and legend. When analysing Bishop Henryk's seals, we notice that they have the features of a prince's seal; the round shape was characteristic of secular power. The Bishop's seal was greatly influenced by Arnold of Zwrócona. The bishop used the seal for three purposes: to confirm the authenticity of the issued documents (a legal purpose), to emphasize the divine origin of the received power and to emphasize the old power of the Wrocław bishops.

**KEY WORDS:** Henryk of Wierzbna, seals, bishop's power, Arnold of Zwrócona

**ABSTRAKT:** Czy biskup Henryk z Wierzbna wykorzystywał swoje pieczęcie tylko dla celów prawnych, ustrojowych? Ustalenie tego to cel artykułu. Aby go zrealizować, zachowane pieczęcie zostały przeanalizowane pod kątem użycia wizerunku napieczętego i legendy. Dokonując analizy pieczęci Biskupa Henryka, zauważamy, że mają one cechy pieczęci książęcej; okrągły kształt charakterystyczny był dla władzy świeckiej. Duży wpływ na pieczęcie biskupa miał Arnold ze Zwróconej. Biskup używał pieczęci do trzech celów: potwierdzenia prawdziwości wystawianych dokumentów (cel prawno-ustrojowy), podkreślenia boskiego pochodzenia otrzymanej władzy i wiekowości władzy biskupów wrocławskich.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Henryk z Wierzbna, pieczęcie, władza biskupia, Arnold ze Zwróconej

## Introduction

The seals of the Wrocław bishops who were in charge of the Diocese of Wrocław in the Middle Ages have been subject to many monographic studies. Among the German-speaking scholars we might mention P. Bretschneider,

J. Busching, H. Krahmer, L. Schulte, W. Schulte, P. Pfothenhauer, and A. Schultz.<sup>1</sup> They have systematised the seals in quite a detailed way, defined the years of use, (all of them) presented their exact shapes, described images and legends. Their studies preserved reproductions or drawings of most of the seals under examination. It is worth noting that P. Bretschneider and L. Schulte dealt with heraldic elements appearing on bishop's seals, such as lilies, which became the coat of arms of the bishopric of Wrocław.<sup>2</sup>

Also Polish researchers took up the theme of the seals of the medieval bishops of Wrocław. Of late, P.J. Józwiak undertook to work out the issues connected with a detailed analysis of the meaning of the seals, paying particular attention to their legal and cultural features.<sup>3</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, on the other hand, dealt with Bishop Nanker's court seal and interpreted the meaning of the coats of arms placed on the seal of Henryk of Wierzbna, one of the Wrocław bishops.<sup>4</sup> Earlier it was Franciszek Piekosiński and Marian Gumowski, who, however, did not present all the seals used, limiting themselves to a description of their shape, images and legend characteristic of the execution and type of the seal.<sup>5</sup>

M. Gumowski posited that Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was the first among the Polish bishops to use the round seal. Much of the information provided by German scholars has been verified by more recent research, especially by R. Żerelik,<sup>6</sup> who, while studying the bishops' chanceries in Wrocław until 1301, analysed the corroborations of the bishop's documents and the seals appearing there. In his opinion, the gradual unification of the corroborations proves

<sup>1</sup> J.G. Busching, *Von schlesischen Siegeln*, Breslau 1824; A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel bis 1250*, Breslau 1871; P. Pfothenhauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel von 1250 bis 1300 beziehentlich 1327*, Breslau 1879; W. Schulte, *Die Siegel des Bischofs Lorenz von Breslau*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens" (hereinafter: ZVGS) 42 (1908); L. Schulte, *Die Siegel der Stadt Neisse und das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, [in:] idem, *Kleine Schriften*, Breslau 1918; H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des geistlichen Siegel in Schlesien bis zum Jahr 1319*, [in:] *Vorarbeiten zum Schlesischen Urkundenbuch* 1, ZVGS 69 (1935).

<sup>2</sup> P. Bretschneider, *Das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, ZVGS 50 (1916), pp. 235, 241.

<sup>3</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich do 1376 roku*, [in:] *Studia historycznoprawne*, A. Konieczny (ed.), "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 2144 (1999): *Prawo* CCLXIV, pp. 25–56.

<sup>4</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów umieszczonych na pieczęci biskupa wrocławskiego Henryka z Wierzbnej. Przyczynek do genezy godła diecezji wrocławskiej*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 2306 (2011): *Historia* CLII, pp. 100–118.

<sup>5</sup> F. Piekosiński, *Studia, rozprawy i materiały z dziedziny historii polskiej i prawa polskiego*, vol. 3: *Pieczęcie polskie*, Krakow 1899; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku*, [in:] *Historia śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do r. 1400*, vol. 3, part 2, Krakow 1936.

<sup>6</sup> R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich do 1301 roku*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 1258 (1991): *Historia* XCII, p. 98.

a better organization of the chancery's work.<sup>7</sup> W. Fabijański compared the heraldic elements on the seals of bishops Nanker and Henryk with the seals of bishops of Krakow.<sup>8</sup>

The purpose of this article is to examine the use of the seal by Wrocław Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, they were used for legal and constitutional purposes, on the other hand, as a means of communication. It will be important to look at the seals as one of the bishop's many tools in the realization of his main task, i.e. the Christian preaching, so often overlooked by researchers. The preserved seals will be examined in terms of the use of the image and legend, in which the expression *ecclesia*, the number XVII and the sign of the eagle as symbols of independent power, equal to that of the duke, were given prominence.

## Seals of Bishop Henryk

The bishop's chancery was an indispensable institution to manage the diocese of Wrocław. Ordinary Henryk of Wierzbna employed well educated clergymen – mostly at foreign universities – to run the diocese. They were tasked with the correct and professional preparation of documents, which in the Middle Ages had to be provided with a seal to be credible. Only a document with an affixed seal had legal force, constituted a legal relationship, and was protected from doubts about its authenticity. Breaking the seal invalidated the information contained in the document. The affixed seals replaced the signatures of the witnesses present at the preparation of a document and listed therein.

Also Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was in possession of a seal. The validity of seven documents from the years 1305–1318<sup>10</sup> is confirmed with the words *In cuius rei testimonium...*<sup>11</sup> In nine documents from the years 1303–1318 we find the sentence *In cuius rei testimonium et evidentiam...*<sup>12</sup> Among the formulas

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 97–99, 176–177, 231–232, 286–287.

<sup>8</sup> W. Fabijański, *Dawne pieczęcie na Dolnym Śląsku*, Wrocław 1980, pp. 28–30.

<sup>9</sup> A monograph on Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna is in preparation.

<sup>10</sup> The formula of the sigilla was discussed in quite a detailed way in the analysis of the documents of the Wrocław bishops by P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich*, op. cit., pp. 27–32.

<sup>11</sup> See: the State Archive in Wrocław (hereinafter: AP Wr.), rep. 76 no. 19, rep. 88 no. 86, rep. 107 no. 5, 7, rep. 121 no. 10, 11, rep. 123 no. 9; Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław (hereinafter: AAW), EE 20ab, K5.

<sup>12</sup> AP Wr., rep. 83 no 26b, rep. 88 no 69, rep. 102 no. 8, 10, 16, rep. 121 no. 14; AAW, QI; DmWr. (30 IV 1318).

of Henryk of Wierzbna's documents from the years 1307 and 1308 there are two more forms: *Cum (cuius) insignum evidens et in robur firmitatis perpetue nostrum sigillum duximus appendendum*.<sup>13</sup>

In the chancery of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna (1302–1319), a total of six types of seals, three larger and three secret ones were used.<sup>14</sup> The main seals stand out in many respects from those used so far by the bishops of the diocese of Wrocław. They have a round shape, while the previous ones had the shape of a halo or aureole. Of the preserved seals only the *sigillum* of Bishop Żyrosław (1170–1198) was round.<sup>15</sup> The size of the Henryk seals was quite considerable: 70 mm. They are adorned with new iconographic elements: one features a throne, replacing the previous chair, and a curtain, which was replaced by the earlier canopy. The other features kneeling figures at the side of the bishop, and the third one – an escutcheon with a coat of arms.<sup>16</sup> Bishop Henryk also used a smaller secret or signet seal for impressing “*contrasigilla*.” They appeared in the bishop's sigillography (sphragistics) already in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Bishop Thomas II's chancery was the second one in Poland to introduce a secret seal, round in shape and 19 mm in diameter.<sup>17</sup> The *contrasigillum* preserved on the seals of Bishop Henryk was larger: 32 and 33 mm in diameter.<sup>18</sup> The bishop had three such seals. Two of them featured the eagle of St John the Evangelist and the third a bust of the diocesan.<sup>19</sup>

During the period in question, we encounter various ways of affixing the seal to the document, which can be reduced to two basic, most commonly used ways: 1) *sigillum impressum* – an applied seal, a seal attached to the face of the document; 2) *sigillum appensum* – a pendent seal, a seal attached to the document by means of cords or ribbons. The binding may have been made with parchment strips, cords or thongs.<sup>20</sup> In the chancery of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, as shown by P.J. Józwiak in his research, the most common colour of tying material was red (nine times). In six documents the colour was red-yellow,

<sup>13</sup> AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4; documents of the town of Świdnica, U 14.

<sup>14</sup> See: H. Kraemer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte...*, op. cit., pp. 11–12, 27–29; M. Gumowski, *Pieczenie śląskie...*, op. cit., pp. 308–313; P. Józwiak, *Pieczenie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., pp. 43–44, 48–50, 52.

<sup>15</sup> See: A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel...*, op. cit., no. 22; W. Fabijański, *Dawne pieczenie na Dolnym Śląsku*, Wrocław 1980, p. 25, photo 14.

<sup>16</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów...*, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>18</sup> AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4, rep. 83 no. 34, rep. 88 no. 69, 82, rep. 102 no. 14, rep. 123 no. 9, rep. 125 no. 149.

<sup>19</sup> R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 313.

<sup>20</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczenie książąt mazowieckich*, Warsaw 1978, p. 103.

in three documents – red-green, in two documents green. Once the brown colour occurred, similarly to yellow.<sup>21</sup> Cords or parchment strips were threaded through the holes specially punched for this purpose in the document and the tab, which all documents had. Usually the size of the tab depended on the size of the affixed seal.<sup>22</sup> In order to affix a seal, the ligaments were threaded through the holes in the tab. In the documents of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, a simple slit was used for the cords intertwined through the documents,<sup>23</sup> in which there were holes in the shape of a triangle, diamond and circle. The cords were threaded through them. Most often the seal was placed in the middle of the cord. Out of 45 documents issued by Bishop Henryk, 31 were found to have such a seal.<sup>24</sup>

During the reign of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna, the chancery used three types of throne seals. The first larger seal, which was in use between 1301/2 and 1319, depicts the seated figure of the bishop on a chequered background from the waist upwards. The seat has a footstool in the form of canine heads. The clergyman wears an alba and chasuble and has a mitre on his head. His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, his left hand holds the pastoral with its crozier head facing inwards. The middle of the crozier contains a lamb, and right behind it a spread banner. On both sides of the sitting bishop and above him there is a curtain raised to the height of his forehead and the top of the mitre, featuring decorations in the form of stripes running around the head and vertically to the top of the mitre. A line of pearls surrounds the whole figure.<sup>25</sup>

It can be concluded from P.J. Józwiak's research that the bishop's chancery had to use several matrices of this type of seal at that time, but with different details.<sup>26</sup> This researcher stated that in the case of two seals there were two sashes on the chasuble, on the chest and that further on one vertical stripe ran down the chasuble. At the junction of the sashes you could see a Greek cross.<sup>27</sup> The two seals attached to documents from the years 1304 and 1308 had a crozier at the same level as the mitre. The last imprint of this type of seal was preserved on a document dated March 14, 1310.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 36, table.

<sup>22</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 147; S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich...*, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>23</sup> See for example: AP Wr., rep. 116 no. 66.

<sup>24</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> AAW, EE20abc, K5; AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 131, rep. 76 no. 18, 19, rep. 83 no. 25, 26b, rep. 88 no. 66, 69, rep. 123 no. 9, 10, rep. 125 no. 149; documents of the town of Świdnica (6 III 1308).

<sup>26</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> AP Wr., rep. 91 no. 146, rep. 102 no. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Reproduction of this seal was published by M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., no. 97; quite accurate archival signatures concerning preserved seals were included in the

The second seal, used between 1314 and 1317, also features a bishop sitting on a throne and granting his blessings, in the company of with columns and a footstool on which nine carved stars are depicted. Compared to the previous image, the *sedilia* on which the bishop sits were more extended, with a kneeling clergyman on both sides with visible creases on the robes. The figures were placed against a chequered background. To the right and left of the seated bishop, there is a curtain suspended at the level of the shoulder, forehead and the end of the mitre. The right hand of the bishop is raised in a gesture of blessing, the left hand holds the pastoral staff at shoulder height, facing outwards and ending at forehead height. Radius lines are visible on the curve of the pastoral. The whole is surrounded by a double line of pearls. The alba, chasuble and their refractions are perfectly visible. There is a Greek cross on the chest and a mitre on the head.<sup>29</sup>

R. Żerelik, noting the unique features of this seal,<sup>30</sup> made an assumption about the possibility of its execution outside the diocese of Wrocław, since it was first used to authenticate a document issued by the bishop on 25 August 1314 in Hildesheim.<sup>31</sup> It would be highly probable because, as we know, Henryk spent four years (1310–1314) outside Silesia, forced to appear before the papal court in Avignon. Most historians, such as H. Krahermer or P. J. Józwiak,<sup>32</sup> agree on the acceptance of 1314 as the initial date of use of this seal.<sup>33</sup>

The throne seals of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna had peripheral inscription surrounding the image. The inscriptions separated from the field by a continuous

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work by A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów...*, op. cit., p. 101, note 6. For the described type of *sigillum* see: AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 131 (23 IV 1302), rep. 76 no. 18, 19, 21, rep. 79 no. 4, rep. 83 no. 25, 26a, 26b, rep. 88 no. 66, 69, rep. 91 no. 146, rep. 102 no. 8, 10, 11, 14 (14 III 1310), rep. 107 no. 7, rep. 121 no. 5, rep. 123, no. 9, 10; rep. 125 no. 149; documents of the town of Świdnica (U 14); AA Wr., KK 32, EE 20abc, F 41, K 5, KK 2; *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte* (hereinafter: Regesten), C. Grünhagen, K. Wutke et al. (hrsg.), [in:] *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Bd. 16, 18, Breslau 1892–1898, Nos 3002, 3100, 3109.

<sup>29</sup> AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, rep. 88 no. 82, 86, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10, 11, 14, rep. 125 no. 157; AAW, KK 4; documents of the Świdnica parish (1) (12 August 1315).

<sup>30</sup> R. Żerelik, *Arnold ze Zwróconej. Archidiacon głogowski i kanonik wrocławski*, [in:] *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego*, K. Matwijowski (ed.), Wrocław 1992, p. 23, note 16.

<sup>31</sup> See: Regesten, no. 3414; T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca XIV wieku*, Warsaw 1953, p. 209, note 5.

<sup>32</sup> H. Krahermer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte...*, op. cit., p. 11; P. J. Józwiak, *Piecczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> Regesten, no. 3414 (25 VIII 1314), 3446, 3471, 3493, 3495, 3496, 3500, 3570, 3579; AA Wr., KK 4; documents of the Świdnica parish (1) (12 VIII 1315); AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, rep. 88 no. 82, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10, 11.

perimeter line were commonly called legend.<sup>34</sup> The bases of the letters pointed towards the centre of the seal, thus creating a certain harmony of expression. In all three seals, the inscription started from the upper periphery of the seal with the sign of the cross or the one-letter abbreviation “S,” meaning *sigillum* or, less commonly, *secretum*. The legend on the first of these three seals read: HENRICUS + DEI + GRA[TIA] + WRATISLAVIENSIS + ECC[LESIE] + EP[ISCOPU]S + XVII,<sup>35</sup> where the abbreviation *ecclesia* (ECCE) appeared the legend of the second seal read: S + HEINRIC + DI + GRA + EPI + VRAT; S + HENRICI + DI + GRA + EPI + WRAT,<sup>36</sup> and the third read: SECRETI + DI + GRA + EPI + WRAT without the name of the owner.<sup>37</sup>

A Greek cross starting the legend was a symbol placing the seal into the context of Christian culture, where an important element was the placement of the cross over the head of the figure depicted in the field of the seal. The cross symbolized the divine origin of power and dignity exercised in the Church by the owner. The verbalization of the invocation expressed by the cross later appeared in the devotional formula DEI GRATIA. This formula not only verbalized the invocation but also had a deeper reference. Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was perfectly aware of the principle uttered by St Paul about the establishment of authority by God (Rom 13,1-2) and therefore ordered the placing of the cross as a visible sign that defined not only the meaning and purpose of the bishop’s mission, but also predestined him to power over all souls. This will become apparent later on when the great persecution of heretics begins in Świdnica and Wrocław.

## Analysis

It is now worthwhile to focus on analysing the information provided by the legend and iconography contained on the throne seals. When we do this, we get a coherent picture that clearly shows that Henryk’s seals have the features of

<sup>34</sup> From the formal point of view, it was the first type of seal legend, dominating among the seals of Wrocław bishops. The second type is field legend, located next to or instead of images in the field of the seal. See: S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich...*, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>35</sup> AP Wr., rep. 67 no. 157, rep. 83 no. 33, 34, 42–44, rep. 88 no. 82, 86, rep. 102 no. 16, rep. 121 no. 10–11, 14, rep. 125 no. 157; AAW, Ql, KK4; documents of the Świdnica Parish (12 August 1315).

<sup>36</sup> AP Wr., rep. 83 no. 34, rep. 88 no. 82, rep. 102 no. 14, rep. 123 no. 9, rep. 125 no. 149.

<sup>37</sup> AP Wr., rep. 88 no. 69; AAW, EE20 abc.

a prince's seal. Its round shape, unique among bishops, was characteristic for seals of secular rulers.<sup>38</sup> Two of them from 1314–1319 were titled: +HEINRICUS · DEI · GRA(TIA) · WRATISLAVIENSIS · ECC(LESIA)E · EP(ISCOPU)S · XVII. The legend was taken from the catalogue of Wrocław bishops.<sup>39</sup> The appellation of Henryk as the seventeenth diocesan gave him dignity, legitimized his power and proved the ancient metric of the Wrocław bishopric, which was as old as the Piast dynasty. The older seal depicts the image of the bishop sitting on the throne, against the background of a curtain (canopy), with clergymen kneeling on both sides. The throne figure of the bishop against the backdrop of a spread curtain gives the impression that we are dealing here with princely majesty. It was the first throne seal of a Silesian bishop. The design of the seal indicates that the author must have been well acquainted with the Italian or French sigillography (sphragistics), which had a strong influence on him. M. Gumowski sees here references to Italian engravers brought to Silesia by the bishop himself.<sup>40</sup> On this seal we see the bishop sitting on the throne; so portrayed are the princes on their seals. On both sides there are shields with the coats of arms of the Wrocław bishopric and the Wierzbna family.<sup>41</sup>

After analysing their legend, R. Żerelik drew some interesting conclusions.<sup>42</sup> First of all, he called our attention to the rather special role of Arnold of Zwrócona, which he played by the bishop's side. Probably on his order Arnold made a documentation form. He probably also made a collection of documents, letters and mandates later called *Acta Thomae*, which was used by Wrocław Bishop Nanker (1326–1341) in his fight against John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia.

Arnold is believed to have graduated from Bologna, where he came into contact with the heritage of Italian culture. Its influence was reflected in Henryk's second seal.<sup>43</sup> And finally, Arnold, as an outstanding lawyer and expert in the functioning of the bishop's chancery and archives, could have been the

<sup>38</sup> Z. Piech, *Ikonoграфия pieczęci Piastów*, Krakow 1993, illustrations.

<sup>39</sup> R. Żerelik drew attention to the possibility of using catalogues of dignitaries in the practical activities of medieval chanceries, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie katalogu dostojniczego w kancelarii Henryka z Wierzbna biskupa wrocławskiego*, "Sobótka" 1 (1993), pp. 65–69.

<sup>40</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 323.

<sup>41</sup> H. Kraemer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte...*, op. cit., p. 24; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 323, table 120, no. 100 and 101; see also: P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., pp. 43–44, 54; A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów...*, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>42</sup> R. Żerelik, *Arnold ze Zwróconej...*, op. cit., p. 23; idem, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 286; J. Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Średniowiecze*, vol. 1, part 1 (until 1417), Warsaw 2010, p. 269.

<sup>43</sup> R. Żerelik, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 290.



co-author, “if not the originator, of Henryk’s ideological programme.”<sup>44</sup> This programme was connected with the efforts to obtain the princely rights in the duchy of Nysa-Tmuchów. Henryk defined these aspirations by adding an ordinal number to his name, following the example of princes, as the seventeenth bishop of Wrocław: WRATISLAVIENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPUS XVII.

Of course, Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna was not the first Wrocław bishop to use a numerator on his seal. It was Bishop Thomas II († 1292) who used this type of inscription for the first time. There is a significant difference, though. Thomas II used it to distinguish himself from his predecessor of the same name, Thomas I.<sup>45</sup> Emphasizing on such a repetitive medium the fact that Henryk was the seventeenth bishop of the Church of Wrocław could not be accidental. Historians agree that the reason for using a numerator in his name should be sought in the characteristics of his politics. Furthermore, great disputes between 13<sup>th</sup>-century Wrocław bishops and Silesian princes led to the conviction that there should be created a model of Church-state relations, a model which would not lead to such antagonisms in the future as those between Bishop Thomas II and Prince Henryk IV the Righteous.

There is no doubt that Arnold of Zwrócona made quite a significant contribution to this programme. After all, for a long time he had had the opportunity to observe the matters taking place in the dispute of the century, and being so close to the bishop, he also had a significant influence on him. He assisted Bishop Tomasz II in executing this programme of full independence from the Silesian dukes when he obtained a great privilege in 1290 valid for the areas of the castellany of Milicz, Nysa-Otmuchów and estates located in Silesia. Immunity was undoubtedly a significant legal and material impulse to begin efforts to make the Nysa-Otmuchów land fully independent and to obtain the title of prince there. The castellany of Milicz was sold in 1358. The financial resources obtained from this sale enabled the purchase of property lying near Otmuchów. Another sign showing that bishops of Wrocław were becoming independent was replacing the customary term *ius ducale* with the expression *ius ducale seu ducis* in the papal approval of the will of Henryk IV the Righteous, Duke of Wrocław.<sup>46</sup>

Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna’s independence – quick and unexpected as it was – was occasioned by the weakening of the ducal power in the Duchy of

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, pp. 231–232.

<sup>46</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Ustrój polityczny Śląska*, [in:] *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 1, S. Kutrzeba (ed.), Krakow 1933, p. 748.

Wrocław. The bishop skilfully took it to his advantage by subduing the Otmuchów castellan, and later entering into defensive alliances with Henryk VI, the Duke of Wrocław.<sup>47</sup> This happened shortly after the consecration ceremonies. In fact, Bishop Henryk took over not only the rule over the Wrocław Church, but also the political rule over the duchy. It happened so because in November 1301 Bolko I, Duke of Świdnica and Jawor, a defender of Silesian independence against the Czech onslaught, died. He had ruled over the territory administered from Wrocław and Legnica from 1296 on behalf of the underage sons of his brother, Prince Henryk V the Fat.<sup>48</sup> After Prince Bolko's death there remained the problem of who was going to take care of the underage orphaned children. The knights together with the Wrocław burghers entrusted the care of Henryk V's children to the newly elected Ordinary of Wrocław, Henryk of Werzbną. By this choice, the Wrocław elite wanted to block the personal aspirations of the House of Přemyslid to take over the rule in Wrocław too soon. The bishop's consent could also have been the result of his desire to represent the local Silesian *raison d'état* or perhaps reflected his own political aspirations.<sup>49</sup> After all, many times he acted independently of the Přemyslids.

So long as Henryk wielded independent power at the turn of 1302/1303, he came into some kind of conflict with Herman von Barby, the Brandenburg starost in Świdnica, who was the governor of the Brandenburg margrave Herman, the guardian of the underage children of the late Bolko I.<sup>50</sup> The dispute with an official of the margrave, who was one of the King of Bohemia's close allies, leads to the conclusion that Henryk of Werzbną often conducted his own policy.

He exercised this rule for a year and then, on January 8<sup>th</sup> 1303, he handed it over to Wenceslas II,<sup>51</sup> who from then on managed the Duchy of Wrocław

<sup>47</sup> K. Orzechowski, *Dzieje i ustrój księstwa biskupiego na Śląsku*, [in:] *Szkice Nyskie*, vol. 3, Z. Kowalski (ed.), Opole 1986, pp. 10–11.

<sup>48</sup> Henryk V the Fat died on 22 February 1296 and was buried in a Poor Clare convent in Wrocław. Henryk V was married to Elżbieta, daughter of Bolesław the Pious, Duke of Great Poland, with whom he had three sons (Bolesław III the Wasteful, Henryk VI the Good and Władysław) and five daughters (Jadwiga, Euphemia, Elżbieta, Helena and Anna). See: Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Henryk V Brzuchaty*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 1, Krakow 1935, p. 119.

<sup>49</sup> J. Powierski, *Studia nad polityką Krzyżaków i ich sąsiadów w początkach XIV w.*, [in:] *Ludzie – władza – posiadłość*, idem (ed.), part 1, Gdańsk 1994, p. 151; T. Jurek, *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego. Książę głogowski Henryk (1274–1309)*, Poznań 1993, p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> Regesten, no. 2736

<sup>51</sup> Wenceslas II was born on September 17, 1271, and died on June 21, 1305; since 1278 the King of Bohemia, since 1291 the Duke of Krakow, since 1300 the King of Poland; son of Przemysł Ottokar II. He reorganized the Polish administration by introducing the chancery of starost, favoured cities and sought to create his own party among the Polish

through his starost.<sup>52</sup> This moment of political power was not wasted. Since then the Bishop's prosecutors started to call him *venerabilis dux noster*. They stated that *habet omnia iura tamquam dux, habet dominus episcopus omni iure sicut princeps*. Henryk of Wierzbna himself ordered to write in his ritual: *Hunc Henricus ego, qui principis ordine dego librum mente pia tibi confergo, Virgo Maria*.<sup>53</sup>

The efforts of the bishops of Wrocław to achieve full independence finally brought results. First of all, Bishop Przeclaw sold the castellany of Milicz in 1358, and with the obtained funds he purchased the town and castle of Friedeberg, thus enlarging the bishops' lands of Nysa-Otmuchów,<sup>54</sup> which in turn led to the recognition of the bishop as a secular prince of the area.<sup>55</sup>

The desire of Wrocław's hierarchs to become politically independent, to gain position and dignity among Silesian princes, was the basis for introducing a numerator on the bishop's seals. R. Żerelik rightly stated that additionally

it legitimized his power and was a testimony to an ancient metric of the Wrocław bishopric, equal to the antiquity of the Piast dynasty. The repetitiveness of this information carrier (seal) made it a serious propaganda instrument, especially as it reached the most enlightened and opinion-forming circles of Silesian society.<sup>56</sup>

The second seal, on which the shields of the coats of arms were placed, which made it similar to the duke's sigillia, strengthened the ambition to gain dignity and position in the political arena of Silesia.<sup>57</sup>

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clergy, headed by Jan Muskata, by filling in church posts. He died suddenly on 21 June 1305 and was buried in Prague.

<sup>52</sup> B. Nowacki, *Czeskie rozszczenia do korony w Polsce w latach 1290–1335*, Poznań 1987, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Ustrój polityczny Śląska...*, op. cit., p. 748; A. Franz, *Das Rituale des Bischofs Heinrich I. von Breslau*, Freiburg 1912, p. 57.

<sup>54</sup> *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstentümer im Mittelalter*, C. Grünhagen, H. Markgraf (eds.), vol. 2, Leipzig 1883, no. 26, p. 219; J. Gottschalk, *Beiträge zur Rechts-, Siedlungs-, und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Kreises Militsch bis zum Jahr 1648, Darstellung und Quellen Schlesische Geschichte* (hereinafter: DQGS), vol. 31, Breslau 1930, p. 42; S. Frelek, *Władztwo biskupstwa wrocławskiego w kasztelanii milickiej*, "Sobótka" 18 (1963), no. 1–4, p. 402; T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła...*, op. cit., p. 256; idem, *Biskup Nanker*, Warsaw 1953, p. 111; *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Fürstentums Oels bis zum Aussterben der Piastischen Herzogslinie*, W. von Haeusler (ed.), Breslau 1883, p. 228; W. Haeusler, *Geschichte des Fürstentums Oels*, Breslau 1883, p. 342; *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bistums Breslau im Mittelalter*, G.A. von Stenzel (ed.), Breslau 1845, pp. 358 et al.; M. Kogut, *Kasztelania milicka jako własność Kościoła wrocławskiego do r. 1358*, Kluczbork 1996, pp. 91–92.

<sup>55</sup> K. Orzechowski, *Dzieje i ustrój księstwa biskupiego na Śląsku*, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>56</sup> R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie...*, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem.

The fact that by the legend WRATISLAVIENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPUS XVII is accompanied by a numerator shows that Bishop Henry of Wierzbno may have had some source from which he knew how many predecessors he had. The chronicles, biographies, obituaries preserved to this day do not offer complete lists of bishops. With their help it was not possible to establish the actual order of the pontificates. Undoubtedly, this knowledge could have been obtained from one of the catalogues of Wrocław bishops. Here, too, we have a problem. For the catalogues of the bishops of Wrocław were subject to numerous modifications in the 13–14<sup>th</sup> centuries and have been preserved in many copies.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to determine from which copy the data about Henryk's pontificate could be included in the bishop's legend.

As early as at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Wojciech Kętrzyński<sup>59</sup> and Aleksander Birkenmajer, and recently Rościśław Żerelik, addressed this problem. First of all, they rejected the Henryków Catalogue brought to 1268 because it could not be used later.<sup>60</sup> Analysing the Lubiąż catalogue, we notice that Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna appears in it as the eighteenth bishop. Probably this shift occurred only in the times of Bishop Henryk by adding the apparent bishop Magnus.<sup>61</sup> This took place in the Cistercian monastery in Lubiąż, which proves that this catalogue was supplemented by the monks themselves.<sup>62</sup> There is a so called

<sup>58</sup> Much research into the catalogues of Wrocław bishops was done by W. Schulte, *Zu den Breslauer Bischofskatalogen*, ZVGS 44 (1910), pp. 207–234; O. Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zu den Breslauer Bischofskatalogen*, DQGS t. 25; J. Szymański, *W sprawie genezy rocznikarstwa śląskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 22 (1977), pp. 77–82.

<sup>59</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 6, Lwów 1893, pp. 534–594.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 558–559. The Henryków catalogue listing bishops from Jeronim to Thomas I (1232–1268) was published by A.G. Stenzel [in:] *Liber foundationis claustris s. Mariae virginis in Heinrichow*, Breslau 1854, pp. 123–127, who on p. 123 explained the purpose of his publication: *Quia claustrum de Heinrichow in dyocesi Wratislaviensi est situm vel fundatum et quorundam patrum, eiusdem videlicet dyocesis episcoporum donatione gloriosissime sublimatum, dignum est, ut nos dicti claustris primi monachi benefactorum nostrorum successoribus nostris scribendo memoriam commendemus. Ut ergo ad Dei omnipotentis sanctique Iohannis Baptiste honorem loco in isto divine laudationis gloria tempore futuro magis magisque cottidie multiplicetur et venerande matri nostre ecclesie Wratislaviensi honorifica semper proveniant incrementa, volumus huius dyocesis reverendorum patrum episcoporum scribendo nomina enucliare, quatinus successores nostri benefactorum suorum ex hoc scripto nomina cognoscentes pro ipsius devotione ardentissima semper studeant orare.*

<sup>61</sup> See: M. Cetwiński, *Biskup wrocławski Magnus: amplifikacja i metafora jako sposoby narracji dziejopisarskiej*, [in:] *Tysiącletnie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, A. Barciak (ed.), Katowice 2000, pp. 53–65.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 560–564. The Lubiąż catalogue contains a list of bishops from Hieronim to Henryk of Wierzbna. It was published by Wattenbach in *Monumenta Lubensia*,

Wrocław group of catalogues of Wrocław bishops. It consists of four copies: the Krakow (Birkenmajer),<sup>63</sup> *Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, containing the list of bishops from Hieronim to Przeclaw of Pogorzela (1341–1376),<sup>64</sup> the Krzeszów catalogue (from Hieronim to Peter II – 1447–1456), and the catalogue of the Wrocław Cathedral including bishops from Hieronim to Jodok from Różemberk (1456–1468).<sup>65</sup> All of them give the name of bishop Henryk on the seventeenth place. Each of them could be a potential source for the seal legend of Bishop Henryk. It was probably the Krakow Catalogue because it came from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup>

W. Kętrzyński and A. Birkenmajer, on the other hand, went even deeper in their analyses and they noticed a common source of the above-mentioned Wrocław group, called *Chorus Wratislaviensis novus*. This catalogue was supposed to be kept in the times of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna in the Cathedral of Wrocław and was probably lost in 1342. The authors of later catalogues of the Wrocław group used it until it was lost.

Certainly, due to his chancery functions, Master Arnold had to know about the existence of the *Chorus Wratislaviensis novus* catalogue stored in the Wrocław Cathedral from which he must have learnt about the numerator of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna in the Wrocław bishopric. R. Żerelik put forward an interesting thesis that he was a continuator of this catalogue. This is indicated by the time of his death (the last information comes from 11 December 1342), coinciding with the discontinuation of this catalogue.<sup>67</sup>

The third, main seal used by Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna is also worthy of detailed attention. It shows the bishop's majesty, sitting in front of a hanging curtain. It does not feature two kneeling clergymen. Instead, there are coats of arms on the sides, at knee height. The right one features six lilies in three rows

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Breslau 1861, pp. 10–13. It features a sentence that is difficult to verify: *Hic videtur falli chorus Wratislaviensis, quia Franco episcopus in cronica dicitur fuisse ante Magnum*. See: W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi...*, op. cit., p. 543.

<sup>63</sup> A. Birkenmajer, *Nowy katalog biskupów wrocławskich*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, vol. 2, Krakow 1938, pp. 29–40.

<sup>64</sup> It was published by A. Kaffler in the first volume of "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens," pp. 213–225; W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich*, op. cit., pp. 566–571.

<sup>65</sup> It was published by A.G. Stenzel, *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*, Bd. 2; W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi...*, op. cit., pp. 566–571.

<sup>66</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *Katalogi...*, op. cit., pp. 538–540; R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie...*, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>67</sup> R. Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie...*, op. cit., p. 69.

of three, two, and one; the left one features a crossed arrow at a slant.<sup>68</sup> Krahmer believed that the bishop used this seal from 1 April 1318 until his death in 1319.<sup>69</sup> However, the oldest preserved image of the seal can be found in the document of April 30, 1318, and the last one of August 30, 1318.<sup>70</sup> Given the time of use of all three of Henryk's main seals, it could be assumed that the ordinary did not use them simultaneously. As they were worn out, he systematically replaced the old matrices with new ones.<sup>71</sup>

German historian W. Wattenbach, following the opinion of P. Bretschneider, challenges this statement. They posited that the seal with lilies was already affixed to the diocesan constitutions of September 1, 1316 announced by Bishop Henryk.<sup>72</sup> Contemporary researchers of the problem have a different opinion, mainly due to the fact that at present only a small part of the seal is preserved which could correspond to both the seal with two figures of the clergymen and the seal with the coats of arms.<sup>73</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk states that the preserved part of the legend does not resolve anything. Both seals have the same legend arranged in the same way.<sup>74</sup> Probably, W. Wattenbach had the opportunity to see the whole item intact. Apparently, the C. Grünhagen and K. Wutke had no such opportunity, so they did not specify the type of seal. They unanimously confirmed that only part of the seal's impression was preserved.<sup>75</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk was of the opinion that the description of the seal with the coats of arms placed in the regesta of the document of 1 September 1316, which is in the manuscript inventory prepared for the documents of the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Głogów, could be considered decisive in this matter.<sup>76</sup> In this case, it can be assumed that in 1316 this seal was already made, but it was used only once in the chancery because the previous one, well preserved at that time, was used.

<sup>68</sup> AP Wr., rep. 83 no. 42–44; DmWr., 30 IV 1318; AAW, QI; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 311.

<sup>69</sup> H. Krahmer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte...*, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

<sup>70</sup> Regesten, no. 3771. Reproduction is contained [in:] F. Piekosiński, *Studia, rozprawy...*, op. cit., part 1, p. 187, fig. 207; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., no. 101; J. Pater, *Poczet biskupów wrocławskich*, Wrocław 2000, p. 46 (enlargement).

<sup>71</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów...*, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>72</sup> *Das Formelbuch des Dombherrn Arnold von Protzan*, W. Wattenbach (ed.), [in:] *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 5, Breslau 1862, p. 157, footnote 1; P. Bretschneider, *Das Breslauer Bistumswappen*, ZVGS 50 (1916), p. 234.

<sup>73</sup> AP Wr., rep. 76 no. 37.

<sup>74</sup> A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, *Znaczenie herbów...*, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>75</sup> Regesten, no. 3610.

<sup>76</sup> AP Wr., rep. 76.

The third seal contains quite interesting iconographic elements – shields of coat of arms, rarely used by Polish bishops of that particular period.<sup>77</sup> There were two, each with a different coat of arms. Their appearance can be combined with the fact of using two different coats of arms in the family from which Henryk descended. On the first one there was a crossed arrow, in the shield on the left side. This coat of arms is one of the oldest in the family. It appeared as the coat of arms of the Wierzbna family in 1226 on the seal of Stefan of Wierzbna, in a slightly different form than that of Henryk. The arrow was crossed twice and its arrowhead pointed upwards.<sup>78</sup> The second emblem of Bishop Henryk's family was six lilies, which were used for the first time by his father Jan of Wierzbna on the seal from 1261. The lilies were arranged in three rows (three, two, one), between the first and second one there was a stripe and a number of rhombuses on it.<sup>79</sup>

In the years 1306–1310, Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna used a secret coat-of-arms seal, on which there was an eagle with wings spread, with full, quite visible plumage. Between the legs, under each wing and between the head and the left wing a five-pointed star was placed. The head of the eagle was raised and turned to its left. The head of the bird is surrounded by a halo.<sup>80</sup> As P.J. Józwiak stated in his research, this seal contains an autonomous image of the emblem directly in the field of the seal, as opposed to the Nanker's throne seal, on which two of the bishop's axes are visible. On the seal of Przecław there are lilies as the coat of arms of the Wrocław bishopric and shields with three castle towers.<sup>81</sup>

The placement of the coat of arms on seals is something new. Already at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century we can see them on the seals of the Pomeranian

<sup>77</sup> See: K. Bobowski, *Dawne pieczęcie na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Szczecin 1989, pp. 109–111; E. Gigilewicz, *Pieczęcie biskupów warmińskich jako źródło heraldyczne*, [in:] *Pieczęć w Polsce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, P. Dymmel (ed.), Lublin 1998, pp. 73–75; A. Morawiecka, *Wyobrażenia i legendy na średniowiecznych pieczęciach biskupów krakowskich*, [in:] *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych PAN, Oddział w Krakowie*, vol. 23, part 1, Wrocław 1981, pp. 1–3; J. Pakulski, *O najstarszych przedherbowych pieczęciach arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, [in:] *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Poznań 1997, p. 430; E. Gigilewicz, *Pieczęcie biskupów warmińskich jako źródło heraldyczne*, [in:] *Pieczęcie w Polsce średniowiecznej...*, op. cit., pp. 73–75.

<sup>78</sup> See: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Śląska*, vol. 3, published by K. Maleczyński, A. Skowrońska, Wrocław 1964, no. 310, p. 318, footnote 310; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., pp. 438 and 327 (fig. c).

<sup>79</sup> See: M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 436 and no. 105.

<sup>80</sup> AP Wr., rep. 79 no. 4; rep. 88 no. 69; rep. 102 no. 14; rep. 123 no. 9; rep. 125 no. 149.

<sup>81</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 48.

and Silesian dukes, and it was connected with the popularization among dukes and their knights of the knightly custom, which led to the individualization of coats of arms.<sup>82</sup> A manifestation of this process was the adoption of the image of the eagle by the Silesian Prince Henryk the Pious and Kazimierz of Opole (1222).<sup>83</sup> The placement of the eagle itself was, as in ancient times, allegorical in nature. The eagle was the epitome of divine power, generosity, strength, courage, justice; it was a sign of the supreme power of Zeus and Jupiter. The Piast princes did not reach for this symbol by accident. For just like in the case of Charlemagne, it became a distinguishing mark of the authority of the duke's power and ideological and political needs. This symbol corresponded to the ambitions of one of the oldest European dynasties, especially since it was a recognized symbol of the highest secular power, independence and sovereignty.<sup>84</sup>

The placement of the eagle sign by the Bishop of Wrocław on his seal was deeply justified here. Just like the number XVII, the eagle also shows the bishop's deep intentions to become independent of the duke's power and create his own duchy. For the coat of arms on the shield was an attribute of the knightly state. Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Silesian dukes refer to this sign by placing their coat of arms on a shield, which was usually held in one hand together with a sword and pennant. It was often placed next to the ruler as a purely heraldic element.<sup>85</sup> An attempt to transfer this element can be found on the seal of Bishop Thomas II, on which lilies were placed on both sides of the figure as a heraldic element of the bishopric. Similar lilies can be found on the seals of Bishop Jan III Romka and Bishop Nanker. The seals of the latter apart from lilies feature an axe, while the seal of Przecław has lilies and three castle towers. These were the motifs used as representative elements presenting the bishop.<sup>86</sup> The placement of the eagle on Bishop Henryk's seal changed the meaning and sense. It is not merely a matter of style and aesthetics of the coat of arms. Rather, it signifies a transition from merely representative elements to those symbolizing real and strong power. This change was effected after 1290, when the Wrocław bishops gained immunity in their lands, after tragic disputes.

<sup>82</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie Książąt Mazowieckich...*, op. cit., p. 155; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>83</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie śląskie...*, op. cit., p. 424; A. Schultz, *Die schlesischen Siegel...*, op. cit., no. 9, 15.

<sup>84</sup> M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich 1146–1707*, Katowice 1992, pp. 16–25; Z. Piech, *Ikonomia pieczęci Piastów...*, op. cit., pp. 78, 80.

<sup>85</sup> Z. Piech, *Iconography of the seal of the Piasts*, op. cit.; M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich...*, op. cit., pp. 82–85.

<sup>86</sup> P.J. Józwiak, *Pieczęcie biskupów wrocławskich...*, op. cit., p. 49.



The eagle's sign raised the bishop's dignity and put his political authority on an equal footing with that of a prince.

The third secret seal features a bust of Bishop Henryk:<sup>87</sup> the bishop dressed in a chasuble with a Greek cross on his chest. The right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, and the left hand holds the pastoral staff at shoulder height, which faces outwards. The pastoral ends at forehead level. The head is surmounted with a mitre. The elements of the seal emphasized the unique features of the bishop's chancery and his dignity. The chasuble is a vocation and readiness to perform the most sacred rites, for the good of the people. The imprint of the seal is preserved on three documents from 1315 and 1316.<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusions

In summarizing the results, it should be emphasized that the seals served the bishop for three main purposes. The first one is the legal system. It was used to authenticate the confirmation of issued documents in matters concerning, for example, tithing disputes, imposition of excommunication, interrogation, deprivation of the right to a funeral, granting statutes to the monastery. Seals were used to confirm the bishop's official court judgments.

The seals used by Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna – in my opinion – had an important spiritual value: they emphasized the divine origin of his power. By using the word *ecclesia*, he made visible his link with the Church of the Apostles and his bishopric ministry. WRATISLAVIENSIS implies the area of evangelistic mission. The third goal was expressed on two seals from the years 1315 and 1318. The number XVII contained in the legend was to emphasize the agedness of power of the bishops of Wrocław, which was equal to that of the Piast dynasty. This number was part of the great plan of Bishop Henryk of Wierzbna to gain independence in the duchy of Nysa-Otmuchów. The source of inspiration for such a legend was probably the lost catalogue of Wrocław bishops (*Chorus Wratislaviensis novus*). Arnold of Zwrócona could have been the author of this idea, an experienced lawyer of long standing from the bishop's chancery.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>88</sup> AP Wr., rep. 83 no. 33–34; rep. 88 no. 82.

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