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Efforts of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław to Develop the Cult of St Stanislaus in Silesia

Starania wrocławskiego biskupa Tomasza I
o rozwój kultu św. Stanisława na Śląsku

ABSTRACT: Undoubtedly, the cult of St Stanislaus has been known in the Diocese of Wrocław since the end of the 11th century. However, none of the decision-making and pastoral centres took proper action to strengthen it in all spheres of life, especially pastoral. It was only Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław who took up this task with great interest because he was greatly concerned about the salvation of the diocesan souls entrusted to his care. By joining in the great project of Bishop Prandota of Krakow regarding the finalization of the canonization of St Stanislaus, he wanted to achieve not only the devotional effect, but also to implement his life's programme. He was a supporter of the idea of unifying Polish principalities and establishing the dominant role of Church power over its secular counterpart. By promoting the cult of the Saint, he put into effect many of his goals. His death in 1268 stopped the enthusiasm for promoting the cult for some time.

KEYWORDS: St Stanislaus, Thomas I, 13 century, Bishopric of Wrocław, Polish history, cult of St Stanislaus, Silesia

ABSTRAKT: Niewątpliwie kult św. Stanisława znany był w diecezji wrocławskiej od końca XI w. Żaden z ośrodków decyzyjnych i duszpasterskich nie podjął jednak należytej akcji, aby wzmacniać go we wszystkich sferach życia, zwłaszcza duszpasterskiego. Z wielkim zainteresowaniem podjął się tego zadania dopiero biskup wrocławski Tomasz I, dla którego dominującą rolę odgrywała troska o zbawienie dusz diecezjan powierzonych jego pieczy. Włączając się w wielki projekt biskupa krakowskiego Prandoty dotyczący sfinalizowania zabiegów kanonizacyjnych św. Stanisława, chciał pozyskać nie tylko efekt pobożnościowy, ale także realizację swego życiowego programu. Był zwolennikiem idei zjednoczeniowej państwa polskiego i dominującej roli władzy kościelnej nad świecką. Propagując kult Świętego, zrealizował wiele swoich założeń. Jego śmierć w roku 1268 powstrzymała na pewien czas entuzjazm w popularyzacji kultu.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: św. Stanisław, Tomasz I, XIII wiek, biskupstwo wrocławskie, historia Polski, kult św. Stanisława, Śląsk

Analysing the life and achievements of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław, one can say that care for the salvation of souls always played a dominant role in his programme. The second place was assigned to the consistent implementation of the idea of the unification of the Polish principalities and to laying emphasis on the dominant role of ecclesiastical authority over the secular one.¹ The conditions in Silesia, as well as in Poland in general, helped him to achieve this goal. Since the times of Archbishop Henryk Kietlicz there had been a constant battle for carrying out the Gregorian reform, aiming primarily at raising the spiritual life of the clergy and the faithful, but also at emancipation of the Polish Church from its dependence on the secular power. The political breakup of the Polish Kingdom, the dissolution of the Silesian Piast principality into smaller political entities, the death of Henryk II the Pious at the Battle of Legnickie Pole, the ensuing struggle between his sons and the beginning of feudal anarchy in Silesia made Bishop Thomas I aware of the problems that needed to be solved as soon as possible. The desire to strengthen the position of the Church and the desire to unite the provinces gave him the idea to actively join the action of canonising St Stanislaus – the bishop² – and St Hedwig – the Silesian duchess. During his lifetime, he had the opportunity to participate in the canonization celebrations of St Stanislaus, which led him to try to introduce his cult in Silesia.³ Sadly, he did not live to see the canonization of St Hedwig. He died a few months prior to that event.

Involvement in the canonization process of St Stanislaus

There is no doubt that the Christianization of pagan parts of Europe was based on and successfully developed due to the cult of rulers, legislators and founders

¹ T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku do końca w. XIV*, Warsaw 1953, pp. 161 ff.

² G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław – biskup krakowski, patron Polski: śladami zabójstwa, męczeństwa, kanonizacji*, Poznań 2000, p. 42. See also: *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, N. von Friede, D. Reitz (hrsg.), Göttingen 2003.

³ Ibidem, p. 161; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława na Śląsku w świetle rękopisów liturgicznych*, Lublin 1959, p. 16; M. Plezia, *Rola kultu św. Stanisława w zjednoczeniu państwa polskiego w przelomie XIII i XIV w.*, "W drodze" 7 (1979), no. 5.

of Christian kingdoms. At the dawn of Polish statehood, such a decisive role was played by St Vojtěch, also known as St Adalbert of Prague. At the time of the political division of the Polish Kingdom, there was a lack of the figure of a saint as the guardian of the dynasty and the patron of the political community – *communitatis terrae* – of the realm, around which all Polish princes could rally. Motivated by the idea of rebuilding the united kingdom, Wincenty, Iwo and Prandot – the bishops of Krakow – initiated efforts to canonize St Stanislaus.⁴ Wincenty Kadlubek, whose *Kronika* (The Chronicle) played a significant role in the formation of Polish consciousness, is assumed to have been the prime mover. Having always had before his eyes the main motto – the good of the homeland – he wanted to show the figure of the Bishop of Krakow from the 11th century in his conflict with King Boleslaw the Brave in a completely different light than Gall Anonymus had done before him. In the chronicle he proposed a new look. For Gall, Stanislaus was a traitor, and for Kadlubek a heroic figure, dying for his principles, a martyr and a saint. The character of the bishop presented in this way became a breakthrough in the development of the cult and, at the same time, the beginning of efforts in the Roman curia aimed at canonization.⁵ According to D. Borawska and M. Plezia it was the Dominican Wincenty of Kielcza who may have helped the bishop in searching for testimonies about the murdered bishop,⁶ who around 1250⁷ wrote

⁴ D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy. W sprawie genezy kultu Św. Stanisława biskupa*, Warsaw 1950, pp. 12–13; T. Grudziński, *Bolesław Śmiały-Szczodry i biskup Stanisław*, Warsaw 1982, p. 207; J. Powierski, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego. Polityka i jej odzwierciedlenie w literaturze średniowiecznej*, Gdansk 1992, pp. 319–320.

⁵ G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., pp. 89, 147; M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze*, “Analecta Cracoviensia” 11 (1979), pp. 357 ff; idem, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski*, transl. J. Pleziowa, edition by M. Plezia, Warsaw 1987, p. 13.

⁶ D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy*, op. cit., pp. 20 ff; G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., pp. 143, 156–157; P. Szczur, *Pierwsze wieki Kościoła Krakowskiego*, [in:] *Kościół krakowski w tysiącleciu*, Krakow 2000, p. 66.

⁷ See: R. Skrzyniarz, *Wincenty z Kielc*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 20, Lublin 2014, col. 664; L. Poniewozik, *Spór o Wincentego*, [in:] *Kalendarz świętokrzyski 2005*, Kielce 2004, pp. 137–142. For more on Wincenty of Kielce, see: T. Wojciechowski, *O życiu i pismach Wincentego z Kielc*, “Pamiętnik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. Wydział filologiczny i historyczno-filozoficzny” 5 (1886), pp. 30–36; M. Plezia, *Wincenty z Kielc, historyk polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 7 (1962), pp. 15–41; G. Labuda, *Twórczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 16 (1971), pp. 103–137; M. Woskowski, *Wincenty z Kielczy. Człowiek i dzieło*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława na Śląsku (1253–2003)*, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz (ed.), Opole 2004, pp. 107–116.

a hagiographic work entitled the life of St Stanislaus.⁸ This may have taken place in Krakow at the time when canonization procedures were launched. Most historians have a different opinion. They believe *The Chronicle* was completed after the canonization.

The popularisation of the cult of St Stanislaus, started by Bishop Wincenty, was continued by Dominicans and other mendicant orders among the Polish population through preaching. It is likely that it was these religious groups, supported by the encouragement of Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław, that convinced Bishop Prandota of Krakow to ask the Pope for the canonization of Stanislaus. Bishop Thomas's activity in this field may be evidenced by the fact that he was appointed to a three-man verification commission to examine this matter, which was established by Pope Innocent IV in 1250. Also Archbishop Pełka and a representative of the monastic side, the abbot of the Cistercians of Lubiaz, Henryk, were to take care of it.⁹ It is likely that in Wrocław, Bishop Thomas I met on this matter and prepared the necessary material with his faithful collaborator, lawyer and canon from Krakow, Jakub from Skaryszew.¹⁰ This is evidenced by the fact that he was a member of the mission to Rome.

The first results of the work of this commission were probably presented at the Bishops' Convention in Krakow, held in mid-July 1250. The two bishops' commissioners present at the meeting were able to report the collected information in detail and discuss it with the Polish bishops.¹¹ The general approval allowed for the creation of a legal document and a mission, which was sent to the Pope in 1251.¹² The mentioned Jakub of Skaryszew and Master Gerard called Gallicus journeyed to Rome. The bishops, commissioners and emissaries were convinced of the sufficient content of the collected material, so they were

⁸ For the full text of the chronicle see: *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda*, op. cit., pp. 273–279.

⁹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława*, published by F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1874, part 1, no. 33; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (hereinafter: MPH), vol. 2, published by A. Bielowski, Lwow 1872, p. 83; *Miracula sancti Stanislai*, W. Kętrzyński (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 4, Lwow 1884, pp. 286–287; F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa u śląskich cystersów*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława*, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁰ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, op. cit., p. 811; J. Długosz, *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai, Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, pp. 132, 148; T. Silnicki, *Biskup Nanker*, Warsaw 1953, p. 20; idem. *Dzieje i ustrój...*, op. cit., p. 159.

¹¹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, published by F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1886, vol. 2, no. 432.

¹² *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa (ed.), [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica nova series* (hereinafter: MPHns), vol. 5, Warsaw 1978, p. 83; G. Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w „Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego” Jana Długosza. Próba rekonstrukcji*, Poznań 1983, pp. 155–156.

greatly surprised by the negative decision of the canonization commission. The materials presented for evaluation turned out to be insufficient. In order to prevent the matter of canonization from being discarded in its initial phase, the Pope decided to send to Krakow Franciscan Jacobus of Velletri, who came to Poland in 1252. In the presence of the bishops-commissioners, he re-examined the case, checked the documents and questioned the relevant witnesses. After collecting all possible documents and testimonies, he returned to Rome. On his way back he was accompanied by Canon Jakub and magister Gozwin. They, together with Franciscan Jacobus of Velletri, presented the results of their work to the Roman commission.¹³

The collection of quite abundant evidence needed for the canonization of St Stanislaus raised hope that the matter would be soon finalised. For all that, the fact that opinion among the members of the commission varied considerably postponed a positive decision. Some of them, headed by Bishop Rinaldo of Ostia (later Pope Alexander IV), spoke unfavourably. For almost a whole year, the matter was discussed in the Roman commission for canonization until the members in the final sentence accepted the Polish request formulated by Bishop Prandota of Krakow.¹⁴ It was only after the matter had been positively dealt with in the commission that Pope Innocent IV carried out in Assisi on September 8, 1253 the act of canonization of St Stanislaus.¹⁵ The hardships of many people, including Bishop Thomas I himself, were crowned with the desired papal decision.

Announcement of the canonization decree

The official announcement of the canonization decree paved the way for the preparations for the organization of great ceremonies which would have a double character which the religious was the most important. On May 8, 1254, Bishop Prandot invited the whole Polish episcopate, the magnates and the faithful to

¹³ G. Labuda, *Święty Stanisław...*, op. cit., p. 152; M. Gębarowicz, *Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji*, Lviv 1927, p. 86.

¹⁴ According to D. Borawska (idem, *Z dziejów jednej legendy...*, op. cit., pp. 83 ff), the successful completion of the canonisation efforts was determined by the favourable geopolitical location of the bishopric of Krakow with the neighbouring areas of "schismatic" Rus. The canonization of St Stanislaus was an important element for the unification activities of the Catholic Church and the activity of the Dominican Order in these areas.

¹⁵ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Katedry Krakowskiej św. Wacława*, part 1 (1166–1366), no. 37, pp. 46–48; no. 38, pp. 48–51; J. Długosz, *Roczniki*, vol. 7, Warsaw 1985, pp. 87–91, notes 10–13; P. Belch, *Św. Stanisław biskup – męczennik. Patron Polski*, London 1977, pp. 744–799.

Krakow.¹⁶ The Legate Opizo of Mezzano received an order from the Pope to read the canonization decree on his behalf.

When Bishop Prandota solemnly elevated (*elevatio*) the remains of St Stanislaus' bones from the grave¹⁷ and placed them on the main altar of Wawel Cathedral in Krakow, the celebrations reached the climax. Princess Kinga then washed the bones of the new patron with wine and placed some of them in a reliquary.¹⁸ Almost all church dignitaries and numerous Polish princes attended this ceremony.¹⁹ *Rocznik Kapituły poznańskiej* (The Annals of the Poznań Chapter) provides us with the list of the participants:

Thomas, Bishop of Wrocław; Wolimir, Bishop of Włocławek; Andrzej, Bishop of Płock; Wit, the first bishop of Lithuania from the Dominican Order; Gerard, the first bishop of Ruthenia from the Cistercian Order, and the nobility, Prince Kazimierz, Duke of Łęczyca and Kujawy; Przemysław, Duke of Wielkopolska; Siemowit, Duke of Masovia; Bolesław, Duke of Krakow and Sandomierz; and Władysław, Duke of Opole.²⁰

Bishop Piotr of Poznań and Bishop Wilhelm of Lubusz were missing.²¹ The absence of the former was caused by illness: during these celebrations he was

¹⁶ "For this national and religious celebration, the princes of all the districts of Poland have gathered, forgetting their old disputes." F. Buczyński, *Św. Stanisław biskup krakowski*, Krakow 1902, p. 139, transl. by WTR.

¹⁷ The ceremonial removal of the remains from the grave to the sarcophagus was first performed by Bishop Prandota in 1243 or 1245, several years before the canonization. During this ceremony, the bones of St Stanislaus were washed with wine and water. See: F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława*, op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁸ *Vita maior p. Stanislai*, W. Kętrzyński (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 4, op. cit., p. 399. The custom of washing bones with wine is of pagan-Roman origin. Burnt corpses would be extracted from the ashes, sprinkled with wine and milk, and placed in vessels (urns). See: F. Lübner, *Reallexikon des classischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1882, p. 193.

¹⁹ The following people were present at the Krakow celebrations: Kazimierz, Prince of Łęczyca and Kujawy; Przemysław I, prince of Wielkopolska; Siemowit, prince of Masovia; Władysław, prince of Opole; Bolesław the Chaste, prince of Krakow and Sandomierz.

²⁰ *Rocznik Kapituły poznańskiej*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, MPHns, vol. 6, Warsaw 1962, p. 34, transl. by WTR; *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, publisher B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 8, Warsaw 1970, no. 105, p. 101; *Annales Poloniae Maioris*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 6, op. cit, no. 65, p. 34; K. Dola, *Kult świętego Stanisława biskupa i męczennika a tradycje polskie na Śląsku*, "Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego" 7 (1979), p. 249; C. Niezgodna, *Błogostawiona Jolenta wśród Arpadów i Piastów*, Krakow 2002, p. 28.

²¹ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, op. cit., p. 34; *Kronika wielkopolska*, published by B. Kürbis, [in:] MPHns, vol. 8, part 2, Warsaw 1970, p. 101.

already lying on his deathbed, suffering from paralysis. He died on the night of May 11–12.²² We do not know the reason for Wilhelm's absence.

The absence of the Silesian dukes was quite telling: this had to do with the political purpose of the Cracovian convention.²³ Henryk the White's absence from Krakow was definitely motivated by his open support of the Czech Přemyslids, who were striving to take over the Polish crown. Boleslau the Horned's failure to appear resulted from his political ambitions. Nor did Konrad come to Krakow. His absence reflected his policy of not getting involved in politically uncertain matters.²⁴ The individual Polish princes and magnates present at the ceremony were engaged in many discussions and made joint arrangements. B. Nowacki even suggested that "the Krakow meeting ended with some political agreements, and Przemyśl of Great Poland received moral support from the Piast cousins for his preventive military actions in Silesia."²⁵ The lack of source confirmation of any discussions forces us to make conjectures.

Many parts of the relics were distributed after the ceremony. Bishop Thomas I received the arm of St Stanislaus (*brachium p. Stanislai*) for the Cathedral of Wrocław.²⁶ Later, for this precious relic he founded the altar of St Vincent and St Stanislaus and established the annual refection for canons and vicars on May 8th.²⁷ In 1465 Jakub Ketscher, a Wrocław canon, had a new reliquary made for a particle of the Holy Arm, which was exhibited and kissed during the medieval May services in honour of St Stanislaus.²⁸

²² *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, op. cit., p. 34; *Kronika wielkopolska*, op. cit., p. 101.

²³ The following princes met at St Stanislaus's grave: Bolesław Chaste, Kazimierz of Kujavia, Przemysław of Great Poland, Władysław I of Opole and Ziemowit of Masovia. See: A. Dydyca, *Męczeństwo i kult św. Stanisława*, "Więź" 22 (1979), no. 4, p. 34.

²⁴ J. Osiński, *Bolesław Rogatka: książę legnicki, dziedzic monarchii Henryków śląskich (1220/1225–1278)*, Krakow 2012, p. 234.

²⁵ B. Nowacki, *Przemyśl I 1220/1221–1257: książę suwerennej Wielkopolski*, Krakow 2013, p. 184, transl. by WTR.

²⁶ J. Kopic, *Relikwie św. Stanisława – przyczynek do dziejów kultu świętego na Śląsku*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 148; E. Wólkiewicz, *Kult św. Stanisława w księstwie biskupów wrocławskich w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 75; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁷ *...ante omnia fiat unum altare in ipsa ecclesia in honore bb. mart. Vincenc. leville et sti Stanislai pontif... preter hoc volumus, ut fiant due refecciones, una in festo s. Stanislai mense Mayo in quo secundum morem Wrat. in refeccionibus observatum, canonicis et vicariis congrue et honeste. Secunda vero fiat in anniversario nostro.* The original of the document can be found in the Capitular Library in Wrocław, Dipi. E.E. 7, reprinted in "Zeitschrift für Geschichte Schlesien" 5 (1863), p. 382; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁸ On the reliquary there is an inscription: *Brachium S. Stanislai. Dominus Jacobus Ketscher Canonicus Wratislaviae me comparavit anno 1465.* H. Hoffmann, *Der Dom zu Breslau*, Breslau 1934, p. 53.

Pre-Canonization cult of St Stanislaus in Silesia

Bishop Thomas I's involvement in the successful completion of the canonization process of St Stanislaus was grounded in the already existing cult of the Saint in Silesia. The bishop may have come into contact with him during his adolescence. At the Silesian court, Duchess Jadwiga was an active venerator of St Stanislaus. This is shown in *Vita maior*, her biography, in chapter *De Spiritu prophetiae*. Fourteen years before the canonisation of Stanislaus, the Bishop of Krakow (*nihil adhuc de canonizatione sancti auditum fuerat Stanizlai*), St Hedwig indicated in the Trzebnica Basilica the place where an altar in his honour would be erected (*locus iste cuidam magno sancto deputatus est, in cuius honore tandem constructur in eo altare*).²⁹

Jan Długosz, the chronicler, wrote vaguely that the life and martyrdom of St Stanislaus were familiar in Silesia as early as the end of the 11th century. Długosz recalls the friendly ties that St Stanislaus had with Bishop Piotr I of Wrocław (1073–1111). The saint was to be his co-consecrator. In the further part of the *Catalogus*, Długosz mentions the task entrusted to Bishop Piotr to watch over the observance of the interdict imposed on the whole Poland.³⁰ In his *Żywot św. Stanisława* (Life of St Stanislaus), he even claims that King Bolesław II often visited Wrocław,³¹ which could also testify to close political relations with this part of the Polish realm. Further traces of the existence of the cult of the Saint can be seen in the poem *Carmen Mauri* from the twelfth century, which tells of the war between junior princes and Ladislaus II the Exile. The former attributed their victory to the bishop of Krakow, whom they loudly asked for intercession before the battle.³²

²⁹ Cf. *Legenda świętej Jadwigi*, transl. U.A. Jochelson, published by J. Pater, Wrocław 1993, p. 74: "Princess Jadwiga summoned a sister in a hurry in the church and, pointing to this place, said: 'Daughter Juliana, this place is intended for a saint in whose honour an altar will one day be built here, so whenever you walk by, do not fail to show respect for him.' (...) And after the death of the princess, after 14 years, when an altar was erected in this place for the glory of God and in honour of St Stanislaus, her prophecy was fulfilled," transl. by WTR; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁰ J. Długosz, *Catalogus Episcoporum Wratislaviensium, Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, p. 451; cf. C.I. Herber, *Silesiae Sacrae Origines*, Vratislaviae 1821, p. 48; J. Heyne, *Dokumentirte Geschichte des Bisthums und Hochstiftes Breslau*, Bd. 1, Breslau 1860, p. 175.

³¹ J. Długosz, *Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai, Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, p. 28; cf. P. Skarga, *Żywoty Świętych*, ed. 25, vol. 5, Krakow 1889, p. 134.

³² *Cronica Petri Comitis Poloniae*, together with the so-called *Carmen Mauri*, was published by M. Plezia, [in:] MPHns, vol. 3, Krakow 1951; K. Dola, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 251.

The existence of the pre-canonization cult can be proved by Romanesque reliefs depicting the king and bishop, set on the walls of St Vincent's monastery in Olbin, demolished in 1529. They dated from the mid-12th century.³³ These reliefs are lost; only copies of them with the explanatory inscription "Boles. III. Stanis." remained.³⁴ The great popularity of the figure of the saint among Silesian Cistercians is evidenced by the fact that he was nicknamed *sanctus* in *Rocznik Kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica), whose first part ended in 1165.³⁵

We learn about yet another fact of invoking the intercession of St Stanislaus before his canonization from *Vita maior*. Władysław (1246–1281), a Piast prince of Opole, fell ill during his journey to the colloquium in Krakow; he was cured thanks to St Stanislaus, and knelt shortly afterwards at the bishop's grave, thanking him for the grace he had experienced.³⁶

Attempts to make the veneration more dynamic after canonization

After his return from Krakow, Bishop Thomas I made an attempt to promote the cult of St Stanislaus among the diocesans of Wrocław. Above all, he was helped by the Dominicans, who were very strongly involved in the canonization of St Stanislaus and – from the beginning of their existence in Poland – quite deeply rooted in the history of the Church in Silesia. The organizer of the Polish Province, St Jacek Odrowąż (Hyacinth of Poland), was born in Silesia.³⁷ Bishop

³³ M. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy św. Stanisława*, Bydgoszcz 1999, pp. 42–44.

³⁴ This interpretation is probable, although very problematic, in the opinion of A. Schultz, *Über einige Bildwerke des zwölften Jahrhunderts zu Breslau*, [in:] *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 2, Breslau 1875, pp. 231–235; C. Buchwald, *Reste des Vinzenzklosters bei Breslau*, [in:] *Schlesiens Vorzeit*, Bd. 1, Breslau 1900, pp. 61–79; P. Bohdziewicz, *Zjazdy łęczyckie XII wieku a powstanie kultu św. Stanisława Biskupa*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 2–3 (1950–1951), pp. 252, 255–256. Both authors strongly reject such an interpretation.

³⁵ J. Rajman, *Przedkanonizacyjny kult*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 80 (1993), p. 15; P. Bohdziewicz, *Zjazdy łęczyckie...*, op. cit., p. 260, emphasises that "one of the earliest applications of the word 'saint' to the person of the Bishop of Krakow – the martyr – can be found in *Rocznik Kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica), where the last date of the first part is 1165... that additions later than 1165 are written on the margins or in the text after 1265... that we are dealing with the first chronological application of the word *sanctus* to the person of Saint Stanislaus."

³⁶ *Vita p. Hedwigis, Miraculum XII*, A. Stenzel (ed.), [in:] *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*, Bd. 2, Breslau 1839, p. 47; *Vita maior p. Stanislai*, op. cit., pp. 406–407; J. Długosz, *Vita p. Stanislai*, op. cit., pp. 107–108.

³⁷ J. Woroniecki, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż i wprowadzenie zakonu kaznodziejskiego do Polski*, Katowice 1947, pp. 23–25.

Prandot from the Odrowąż family, the promoter of the efforts to canonize St Stanislaus, was St Jacek's relative and a guardian of a young religious family. The *Rocznik Dominikański* (Dominican Annals) calls him *pater fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*.³⁸ The Dominicans slowly transferred their Krakow traditions to the Silesian region, where in the 13th century they had monasteries in Wrocław, Racibórz, Ząbkowice, Głogów, Bolesławiec, Cieszyn, Legnica, Opole, Lewin Brzeski and Świdnica.³⁹ This is evidenced by the dominant position of St Stanislaus among the patrons of the Dominican monastery. In Racibórz, according to a 1258 document, St Stanislaus takes his place even before St Dominic, the founder of the Order.⁴⁰ A strong link between this order and Silesia existed at the time of the beginning of the new cult because the Dominican Provincial at that time was Simon, a native of Wrocław, the former archdeacon of Wrocław.⁴¹

Also the Silesian Franciscans played an important role in promoting the saint's veneration. Even before the end of the 13th century, the monastery in Głogów, which belongs to the Gniezno Custody, chose St Stanislaus as its patron. According to E. Baran, until its fall in the 16th century, this convent was characterized by a strong attachment to Poland, subject to the clear influences coming from Gniezno and Krakow.⁴² Therefore, it seems not accidental that this patron was chosen as a guardian.

The cult of St Stanislaus did not immediately meet with enthusiasm within the walls of Cistercian monasteries in Silesia. Although the records of *Rocznik kamieniecki* (Annals of Kamienica) and *Księga henrykowska* (The Henryków Book) (*Istius tempore passus est beatus Stanezlaus*⁴³) and the resolution of the General Chapter of the Cistercians of 1255 ordered in all Polish Cistercian convents to venerate St Stanislaus with a twelve-year cult, with two Holy Masses,

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 172; *Rocznik Dominikański*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 133.

³⁹ J. Woroniecki, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż...*, op. cit., pp. 317–318; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku*, Lublin 1956, pp. 50 ff, 288 ff.

⁴⁰ H. Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Breslau 1902, p. 250; *Urkunden der Klöster Rauden und Himmelwitz, der Dominicaner und der Dominicanerinnen in der Stadt Ratibor*, W. von Wattenbach (hrgs.), Breslau 1859; *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 2, pp. 107 ff; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴¹ Szymon performed the function of provincial in the years 1250–1255 and 1260–1264; cf. J. Woroniecki, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż...*, op. cit., pp. 176–177, 222; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy...*, op. cit., p. 319.

⁴² E. Baran, *Sprawy narodowe u Franciszkanów śląskich w XIII wieku*, Warsaw 1954, pp. 80–102.

⁴³ *Księga henrykowska*, published by R. Grodecki, Poznań–Wrocław 1949, p. 372.

similarly as it was practised in commemoration of St Thomas of Canterbury,⁴⁴ but the precept was mostly ignored. Mularczyk has found out that in the obituaries of the Cistercian monasteries in Kamieniec and Henryków the name of St Stanislaus does not feature. The monks apparently neglected to pray for the intention of the Bishop of Krakow.⁴⁵ Mularczyk concluded that the mentions of St Stanislaus in the Silesian historiography of the 13th century are informative rather than reverential.

F.A. Wolnik put forward a different reason behind the slow development of veneration of the saint.⁴⁶ In 1255, the General Chapter of the Cistercians granted the request of Bishop Prandota and established the feast of St Stanislaus, ordering its celebration in all the monasteries under its jurisdiction in Poland, and the fact that the obituaries of the Cistercian monasteries in Kamieniec and Henryków do not mention St Stanislaus should be explained by the fact that an order was given to use the texts of St Thomas Cantenbury in the liturgy of the hours and in the Mass, with the exception of its own collector about St Stanislaus. This decision may have been dictated by analogous circumstances that accompanied the deaths of both martyrs. When, after the canonization of St Stanislaus in 1253, the liturgical texts were arranged for his feast, they were modelled on the already existing St Thomas formula, who was canonized in 1173, and whose cult had already been developed.⁴⁷ Such an arrangement led to the fact that French Cistercians associated Stanisław with Thomas, while Polish Cistercians could associate him with St Adalbert, whose memory was celebrated a few days earlier.⁴⁸ In the Kamieniec Ząbkowicki gradual, dating back to the years 1267–1290, we can already find the rubric where we can read *Stanizlai martiris totum de sancto Adalberto*,⁴⁹ which proves that religious spirituality was enriched by two great figures of great importance for the idea of the unification of Poland.

⁴⁴ J.M. Cantvez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1376 ad annum 1786*, vol. 3, Louvain 1933, p. 420, c. 48: *Petitio domini episcopi Cracoviensis exauditur in hunc modum ut festum beati Stanislai pontificis et martyris, cuius vitae meritis gloriosae Ecclesia sancta miraculis multiplicibus honoratur, cum duodecim lectionibus et duabus missis fiat per totam Poloniam in domibus Ordinis nostri, et de eo fiat per omnia sicut de beato Thoma Cantuarensi fieri consuevit, hoc excepto quod collectae dicantur de eo quas dominus Papa dandas instiluit et mandavit.*

⁴⁵ J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca na Śląsku w XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1984, p. 216.

⁴⁶ F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁷ D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy...*, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴⁸ F. Wolnik, *Kult świętego Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 70.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

T. Silnicki⁵⁰ was right when he noticed the lack of immediate enthusiasm for the cult of the Saint after the canonization among the Silesian Cistercians. In general, the local monasteries were considered to be German centres, which could have been the reason for the unfavourable attitude towards the new cult. In 13th century, however, Cistercian monasteries in Silesia stopped being perceived as foreign. They slowly assimilated with this land, population and culture. They also joined in the life of the whole diocese of that time, becoming an important support for the pastoral ideas of Wrocław bishops.

The Silesian Piasts deserve special attention. They had no interest in supporting the cult of St Stanislaus, whose ideas were an important part of the political and social programme of Bishop Thomas I.⁵¹

The cult of St Stanislaus, which developed slowly in monasteries, reached different parts of Silesia. Already in the second half of the thirteenth century we meet many thirteenth century church institutions dedicated to him. The Franciscan churches in Głogów⁵² and the Dominican churches in Racibórz⁵³ had the patronage of St Stanislaus. The churches in Buków (Strzegom),⁵⁴ Raszów (Opole),⁵⁵ Chrzęszczyce (Opole),⁵⁶ Kwieciszów (Świdnica),⁵⁷ Ujów,⁵⁸ Świdnica⁵⁹ and Strzeganowice⁶⁰ were also dedicated to him.

⁵⁰ T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój...*, op. cit., p. 105.

⁵¹ J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca...*, op. cit., p. 216.

⁵² J. Heyne, *Dokumentierte Geschichte*, Bd. 3, Breslau 1868, p. 1033.

⁵³ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 250.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 22 (Bockau); B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen der ältesten schles. Pfarrorganisation*, Breslau 1940, p. 94, no. 122.

⁵⁵ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 244; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 98, no. 282; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau* (hereinafter: *Visitationsberichte*), vol. 2, Breslau 1906, p. 67.

⁵⁶ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 42; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 96, no. 194; *Visitation reports* 2, p. 298.

⁵⁷ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 246; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 99, no. 315.

⁵⁸ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 329; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 118, no. 1065; *Visitation reports* 1, p. 293.

⁵⁹ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 291; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen...*, op. cit., p. 93, no. 79; *Visitation reports* 1, p. 256.

⁶⁰ H. Neulling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte...*, op. cit., p. 291; E. Wólkiewicz, *Kult św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 74.

Objectives of spreading the cult of St Stanislaus

Bishop Thomas I, promoting the cult of St Stanislaus among the Silesian people, wanted above all to boost devotion, a deep faith in Jesus Christ and his Gospel. The Bishop was aware of the fact that in propagating the principles of the Christian faith, role figures were very important. The Silesian people now had another personality who, although having great power, offered his own life in unity with the sacrifice of the Cross, and thus achieved full communion with God here on earth, as well as in the future. Encouraging his veneration, Thomas I also showed the great role of the bishop as a shepherd who was willing to give his life for his sheep. Were the theological premises the only ones for a bishop so strongly committed to the veneration of this saint?

The analysis of the available source material shows that he had yet another purpose, and that it was, above all, a desire to implement his programme of emphasizing the importance of ecclesiastical authority in social life. He knew perfectly well the accounts of Gall Anonymus⁶¹ and Wincenty Kadłubek.⁶² From their narratives he drew the justification for his position. The latter of the chroniclers mentioned above presented the assassination of Bishop Stanislaus by King Boleslaw II the Generous/Bold in the convention of a clash between a wicked ruler and a church dignitary defending justice, who suffered a martyr's death as a sacrifice to gain peace and social order in the country. The end of this heinous act was the punishment of the perpetrator and his son Mieszko.⁶³ Wincenty Kadłubek – the father of Polish culture – and the historiographer of Great Poland told in their chronicles how the Krakow bishops Gedko and Pełka turned out to be the highest authorities in the state, authorities who dethroned the rulers, appointed them to the throne, admonished them, interpreted the law and nominated officials.⁶⁴ The author of *Kronika wielkopolska* (The Chronicle of Wielkopolska)⁶⁵ included also Bishop Thomas I of Wrocław in this outstanding group of defenders of the rights of the Church.

⁶¹ *Galla Kronika* [*The Gesta principum Polonorum* (English: *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*)], published by A. Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 1, Warsaw 1960, p. 422.

⁶² *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska*, published by A. Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 2, Warsaw 1962, p. 296.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 299: *Non multo vero post, inaudito correptus lanquore, Boleslaus sibi mortem conscivit; sed et unicus filius eius Mescio in primo pubertatis flore veneno emarcuit. Sic tota Boleslai domus sancto poenas Stanizlao exsolvit: quia sicut nullum bonum irremuneratum, sic nullum malum impunitum.*

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 385; *Kronika wielkopolska...*, op. cit., pp. 56 ff.

⁶⁵ *Kronika wielkopolska...*, op. cit., p. 105.

Bishop Thomas I based his struggle for the position of the Church in Silesia on the assumptions formulated by Wincenty Kadlubek, who claimed that the ruler was not the only master in the state, but a co-ruler;⁶⁶ that he did not rule alone, but by officials.⁶⁷ For this reason, later historiographers from Great and Little Poland preached the slogans of the superiority of *sacerdotium* over *regnum*. The cult of St Stanislaus – the opponent of the tyrant king, a martyr who died for his loyalty to the principles proclaimed by the Church – played a major role in the realization of these principles. In order to achieve the intended goal, Master Wincenty began to promote the figure of the Bishop of Krakow in his conflict with King Boleslaw the Bold in a completely different light than Gall Anonymus. This reflected the tendency of certain circles and the chronicler himself, who placed the Church and her dignitaries at the top of the national hierarchy. After all, Master Wincenty himself, after Pełka's death in 1207, took over the function of the bishop of Krakow. It was then that he felt very strongly the mutual competences and relations between the prince and bishop. Therefore, his taking up the problem of the conflict between secular and clerical power on the example of St Stanislaus was also a response to the demand of the Krakow Church, which tried to implement its own plans. In this situation, also Bishop Thomas I saw for himself an important role, to which end he cooperated with some canons, e.g. Goćwin and Jakub of Skaryszew, as well as Dominicans who actively joined in the canonization process.⁶⁸

The events following the success of diplomatic efforts to obtain the Pope's consent for the canonization of St Stanislaus revealed yet another goal, which was to be pursued by Bishop Thomas I in spreading the cult of the Saint. One cannot overlook the fact that he declared himself a supporter of the idea of the unification of the Polish state, which he pursued after his own fashion. I believe he saw a way to achieve this goal by uniting Polish princes, initially under the Czech ruler, and later on, by elevating a dominant person from among the Polish power elite, capable of taking over the helm of the royal power with his own strong hand. Bishop Thomas I, equipped with a new weapon, started to be more active in the realization of his plans on the political level than before. Above all, he became an inspirer of the idea of establishing contacts between Krakow and the Czech ruler Přemysl Otakar II, who took

⁶⁶ *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska*, op. cit., p. 255: *Se non regem, sed regni socium pollicetur, si se deligant.*

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 431.

⁶⁸ T. Silnicki, *Dzieje i ustrój...*, pp. 161 ff; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., pp. 17 ff; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Jakub zwany Weksa*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, Krakow 1962–1964, pp. 346–347.

over power after the death of his father Wenceslas I (died September 22, 1253⁶⁹), using the cult of St Stanislaus. This monarch, having a desire to strengthen himself on the international arena, began to win for his plans those rulers who had previously favoured Bela IV of Hungary. The Czech monarch knew that that when he had gained them, he would significantly weaken his opponent politically. It is believed that it was Thomas I who made him think that after the canonization celebrations of St Stanislaus in Krakow, which took place on May 8, 1254, Přemysl Otakar asked the Bishop Prandota of Krakow to send the relics of the Saint to Prague. There is no doubt that this was a very skilful move. Not only did Prandota respond favourably to this request, but he also ceremoniously handed over the relics of St Stanislaus to the Prague Cathedral on 22 October 1254,⁷⁰ but he himself became a mediator between the Czech ruler and Bolesław V the Chaste.

In order to take advantage of such a successful development as well as to deepen relations, on July 20, 1255 Přemysl Otakar sent a letter of thanks for the relics of St Stanislaus.⁷¹ He also offered to help the Bishop in any need. The bishop himself, on the other hand, undertook to take steps to achieve the reunification of all Polish princes with the King of Bohemia *indissolubilis federis et amicis vinculo*.⁷² And the princes who would express their willingness to join him would have a guaranteed defence against all attacks, especially from pagans and schismatics. The efforts made by Otakar did not ultimately bring the expected results. This was due to the fact that Boleslaw the Chaste had no interest in joining the alliance with the ruler of Bohemia, as the latter assigned himself a dominant role in this alliance.⁷³ This in consequence, confirmed Boleslaus to

⁶⁹ B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV wieku (1250–1306)*, Lwów 1931, p. 18; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Warszawa 1959, tab. 82 on 23 IX.

⁷⁰ See: B. Włodarczyk, *Polityczna rola biskupów krakowskich w XIII wieku*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 27 (1967), p. 45; Z. Jakubowski, *Polityczne i kulturowe aspekty kultu biskupa krakowskiego Stanisława w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu*, Częstochowa 1988, pp. 62–65; J. Kopicz, *Relikwie św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 148.

⁷¹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej*, F. Piekosiński (ed.), Krakow 1874, no. 44, under the date 19 July 1255; in many other editions it also carried the dates 4 and 11 October 1255, which B. Włodarski explains, *Polska i Czechy...*, op. cit., pp. 25–26, note 3.

⁷² In the long run, Ottokar was striving for the hegemony of Bohemia and for Poland to be united with it, see: W. Urban, *Nieudane starania Przemysła Ottokara II o metropolię czeską na tle jego rządów i krzyżackiej polityki*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 6 (1957), p. 314; T. Löschke, *Die Politik König Ottokars II. gegenüber Schlesien und Polen, namentlich in den letzten Jahren seiner Regierung*, "Zeitschrift für Geschichte Schlesiens" 20 (1886), p. 99.

⁷³ R. Grodecki, *Dzieje polityczne Śląska do roku 1290*, [in:] *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, P. Kutrzeba (ed.), vol. 1, Krakow 1933, pp. 252–253.

uphold the alliance with Hungary,⁷⁴ although many influential personalities insisted on changing the decision. The efforts of the ruler of Bohemia led only to winning the favor of Prandota and few supporters of such an alliance at the court of Krakow, among whom were, for example, Castellan Michael and Voivode Klemens from the Gryfit family. From the bishop's surroundings one should mention the influential Franciscan Bartłomiej from Prague.

Undoubtedly, the cult of St Stanislaus had been known in the Diocese of Wrocław since the end of the 11th century. However, none of the decision-making and pastoral centres took proper action to strengthen it in all spheres of life, especially pastoral. It was only Thomas I who took up this task with great interest as he was very much concerned about the salvation of the diocesan souls entrusted to his care. By joining the great project of Bishop Prandota, he wanted not only to achieve a devotional effect, but also the realization of his life's political program.

His death in 1268 arrested the process of popularizing the cult for some time. Few newly built churches chose the patronage of the Saint. Also Silesian monasteries, which by their very nature should be lively and dynamic centres of veneration of the Saint, promoted him but on the margins of their tasks. Sources remain silent when it comes to the question of the degree of interest of Silesian princes in learning about know and cultivating the figure of the martyr. A story by Ottokar, Bishop of Styria, has survived, suggesting that Prince Henry IV, while staying in Krakow, probably acquainted himself with *The Life of St Stanislaus*. This probably prompted him to make efforts around 1280 to get the royal crown,⁷⁵ that is long before he occupied Krakow. And when he did this, one of his first moves was the imprisonment of Bishop Paul of Przemankow,⁷⁶ which certainly ran counter to the ideological meaning of

⁷⁴ W. Urban, *Nieudane starania...*, op. cit., p. 316; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy...*, op. cit., p. 25.

⁷⁵ J. Baszkiewicz, *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku*, Warsaw 1954, p. 444; idem, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, Warsaw 1968, p. 51; W. Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława...*, op. cit., p. 19; Z. Boras, *Księżęta piastowscy Śląska*, Katowice 1974, p. 148.

⁷⁶ In 1289, Bishop Paweł of Przemankowo lost his freedom in a dispute with the ruler of Krakow, Henryk Probus. The bishop supported Henry's rival, Prince Bolesław of Płock, in the fight for the throne of Krakow. He was captured and thrown into prison after the victorious Henry had conquered Krakow. See for example: *Rocznik Traski*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 2, Lwów 1872, p. 852; *Rocznik Sędziwoja*, A. Bielowski (ed.), [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 879; see: W. Karasiewicz, *Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski*, "Nasza Przyszłość" 9 (1959), p. 228; J. Maciejewski, *Episkopat polski doby dzielnicowej 1180–1320*, Krakow–Bydgoszcz 2003, p. 133.

the cult of St Stanislaus. Secondly, the legend of St Stanislaus envisaged the crown only for the one who would unite the country and obey the clergy.⁷⁷ In the context of these events, it is difficult to assume that the behaviour of Henry IV was the result of pious reading. As J. Mularczyk rightly suggests, in the politics of Henry IV the Righteous, there are no signs of his taking over the ideas expressed in the cult of St Stanislaus.⁷⁸ A man charmed by the figure of the Saint would not have had such a long-lasting dispute with the Ordinary of the Diocese of Wrocław, Thomas II, and consequently with the entire Polish Episcopate. Undoubtedly, Duke Henry IV was one of those Polish rulers who were convinced of their unlimited and sovereign authority. He was enchanted by court life, knightly tournaments and even devoted himself to literary work.⁷⁹

Neither Thomas I nor II managed to effectively spread the cult of St Stanislaus among Silesian diocesans. It was necessary to wait until a quarter of a century later Bishop Nanker came from Krakow to Wrocław and played a significant role in spreading the cult.

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⁷⁷ E. Maleczyńska, *Próby odnowy państwowości polskiej w oparciu z Śląsk w XIII wieku*, [in:] *Szkice dziejów Śląska*, idem (ed.), vol. 1, Warsaw 1955, p. 143.

⁷⁸ J. Mularczyk, *Władza książęca...*, op. cit., p. 195.

⁷⁹ E. Maleczyńska, *Próby odnowienia...*, op. cit., p. 144; J. Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, op. cit., pp. 43 ff; idem, *Rola Piastów w procesie zjednoczenia państwowego Polski do roku 1320*, [in:] *Piastowie w dziejach polski*, R. Heck (ed.), Wrocław–Warsaw–Krakow–Gdańsk 1975, p. 62.

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