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**CHAPTER CLERGY IN MEDIEVAL POLAND:
ITS LEGAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MODELS
IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS RELIGIOSITY**

In the present text I am not going to deal with all aspects of the religiousness of the clergy of such institutions as Polish cathedral and collegiate chapters in the Middle Ages. Although my observations were part of a research project devoted precisely to religious culture, my purpose is different. The questions I will try to answer concern rather broadly-understood legal, social and cultural conditions that could or did affect the religiousness of those groups. Consequently, the spectrum of my observations is much broader: it embraces various social, legal, economic and cultural phenomena which require an analysis of much richer and heterogeneous sources than those concerning religiosity alone. I divide my paper into five parts.

I
**SECULAR CANONS AND CHAPTERS
IN THE SERVICE OF STATE AND CHURCH**

At the outset I will try to answer three questions that are essential to my deliberations:

1. In what way did the legal constitution of the early-medieval Church, the attempts at its reform and the social structures (which in Poland differed from those in Western Europe) affect the successive stages of formation of secular canons, leading to the rise of the institutions called cathedral and collegiate chapters?

2. Can we deny that the Aachen rule for canons (which was the basis for the functioning of secular canons), and then the legislation and corporate character of chapters (with their chief element – the prebendal system) favoured the disintegration of various types of

groups of canons, and by the same weakened their communal life as well as the performance of their religious tasks?

3. Can we deny that secular canons shaped in this way, and then members of cathedral and collegiate chapters, performed to a greater extent the role of servants to the state or the ecclesiastical administration rather than devote themselves to communal life and various communal forms of the liturgy?

While answering these three questions jointly, one must say clearly that the legal constitution of communities of canons which functioned in early medieval times, whether they were called *monasteria*, *coenobia*, or *abbatiae*, was adjusted to the existing, though different, social structures. This could be observed in Western Europe in the period from the 6th till the 12th century, but also later – from the 12th till the 13th century in Poland. The early canons, with their more or less developed *officium divinum* and what we call *mensa canonicorum*, that is the economic basis for their functioning, were almost from the very beginning faced with the obligation of performing more practical tasks. *Clerici primigradus* or *conciliarii episcopi*, apart from typical church functions, both liturgical and administrative, took up a number of tasks of state and social character. This was the character of their activity in the royal, ducal and magnate courts, and more broadly speaking in the state administration. Of course, the canons were in the first place supposed to realise the ideals of Christianity, *vita apostolica*, however, in a more moderate form than that performed by the monks. From the 8th century onwards they realised it mainly on the basis of ecclesiastical legislation designed for the episcopal clergy.¹ The

¹ There is a rich literature on this subject. The most important in Polish historiography are: Jerzy Kłoczowski, 'Vita communis kleru w XI-XII w.', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, x, 2 (1961), 7–39; *idem*, 'Les chanoines en Pologne aux XI-XII siècles', in *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962), i, 66–70; *idem*, *Wspólnoty chrześcijańskie w tworzącej się Europie* (Poznań, 2003), 105–7; Józef Szymański, *Kanonikat świecki w Małopolsce k. XI – poł. XIII w.* (Warsaw, 1963), typescript of doctoral dissertation; this work, under the same title but abridged, was published in 1995; *idem*, 'Kanonikat', in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, ii (Wrocław, 1964), 365–6; *idem*, 'Z zagadnień vitae canonicae w Polsce XII-XIII w.', *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, x, 4 (1963), 143–6; *idem*, 'Krakowski rękopis reguły akwizgrańskiej z roku ok. 1103', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, xi (1966), 50–1; *idem*, 'Kanonicy i kapituły', in Jerzy Kłoczowski (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1966), i, 199–216; Tadeusz Lalik, 'Zagadnienie vitae communis kapituł polskich w XII w.', in Aleksander Gieysztor, Marian Serejski and Stanisław Trawkowski (eds.), *Wieki Średnie. Prace*

factors that standardised the system of canonry were certainly the introduction of the rule of Chrodegang, the bishop of Metz, elaborated ca. 755–6 and based on the Benedictine rule, as well as the synodal acts, and – especially – the rule of Aachen of 816.² Especially the resolutions of the latter rule that allowed the canons to possess or use the allotted parts of their common property, made the relations in their communities similar to those existing among the knights.³ As a result the representatives of the latter social category entered newly-formed chapters, which naturally raised the prestige and role of groups of canons. Although the Aachen rule placed much emphasis on solemn liturgy, one can see easily that the changes it introduced were also caused by socio-economic needs and family-dynastic designs of a political and administrative character. The new concept of *ordo canonicorum*, springing precisely from the Aachen rule, was strictly connected to the centralist tendencies represented by Carolingian rulers, and later the French kings and German emperors. It allowed the representatives of the upper strata of feudal society to gradually take control of the groups of canons. It was due to the socio-economic, political, administrative and – the above mentioned – family-dynastic needs of this society that these communities acquired their independence as property-owners. This independence was soon involved in the system of benefices shaped in Carolingian times, while the application

ofiarowane Tadeuszowi Manteufflowi (Warsaw, 1962), 99–110; Andrzej Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studium nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu* (Toruń, 1995), 13–57.

² Chrodegang's rule was published by Wilhelm Schmitz, *Sancti Chrodegangi, Metensis episcopi, regula canonicorum* (Hanover, 1891), 1–25. On this subject see Paul Hinschius, *System des katholischen Kirchenrechts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland*, ii (Berlin, 1878), 52–68; Philipp Schneider, *Die bischöflichen Domkapitel, ihre Entwicklung und rechtliche Stellung im Organismus der Kirche* (Mainz, 1885), 30–41; Pierre Torquebiau, 'Chanoines', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, iii (Paris, 1942), col. 473–5; Henri Leclercq, 'Chanoines', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, iii, part 1 (Paris, 1948), col. 240–5; Charles Dereine, 'Chanoines', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xii (Paris, 1953), col. 364–6; Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1967), 3–4; Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapitel in Deutschland* (Bonn, 1976), 235–7; Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 19–20.

³ *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, in MGH, *Leges, Concilia*, ii: *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 1 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), 394–412; Albert Werminghoff, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 26 (1902), 607–35.

of the solutions of the Aachen rule and the capitularies of Carolingian rulers had led as a consequence to the division of this property into separate benefices-prebends. This system, which took shape in the period from the 9th till the 12th century, wonderfully corresponded with the situation of the feudalised world of Western Europe, but also in a very pragmatic way adjusted itself to the social structure in Poland, which considerably differed from that in the West.⁴ So it seems that we are dealing here with a gradual adjustment of legal solutions accepted by communities of canons to the socio-economic structures existing in European countries, including Poland. This situation seriously influenced the downfall (from the 10th century onwards) of the *vita communis* in the groups of canons in Western Europe, and was even aggravated by the transformations and new demands of the diocesan administration. Of course, the programme of Gregorian reforms included one concerning the life of groups of canons in Augustinian spirit, that is the restoration of their common property and a return to the *vita communis*. However, it did not have much effect on the numerous communities of canons of the Europe of that time, including Poland. They continued functioning according to the Aachen rule, and later – after gaining corporate rights – according to their own statutes.⁵

Hence it seems that the Aachen rule, and then the gradually constituted corporate principles, initially in cathedral, and later in collegiate chapters, exerted an overpowering influence on the gradual process of disintegration taking place among their clergy.⁶ These processes were certainly aggravated by the role played by the prelates and

⁴ Dereine, 'Chanoines', col. 375–7; Guy P. Marchal, 'Die Dom- und Kollegiatstifte der Schweiz', in *idem* (ed.), *Die weltlichen Kollegiatstifte der deutsch- und französischsprachigen Schweiz* (Helvetia Sacra, ii, 2, Bern, 1977), 137; Schieffer, *Die Entstehung*, 260–87; Kłoczowski, '*Vita communis*', 15 ff.; Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 22–7.

⁵ Torquebiau, 'Chanoines', col. 477–8; Dereine, 'Chanoines', col. 375–81; in Polish historiography see Kłoczowski, '*Vita communis*', *passim*; Szymański, 'Z zagadnień *vitae canonicae*', 143–5; *idem*, 'Krakowski rękopis', 47, 50; *idem*, *Kanonikat świecki w Małopolsce od końca XI do połowy XIII w.* (Lublin, 1995), 15–57; Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 27–9.

⁶ See Helmut Flachenecker's remarks, 'Was ist ein Stift im Mittelalter?', in Hannes Obermair, Klaus Brandstätter and Emanuele Curzel (eds.), *Dom- und Kollegiatstifte in der Region Tirol-Südtirol-Trentino im Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Innsbruck, 2006), 27–31.

canons of cathedral and collegiate chapters in the administrative system of the Church and the political-administrative system of the State in medieval Poland.⁷ There can be no doubt that for this reason less solicitude was devoted to the solemn liturgy in cathedral or collegiate churches.

Let us analyse from this point of view the functions performed by non-cathedral communities of canons that were called into being in early medieval times by three categories of founders: princes, bishops and magnates. It must be admitted that groups of canons belonging to each of those three categories performed different tasks. The earliest churches, attached to the residences of princes in the main strongholds (*sedes regni*) of the Polish state, created probably at the turn of the 12th century, which were at the same time episcopal sees, served in the first place the ruler (Blessed Virgin Mary's Church in Poznań, St Wit's at Kruszwica, St Michael's on Wawel Hill in Cracow, St George's in Gniezno, St Michael's in Płock, the Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław, St Thomas' in Raciborz). The clergymen of these communities were chaplains to the rulers (*capellani* is a frequent term found in the sources, denoting the members of those groups until the middle of the 13th century), and on the one hand supplied pastoral ministry to the court (these churches were generally not accessible to the entire community of believers), and on the other performed purely pragmatic, chancellery functions.⁸ This is clearly testified by 15th century chancellor's prebends at the collegiate churches: of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poznań and St Wit's at Kruszwica, as well as by the connections, recorded in the sources from the first half of the 13th century, between the members of St Michael's Collegiate Church in Płock and the prince's chancellery.⁹ This pragmatic activity in the

⁷ On this subject Szymański, *Kanonikat*, 52–6, 73–88; Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 152–68 (there also extensive literature of the subject); of more recent works see *idem*, 'Społeczne funkcje prebend kanonickich w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza', in *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów* (Poznań, 1997), 311–23; *idem*, 'Rola gnieźnieńskiej kapituły metropolitalnej w Kościele, państwie i społeczeństwie w okresie średniowiecza', in Jerzy Strzelczyk and Janusz Górny (eds.), *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej* (Gniezno, 2000), 177–80.

⁸ Magdalena Bilaska-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły kolegiackie metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w średniowieczu. Geneza – organizacja – funkcjonowanie* (Cracow, 2008).

⁹ About the chancellery prebend attached to the Poznań Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary see Jan Nowacki, 'Kolegiata Najświętszej Marii Panny w Poznaniu', *Miesięcznik Kościelny Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, 6 (1951), 314–41, esp.

chancellery was also remunerated by the benefices attached to those churches. Similar functions were performed by the princes' collegiate foundations that arose at the turn of the 13th century as a result of territorial changes and the rise of new economic centres (St Paul's in Kalisz, St Florian's in Cracow, of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Sandomierz, of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Wiślica, St Martin's at Opatów, of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Głogów and of the Holy Cross at Opole). Although at the beginning they also supplied pastoral ministry, with time, after handing these tasks over to vicars (e.g. in the episcopal collegiate foundation in Kielce as early as 1229 every prelate and canon had his deputy)¹⁰ they retained only commemorative, representative and sepulchral tasks.¹¹ Collegiate episcopal foundations were mainly entrusted with the jurisdiction of individual parts of the diocese (for example Blessed Virgin Mary's churches at Uniejów, at Łowicz, and at Pułtusk, St Margaret's at Nowy Sącz).¹² Relatively few magnate's collegiate foundations were created in medieval Poland, patterned on the princes' foundations, probably also in respect of their functions (e.g. St John the Baptist's at Skalbmierz, of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Tarnów, or All Saints' in Cracow).¹³

In the later Middle Ages we can observe one more pragmatic and important purpose of the existence of collegiate churches. The point was to provide the masters of the University in Cracow with canons' prebends. This can be best illustrated by 15th century royal and episcopal charters issued for St Florian's Collegiate Church in Cracow.¹⁴ The phenomenon of such a pragmatic approach to church benefices, including canons' prebends, that frequently served to provide the

322–3; on such a prebend attached to St Wit's Chapter at Kruszwica, see Bilka-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 34–6; on the connexions between the provosts of St Michael's Collegiate Church in Płock and the chancellery of Masovian dukes, see Andrzej Radzimiński, 'Prepozyci kolegiaty św. Michała w Płocku w XIV i na początku XV w.', *Studia Płockie*, xix-xx (1991–2), 193–202.

¹⁰ Eugeniusz Janota (ed.), *Monografia opactwa cystersów we wsi Mogile*, part 2: *Zbiór dyplomów mogiłskich* (Cracow, 1867), no. 9.

¹¹ They are discussed in detail by Bilka-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 66–92 (there also extensive literature of the subject).

¹² *Ibidem*, 118–33.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 92–118.

¹⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generali Cracoviensis*, ed. Żęgota Pauli, 4 vols. (Cracow, 1870–3), i, nos. 21, 31, 69, 76, 82; Bolestaw Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, ii (Cracow, 1999), 379–81.

living to the employees of the state apparatus, especially of the chancelleries, is well known and described in historiography. In the Middle Ages the Church certainly played the role of assistant to the State which needed means for the maintenance of clergymen employed in its service. Hence, it had to agree to the situation where many clergymen, also canons, ceased performing the tasks of a religious character.¹⁵ According to Maria Koczerska's studies, nearly 40 per cent of prelates and canons of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter were engaged in the service both to the Church and the ruling dynasty.¹⁶ Formally, the Church approved of this state of affairs, as is exemplified by various papal privileges granted also to the Polish rulers, for example for the chancellery personnel. They released those clergymen from the duty of residence or even of taking holy orders necessary for holding a specific prebend, but also from the performance of various liturgical functions. This can be exemplified by the privilege of Pope Innocent VII of 7 November 1404 for Ladislas Jagiello and his wife Anne, that released chaplains, clerks and court notaries from the obligation of staying in the places where they held their benefices.¹⁷ A similar privilege, though much earlier, was granted in 1238 to King Waldemar II of Denmark for his counsellors who held canonries in the Cathedral Chapter in Schleswig.¹⁸ The Church also used the well-provided members of cathedral and collegiate communities for performing important tasks in the diocesan administration, mainly as officials, vicars general or archdeacons.¹⁹

The above-mentioned questions were important, though not the only reasons for the gradual disintegration of cathedral or collegiate

¹⁵ Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 152–68.

¹⁶ Maria Koczerska, 'Le chapitre de Cracovie dans les années 1423–1462', in Hélène Millet and Élisabeth Mornet (eds.), *Les chanoines au service de l'Etat en Europe du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Ferrara, 1992), 216.

¹⁷ *Zbiór dokumentów katedry i diecezji krakowskiej*, part I, 1063–1415, ed. Stanisław Kuraś (Lublin, 1965), no. 165.

¹⁸ Klaus Harms, *Das Domkapitel zu Schleswig von seinen Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1542* (Preetz, 1914), 36.

¹⁹ See e.g. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 225–39; Antoni Gąsiorowski and Izabela Skierska, 'Średniowieczni oficjałowie gnieźnieńscy', *Roczniki Historyczne*, lxi, (1995), 37–86; *idem*, 'Oficjalaty okręgowe w późnośredniowiecznej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej', *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, xlvii (1995), 93–124; Maria Koczerska, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i Kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu (1423–1455)* (Warsaw, 2004), 173–215.

groups of canons, as well as for the change of the role and social functions of those clergymen. This caused a gradual disappearance of choir service rendered by the canons certainly as early as the 13th century (at that time it was performed jointly by the canons and vicars, for example in Poznań cathedral).²⁰ These duties were taken over by vicars.²¹ The disintegration was additionally intensified as a result of the accumulation of benefices, frequent in the 14th and 15th centuries. It is no wonder that the prelates and canons hardly ever assembled in their full number, chapters general assembled only a half of their full members, while the weekly sessions were attended by no more than ten clergymen.²² The opinion seems justified that the proportion of resident and non-resident prelates and canons was in the later Middle Ages similar in all the cathedral chapters of more wealthy Polish bishoprics.²³ Detailed sociological analysis of the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter in the first half of the 15th century have shown that the group of canons residing at Gniezno permanently or for most of the year usually numbered from 6 to 10 people (per 31 prebends). There were about 14 canons connected to other chapters who resided barely for a few months. Another two to three canons were usually absent or appeared sporadically.²⁴ This situation is well illustrated

²⁰ *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska*, ed. Waław A. Maciejowski, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, ii, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), 581; in the chapter devoted to the birth of Prince Przemysł we read 'Et cum cantaretur matutinae per canonicos Posnanienses et vicarios, venit nuncius circa finem nonae lectionis, et significavit de nativitate pueri'; see Kłoczowski, 'Vita communis', 33.

²¹ On the subject of this role of vicars in the Polish cathedrals see Andrzej Radzimiński, 'Wikariusze katedry plockiej w XIII – poł. XV w.', part 2: 'Zagadnienia wybrane', *Nasza Przeszłość*, lxxvii (1992), 5–30; the tasks of vicars in the collegiate churches have recently been discussed by Magdalena Bilka-Ciećwierz, 'Statuty wikariuszy kolegiaty wiślickiej z 1442 r.', *Roczniki Historyczne*, lxxii (2006), 115–26.

²² For comments on this subject relating to the Poznań Chapter see Paweł Dembiński, 'Prażaci i kanonicy poznańscy za pontyfikatu Uriela z Górk (1479–1498)', *Roczniki Historyczne*, lxxvi (2000), 171–9; for the Włocławek Chapter see the remarks by Antoni Gąsiorowski, 'Kanonicy włocławscy w najstarszej metryce kapitulnej (1435–1500)', in Andrzej Radzimiński (ed.), *Duchowieństwo kapitulne w Polsce średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej. Pochodzenie i funkcjonowanie elity kościelnej* (Toruń, 2000), 9–23; for the Gniezno Chapter see Marta Czyżak, *Kapituła katedralna w Gnieźnie w świetle metryki z lat 1408–1448* (Poznań, 2003), 92–9.

²³ Jacek Wiesiołowski, 'Sukcesja funkcji jako czynnik rozwoju gnieźnieńskiego środowiska kościelnego', in Strzelczyk and Górny (eds.), *1000 lat Archidiecezji*, 186–8.

²⁴ Czyżak, *Kapituła katedralna*, 98.

by the Statute of the Poznań Chapter of 17 November 1423, which mentions that some canons visited their church only once a year or once in two years. The reason for this state of affairs could be sought in insufficient income from prebends. What is more striking in this document is that its publisher does not mention the clergymen's slackness in the performance of their religious duties – for example, liturgy – but complains about the quarrels, hatred and hostility among the canons over the income from prebends, and about the fact that these clergymen – because of being absent from the cathedral – did not defend the rights of their churches.²⁵ Recent research shows that these observations may be extended into collegiate chapters as well, where the resident canons and prelates – as in Silesia – amounted to no more than 30 or 50 per cent.²⁶ At the same time we have some extreme examples – the Statutes of the Warsaw Chapter of 1517 allowed, under certain conditions, a complete absence of resident canons,²⁷ while in the Nowy Sącz collegiate church only one canon was obliged to residence during his term.²⁸ On the other hand, in 1495 Uriel Górka, the bishop of Poznań, obliged the canons of the collegiate church at Kórnik to strict residence and personal performance of liturgy, excluding from it the vicars or other deputies. After merely a month's absence of a clergyman from the place of his benefice his office was considered vacant.²⁹ The reasons, however, why not all or even the majority of members of individual chapters could assemble at their sessions, might be quite complex, as is shown by Antoni

²⁵ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (hereafter: KDW), v, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński (Poznań, 1908), no. 377 ('vix semel in anno uel biennio suam presentiam in ecclesia exhibere consueuerunt, propter quod scrupulositates, rixe et odia inter fratres et eiusdem corporis membra sepius concitantur, iura ecclesie indefensa relinquuntur, et cottidie, prout facti euidentia docuit, minuuntur, ecclesiaeque suis destituitur personis et ministris').

²⁶ See e.g. Ewa Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła kolegiacka św. Mikołaja w Otmuchowie. Dzieje – organizacja – skład osobowy (1386–1477)* (Opole, 2004), 216–9; Bilska-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 269–72.

²⁷ *Statuta capitulorum Gnesnensis et Posnaniensis ecclesiarumque collegiarum Varsoviensis et Lanciencis*, ed. Bolesław Ulanowski, *Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej Akademii Umiejętności*, v (Cracow, 1897), 516, no. 36 ('De procuratoribus absencium dominorum').

²⁸ Stanisław Salaterski, *Kolegiata i kapituła św. Małgorzaty w Nowym Sączu (1448–1791)* (Nowy Sącz, 1997), 76–7.

²⁹ Bilska-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 271 (on the basis of an analysis of the foundation document for the Collegiate Church at Kórnik).

Gąsiorowski in the case of the Włocławek Chapter. He draws attention to the well-known phenomenon of the accumulation of prebends in the same chapter (usually some group of prelates additionally possessed a canonry), and the frequent vacancies after the death or resignation of the previous holder of a prebend, or departures of clergymen abroad, e.g. for foreign studies.³⁰ This does not change the fact that a considerable percentage of absences of prelates and canons from a cathedral or a collegiate church was bound to result in the slackness in the liturgical service within the chapters.³¹ Two very instructive examples of non-residence can be shown precisely in the case of collegiate churches. One of the Statutes of the Łęczycza Chapter, coming from the times of Bishop Bodzanta, says that when arriving in Łęczycza he perceived that ‘ecclesia Lanciencis est quasi in toto desolata et per filios suos, quos enutrivit et nunc enutrit, spreta et derelicta’.³² The Provincial Statutes of Primate John Laski of 1523 say, with reference to the most important collegiate churches that

Quia in hoc regno Poloniae pleraeque insignes collegiatae ecclesiae propter non residentiam praelatorum et canonicorum in eisdem in divinis officiis et debito earum regimine, ut evidenter apparet, misere negliguntur non sine dedecore et scandalo plebis Deique irreverentia et fundatorum summa iniuria.³³

The non-residence of the members of the Wieluń Chapter was also the main reason, emphasised in 1495 by Archbishop Frederick, for the statute regulation of the inner life of this chapter.³⁴ Therefore,

³⁰ Gąsiorowski, ‘Kanonicy włocławscy’, 15–18.

³¹ With reference to collegiate chapters this subject is extensively discussed by Bilka-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 319–29.

³² *Statuta capitulorum Gnesnensis et Posnaniensis*, no. 4, p. 532. On the subject of Łęczycza Statutes, see Magdalena Bilka-Ciećwierz, ‘Statuty kolegium kanoników przy kolegiacie łęczyczyckiej z lat 1383–1467’, *Klio*, ii (2002), 21–47; Andrzej Radzimiński, ‘Uwagi o najstarszych statutach kapituł kolegiackich metropolii gnieźnieńskiej’, in Danuta Zydorek (ed.), *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* (Poznań, 2001), 128–31.

³³ *Statuty kapituły katedralnej włocławskiej i bibliografia ustawodawstwa kapitulnego w Polsce*, ed. Jan Fijałek (Cracow, 1916), CCI-II; see Ignacy Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich* (Warsaw, 1981), 81–3.

³⁴ Walenty Patykiewicz, ‘Statuty kolegiaty rudzko-kaliskiej’, *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, iii (1956), 357–8 (‘Sane quia Praelati et Canonici Ecclesiae Collegiatae Vielunensis raro aut nunquam Capitulum generale celebrant in eadem, propter cuius neglectum Ecclesia ipsa tam in Spiritualibus, quam in Corporalibus multis

from the 13th century onwards groups of vicars were formed that gradually took over the everyday Mass celebration and choral obligations of prelates and canons. These groups, which in the course of time adopted a corporate structure close to that of chapters, were then charged with a number of additional liturgical duties, including in the first place the singing of canonical hours. This is how these questions were regulated in one of the Kalisz Statutes of Archbishop Jarosław Bogoria of Skotniki in 1357, *Constitutio, quod in colegiatis ecclesiis omnes hore decantentur*: ‘Ordinamus eciam et statuimus: ut deinceps in colegiatis ecclesiis omnes hore canonice voce sive cantu per vicarios et servitores ecclesie decantentur.’³⁵ Similar regulations were introduced by the Wieluń-Kalisz Statutes of Mikołaj Trąba. The statute ‘De celebracione missarum’ says that the duty of singing canonical hours related also to cathedral vicars.³⁶ In the collegiate churches that performed parish functions (e.g. at Otmuchów), vicars were also entrusted with the tasks of pastoral ministry. In the above-mentioned Chapter of Otmuchów, collegiate vicars, from 1497 at the latest, took an oath of a four-year residence in their chapter, of participation in the Liturgy of the Hours and of subordinating themselves in everything to the chapter and the vice-dean.³⁷

II THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF POLISH CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHAPTERS

Now I will try to answer the questions concerning the social character of cathedral and collegiate chapters and its possible consequences for the religious life of those groups. The following questions arise in this context:

1. In medieval Poland (I mainly take into account the rich bishops of the Gniezno Province) are we dealing with only one or many social models of those chapters?

subjacet periculis, non modica sustinet damna, et Personae ejusdem quasi sine lege viventes errores committebant diversos’).

³⁵ KDW, iii (Poznań, 1879), no. 1349.

³⁶ *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie Mikołaja Trąby z r. 1420*, ed. Jan Fijałek and Adam Vetulani (Cracow, 1951), 70; see Czyżak, *Kapituła*, 116; on such duties of the vicars of Płock, see Radziwiński, ‘Wikariusze’, 24–5.

³⁷ Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła*, 138–9.

2. What directions did the changes in their membership take?

3. How can we interpret the phenomenon of the 'inheritance of prebends' or the formation of numerous family and clan circles in those institutions?

Previous research has shown that Polish cathedral and collegiate chapters were of a mixed 'gentry-burgher' character, with a considerable predominance of the gentry. Of course, there were well-known variations from this model, like the case of the Wrocław Cathedral Chapter and the remaining Silesian collegiate chapters – in the later Middle Ages their prebends were mostly held by burghers (e.g. in the 15th century in the Wrocław Cathedral Chapter they made up 41 per cent,³⁸ in the collegiate church in Brzeg – 50 per cent,³⁹ in the collegiate church at Głogów – 50 per cent,⁴⁰ in the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław as much as 80 per cent,⁴¹ in the collegiate church at Otmuchów – over 50 per cent).⁴² Generally, however, we may speak of one social model of Polish chapters. It is also worth noticing that the social background of the members of chapter clergy in rich Polish bishoprics is a clear reflection of the local social structure. The attempts made in the 15th century, with the support of papal privileges of 1414 and 1421, to introduce the exclusivity of gentry membership into cathedral chapters did not eliminate the burghers from access to canon's prebends in the above-mentioned places, though they reduced their numbers.⁴³ On the other hand the

³⁸ Kazimierz Dola, *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna w XV w. Ustrój – skład osobowy – działalność* (Lublin, 1983), 130.

³⁹ Georg Bernhofen, *Das Kollegiatstift zu Brieg in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung von den Anfängen bis zur Säcularisation (1534)* (Berlin, 1939), 19.

⁴⁰ Henryk Gerlic, *Kapituła głogowska w dobie piastowskiej i jagiellońskiej (1180–1526)* (Gliwice, 1993), 104.

⁴¹ Cäcilie Kuchendorf, *Das Breslauer Kreuzstift in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung von der Gründung (1288) bis 1456* (Breslau, 1937), 26.

⁴² Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła*, 186.

⁴³ *Statuta Capituli Ecclesiae Cracoviensis*, ed. Udalryk Heyzmann, *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki*, iv (Cracow, 1875), 169 (privilege for the Cracow Cathedral Chapter); *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, ed. August Sokółowski, Józef Szujski and Anatol Lewicki, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1876), ii, no. 55 (privilege for the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter); KDW, viii, ed. Antoni Gašiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Warsaw and Poznań, 1989), no. 922 (privilege for the Poznań, Płock and Włocławek Chapters). More extensively on this subject, see Andrzej Radzimiński, 'Mieszczanie w średniowiecznych kapitułach katedralnych w Polsce na tle rozwijającego się

phenomenon of the inheritance of prebends, which, like in many West-European countries, were in Poland frequently held by family and clan circles, shows that the benefices of those ecclesiastical institutions were treated in an instrumental and pragmatic way. Such actions may in most cases be considered as an element of the economic policy of individual families rather than their dedication to activity for the sake of the Church. Hence it was not without reason that the endeavours centred around obtaining church benefices gained the name of *Vetternwirtschaft* in German historiography.⁴⁴ It cannot be doubted that family interests predominated over the wish to perform the duties towards the Church. However, a question arises here about the inner coherence of groups of canons. While in respect of residence or purely religious tasks it was hard to detect, it was clearly visible in the case of defence of their own economic interests. Two confederations, quite unusual in Polish conditions, one of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, the other of Poznań, established in 1407 for the sake of defence of the rights and privileges of their cathedrals, may here serve as examples.⁴⁵

III UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE CHAPTER CLERGY COMMUNITIES

Let us now take into consideration the model of university education popular among the members of the Polish chapters and try to answer the following questions:

1. What tendencies could be observed among the prelates and canons in respect of gaining a university education?
2. Did university education serve above all the community of canons, or rather activities developing outside of it, and how did it affect the coherence of this community?

ekskluzywizmu szlacheckiego', in *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, I (Toruń, 1996), 139–54.

⁴⁴ Brigide Schwarz, 'Klerikerkarrieren und Pfründenmarkt: Perspektiven einer sozialgeschichtlichen Auswertung der Repertorium Germanicum', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 71 (1991), 256; about Poland, see Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 112–27.

⁴⁵ KDW, v, no. 112; Roman Grodecki, 'O konfederacjach duchowieństwa w Polsce średniowiecznej', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, xv (1953), 299–314.

There can be no doubt that cathedral and collegiate chapters also assembled the intellectual elite of the diocesan clergy that created the local centres of intellectual culture.⁴⁶ There was a conspicuous rise of university-level education among the clergymen who held offices in those institutions, especially from the second half of the 14th century onwards. As Krzysztof Ożóg's study has shown, for the Polish prelates and cathedral canons of the fourteenth century, the dominant intellectual centre was Prague, with its 80 clergyman-students, generally of the law.⁴⁷ Legal studies, very popular at that time, were also taken up in other European universities.⁴⁸ Among the chapter members who studied in Prague at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century there was a considerable group of clergymen intellectually engaged in the service both to Church and State, e.g. Piotr Wysz, Andreas Lascharius, Stanislas of Skarbimierz, Mikołaj of Pzdry, Piotr Wolfram, Paul Włodkovic, Andrzej of Kokorzyn, Mikołaj Kurowski, Jan Szafraniec, and Stanislas Ciołek. After 1409 the functions of Prague were taken over by the University of Cracow, while the Italian universities of Bologna, Padua, and Rome still retained great popularity. In the 15th century about 30–40, or even up to 60 per cent of the members of cathedral chapters⁴⁹ could boast of university education, and up to 70 per cent of those in collegiate chapters (for example, the Chapter at Otmuchów).⁵⁰ I agree with the observations that in medieval times education was not a decisive qualification for obtaining a canon's prebend (although this does not relate to the burghers in Poland). But it was certainly an additional factor

⁴⁶ Krzysztof Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa w Krakowie XIV w. Środowisko duchowieństwa świeckiego* (Wrocław, 1987).

⁴⁷ *Idem*, 'Praskie studia prałatów i kanoników katedralnych metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w drugiej połowie XIV i na początku XV w.', in Radziwiński (ed.), *Duchowieństwo kapitulne*, 133–62.

⁴⁸ About the clergy of cathedral chapters, see Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapitul*, 147–8; Marta Czyżak, 'Studia uniwersyteckie kanoników gnieźnieńskich w I połowie XV wieku', in Tomasz Ratajczak (ed.), *Księga – Nauka – Wiara w średniowiecznej Europie* (Poznań, 2004), 103–13; about collegiate church clergy see, e.g., Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła*, 193–9; Anna Kowalska-Pietrzak, *Prałaci i kanonicy kapituły łęczyckiej do schyłku XV w.* (Lodz, 2004), 347–9; Leszek Poniewozik, *Prałaci i kanonicy sandomierscy w okresie średniowiecza* (Toruń, 2004), 76–82.

⁴⁹ Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapitul*, 145–52; Czyżak, 'Studia uniwersyteckie', 103–13.

⁵⁰ Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła*, 192.

that gained significance in conjunction with such elements as social background, property or family connexions.⁵¹ Such an opinion finds corroboration in one of the points of the concordat with the German nation, concluded in 1418 by Pope Martin V, which also related to the Polish Kingdom, entitled 'De provisione ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, prioratum, dignitatum et aliorum beneficiorum' (p. 2). It contained a regulation about the reservation of one sixth of the canonries in cathedral and collegiate churches for the graduates of various types of studies.⁵²

In this context one should agree with the opinion of Jacek Wiesiołowski, concerning the Cathedral Chapter of Gniezno, that the best educated local prelates and canons were usually non-resident clergymen, employed in the royal chancellery, who had good relations with the papal curia and the Cracow University milieu – and additionally, usually accumulated at least a few cathedral and collegiate prebends.⁵³ Hence, on the one hand university education influenced the shaping of the intellectual milieus in the chapters, and on the other, these milieus might sometimes be regarded as intellectual only nominally.

IV THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF CHAPTER BENEFICES AND THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE CHAPTER COMMUNITIES

I have already mentioned the various possible reasons for the phenomenon of disintegration of both cathedral and collegiate milieus, especially conspicuous in the later Middle Ages. This disintegration affected directly the functioning of those groups as religious communities and the performance of their liturgical obligations. Now it

⁵¹ Peter Moraw, 'Stiftspründen als Elemente des Bildungswesens im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', in Irene Crusius (ed.), *Das weltliche Kollegiat im Deutschland* (Studien zur Germania Sacra, 18, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 114, Göttingen, 1994), 292.

⁵² *Die Constanzer Reformation und die Concordate von 1418*, ed. Bernhard Hübler (Leipzig, 1867), 177–81; for more recent edition see Angelo Mercati, *Raccolta di Concordati su materie ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e le autorità civili*, I (Vatican, 1954), 157–65.

⁵³ Wiesiołowski, 'Sukcesja', 187.

would be worthwhile viewing these institutions as the places for making careers in the Church – sometimes for pragmatic reasons, and sometimes for lack of other possibilities.

Cathedral and collegiate chapters were above all groups of people, clergymen of various social origin and differing in the economic position, various grades of holy orders, education and motivations for choosing an ecclesiastical (chapter) career, and of differing mentality, temper or capability of reaching success in social, professional or political activity. The chapters were certainly a seed-bed for the social, political and cultural elite, or – to put this another way – provided the economic basis indispensable for the functioning of at least some section of this elite. The chapters in Poland also played the role of a *sui generis* ‘temporary refuge’ for the sons of the gentry whose families were menaced by pauperisation, caused by the inheritance system: the considerable wealth of these institutions fulfilled an important social role.⁵⁴ A question arises, however: what entitles us to assume that a – supposedly – considerable group of the clergy approached their careers in the Church in such a pragmatic way? Apart from arguments cited above it would be worthwhile drawing attention to the specific social functions of chapter benefices, far departing from the principle inscribed in Gratian’s *Decretum*: ‘beneficium propter officium’ (what he meant was, of course, an ecclesiastical office). In support of our thesis we may cite the restraint of chapter members from taking major orders required by both the universal (the Council of Vienne 1311–12⁵⁵) and particular legislation (legate James of Liège’s Statute accepted by the Synod of Wrocław in 1248⁵⁶ and the Statutes of Primate Mikołaj Trąba of 1420⁵⁷). For example, the Statutes of the Włocławek Chapter, codified in 1500 by Bishop Krzesław of Kurozwęki, contain the following passage concerning canons’ holy orders: ‘ut dum in acolitatu essent, nihil praeter corpus percipient’.⁵⁸ This was not pure theory, as is testified by the fact that in 1577 in the Włocławek Chapter there was one acolyte among the prelates and five among the

⁵⁴ Radziwiński, ‘Społeczne funkcje’, 311–24.

⁵⁵ Arkadiusz Baron and Henryk Pietras (eds.), *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, ii: 869–1312 (Cracow, 2002), 540–1, decree 5.

⁵⁶ *Statuty kapituły katedralnej włocławskiej*, IX.

⁵⁷ *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie*, 71 (statute 18: ‘De celebracione missarum’).

⁵⁸ *Statuty kapituły katedralnej włocławskiej*, 55–6 (statute 50: ‘Statutum studere volentium et de his, qui non sunt in presbyteratu’).

canons.⁵⁹ Of course, one must be cautious in estimating the numbers of canons with minor orders in the Polish chapters. Especially, as the sources concerning not only these orders but the holy orders in general are few and accidental. For example among nearly 300 members of the Cathedral Chapter in Płock in the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, we may establish the grade of ordination only in relation to 23 prelates and canons (about 8 per cent of the group). It is, however, interesting that 16 among them (ca. 70 per cent) had taken major orders, while the rest (ca. 30 per cent) only minor ones.⁶⁰ This means that – in the light of this fragmentary source information – in the Płock Chapter there were twice as many canons with major orders as with minor ones. In other European chapters the situation was similar. For example: in the middle of the 12th century in Passau among 26 canons there were: 14 priests, four deacons, five sub-deacons, and four acolytes.⁶¹ In Cologne the Cathedral Chapter was divided into two, socially strictly isolated parts: the canons originating from higher nobility, and canon-priests.⁶²

A question now should be answered about the reasons why persons who joined the Polish chapters did not take major orders. The first reason, mentioned above, was that the members of chapters had some duties to perform in the royal and ducal chancelleries, which prevented them from or reduced their possibility of performing the obligations resulting from ordination. Another reason was that the persons who started their activity in the chapters included such who simply assumed they would break away from that type of career one day and – in favourable circumstances, concerning their family and economic situation – would return to their secular status. Despite not taking major orders

⁵⁹ 'Visitatio ecclesiae Cathedralis Wladislaviensis anno 1577 paracta', in *Monumenta Historica Dioecesis Wladislaviensis*, xvi, ed. Stanisław Chodyński (Włocławek, 1898), 8–9.

⁶⁰ For conclusions springing from a prosopographic analysis of the clergy of the Płock Cathedral Chapter see Andrzej Radziwiński, *Pralaci i kanonicy kapituły katedralnej płockiej w XIV i I połowie XV w. Studium prozopograficzne*, i: *Pralaci*, ii: *Kanonicy* (Toruń, 1991–3).

⁶¹ Ludwig H. Krick, *Das ehemalige Domstift und die ehemalige Kollegiatstifte des Bistums Passau* (Passau, 1922), V.

⁶² Wilhelm Kisky, *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert* (Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit i, 3, Weimar, 1906), 18 ff.

they retained the benefice and the income from it, and there were not many obstacles for them to return to secular life and the possibility of eventual marriage. This was often connected with a well-developing further secular career.⁶³ Indeed, we must remember that the Second Lateran Council of 1139 acknowledged major orders as an obstacle to marriage, which at the turn of the 13th century was acknowledged as renunciation.⁶⁴ It is worth recalling that Leo Santifaller himself drew attention to the fact that the noble members of chapters generally abstained from taking major orders, although this tendency was also shown by canons in the chapters dominated by the burghers.⁶⁵

Very important motives for this phenomenon, as is also shown by the recent literature on the subject, were precisely their family's economic considerations, among others in those families which were menaced by pauperisation caused by the Polish system of land inheritance.⁶⁶

V

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE LITURGY IN CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHAPTERS

We should consider the source material now and answer two essential questions:

1. about the actual performance of various religious practices in cathedral and collegiate chapters (the Liturgy of the Hours, of the Mass, anniversary liturgy);

⁶³ Radzimiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł*, 260; Błażej Śliwiński, 'Z badań nad początkami karier młodszych synów rycerzy polskich', in *Homines et societas*, 325–36.

⁶⁴ Baron and Pietras (eds.), *Dokumenty soborów*, ii, 144–5, can. VI: 'Ut subdiaconi uxorati aut concubinarii officio et beneficio careant'.

⁶⁵ Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixener Domkapitel und seine persönliche Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, i (Innsbruck, 1924), 87 ff.

⁶⁶ Janusz Bieniak, 'Rody rycerskie jako czynnik struktury społecznej w Polsce XIII–XV w.', in Henryk Łowmiański (ed.), *Polska w okresie rozdrobnienia feudalnego* (Wrocław, 1973), 171 ff., 194; Radzimiński, 'Społeczne funkcje', 318, note 38. Such conclusions can also be drawn from Alicja Szymczakowa's study, *Szlachta sieradzka w XV w.: 'magnifici' et 'generosi'* (Łódź, 1998). While discussing the social functions of chapter benefices, one should keep in mind the role they played in the financing or co-financing of university studies, see Radzimiński, 'Społeczne funkcje', 313–7; Czyżak, 'Studia uniwersyteckie', 103–13.

2. about the range of the possible lapsing from it by the members of chapters as seen in the light of chapter statutes and episcopal regulations.

I have already mentioned that in the light of 15th century synodal legislation the obligation of saying or singing canonical hours in cathedrals mainly rested with the vicars. In collegiate churches the situation was much more differentiated. The obligation of saying breviary offices by the canons by day and at night (adding that such were the customs also in other collegiate churches) is clearly formulated in a charter of 1386 for the collegiate church at Otmuchów.⁶⁷ The canons of the collegiate church in Tarnów were obliged to perform all the canonical hours under the penalty of 6 florins,⁶⁸ while the canons of Warsaw Collegiate were obliged exclusively to singing the Lauds, Sexts, Nones and Complines.⁶⁹ However, in collegiate chapters founded as early as the 15th century at Środa (1423),⁷⁰ Wojnicz (1465),⁷¹ and St Mary Magdalene's in Poznań (1471),⁷² suitable privileges allowed the canons to be replaced in choral duties by vicars. An exception was the collegiate church at Kórnik, where in 1495 the canons were obliged to participate personally in the whole of the *officium divinum*.⁷³ The example of the Cathedral Chapter of Gniezno shows that the liturgical duties of the local canons towards the end of the 14th century embraced exclusively the singing of the High Mass at the chief altar during weekly liturgical duties. These obligations, in the light of the Statute of Archbishop Jarosław Bogoria of Skotniki, should be performed in turn by one prelate and four canons during their monthly residence in the cathedral. However, in the light of the ordinance of his successor, Archbishop Janusz Suchywilk of 13 February 1375

⁶⁷ Bilaska-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 321.

⁶⁸ Zygmunt L. Radziwiński and Bronisław Gorczak (eds.), *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów-Sanguszków w Sławnie*, ii (Lwów, 1888), no. 80.

⁶⁹ Władysław Kwiatkowski, *Powstanie kapituły św. Jana przy zamku książąt mazowieckich w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1938), no. III, p. 62–70.

⁷⁰ KDW, viii, no. 978 ('Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod canonici praefati ... per se aut suos vicarios continuam residentiam facere et divinis officiis interesse teneantur').

⁷¹ Józef Szymański, *Kapituła kolegiacka w Wojniczu 1465–1786* (Lublin, 1962), 205–7.

⁷² Bilaska-Ciećwierz, *Kapituły*, 321.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 322.

these regulations did not bring the expected results.⁷⁴ Moreover, as records in the chapter register show, throughout the 15th century the chapter tried in vain to exact the proper performance of this duty.⁷⁵ The performance of canonical hours was regulated, at least formally, in a different way, by the earlier mentioned Statutes of the Włocławek Chapter of 1500. The canons were obliged there to perform this duty in full.⁷⁶ However, the statutes which envisaged penalties for any neglect of the liturgical obligations seem to testify to the fact that these duties were liable to be neglected.⁷⁷

All in all, it seems that what was extremely important for the functioning of cathedral and collegiate communities of canons in medieval Poland, also in respect of their religiosity, were the legal solutions adjusted not only to their needs, but more broadly, to the existing social structure. This structure was directly reflected not only in the social composition of their members, but also in the internal functioning of individual chapter's corporations. An analysis of their functioning shows that the ecclesiastical careers realised in them had frequently a pragmatic context. Late medieval chapters were institutions that strongly supported, through their canons, the state apparatus, but also the ecclesiastical administration. Of course, due to the high education of their members they also created intellectual centres, but – considering the processes of disintegration – our conclusions in this respect must be cautious. The period of the late Middle Ages in Poland, as the sources show, saw a serious struggle of the bishops, but also of the communities of canons themselves – a struggle not always crowned with success – for the proper performance of various forms of the liturgy.

transl. Agnieszka Kreczmar

⁷⁴ KDW, iii, no. 1716.

⁷⁵ Czyżak, *Kapituła katedralna*, 113–33.

⁷⁶ *Statuty kapituły katedralnej włocławskiej*, no. 53, pp. 57–8 ('Statutum praecentoris in tonaturi').

⁷⁷ Andrzej Radziwiński, "Decem marcas communiter currentis". Rola pieniądza w regulacji życia wewnętrznego kapituły włocławskiej w świetle statutów z 1500 r., *Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie*, xiv (2000), 15–36.