

KRZYSZTOF KACZMAREK

THE ORDINATION OF RELIGIOUS
IN THE KUYAVIAN DIOCESE
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

Having one of the smaller territories within the ecclesiastical metropolis of Gniezno, the Kuyavian Diocese is in possession of an ample collection of archival material which makes studies of the ordination of the clergy possible, happening both in the Late Middle Ages and in the modern age. Of particular value are materials documenting the practice of ordination of the Pre-Tridentine era, rare in Poland—in the Diocesan Archive in Włocławek we find books of acts (*acta*) issued by Kuyavian ordinaries containing extensive lists of seminarians who took their holy orders in the late 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century.¹ So far, historians focused on the oldest surviving book of acts of two Włocławek ordinaries: Krzesław of Kurozwęki and Wincenty Przerębski. Making the content of this book generally available as well as publishing the lists of ordained men in the years 1496–1511 is to be credited to Father Witold Kujawski.² These lists were carefully examined by Antoni Gąsiorowski, who recreated the practice of ordination followed in the Diocese of Włocławek during the episcopal term of Krzesław of

Dr Hab. KRZYSZTOF KACZMAREK is an associate professor at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland, and head of the Department of Medieval History at the Institute of History; e-mail: krzymosina@op.pl

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¹ A list of these materials can be found in Witold KUJAWSKI, “Archiwum Diecezjalne we Włocławku. Przewodnik po zasobach,” *Studia Włocławskie* 6 (2003): 501–526.

² Witold KUJAWSKI, “Wykazy święconych z najstarszej księgi akt działalności biskupów włocławskich (Kurozwęckiego i Przerębskiego—lata 1496–1511),” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 72 (1999): 23–111.

Kurozwęki (1496–1502).³ The said book was also used by Rafał Kubicki in his research on the Dominicans of the Prussian district (*contrata Prussiae*).⁴

Unlike the book of detailing acts of the bishops Kurozwęcki and Przeręb-ski, the other *acta* of ordinaries and suffragans of the Kuyavian Diocese of the discussed period have not been examined in terms of ordination of the clergy. As a result, despite the existence of sources for such research—we know nothing about the achievements of other Włocławek bishops in this respect living in the first half of the 16th century. This remark concerns primarily Maciej Drzewicki, the former Bishop of Przemyśl, and then Archbishop of Gniezno. Although his long years as head of the Kuyavian Diocese (1513–1531) are the subject of numerous studies, the pontifical sphere of the bishop's activity has escaped the attention of historians, who would rather focus on his synodal reforms, conflicts with the city council of Gdańsk and problems with increasing reformatory trends in part of the diocese (the Pomeranian Archdeaconry).⁵ Nothing is known about the holy orders of the clergy of the Kuyavian Diocese administered by the successors of Maciej Drzewicki, bishops Jan Karnkowski,⁶ Łukasz Górka,⁷ Mikołaj Dzierzgowski⁸ and Andrzej Zebrzydowski. We have some information concerning the ordination of the Bishop suffragan of Włocławek, Aleksander Myszczyński. Thanks to a note made in a book of the Włocław Consistory we have the personal data of several dozen acolytes, subdeacons and presbyters ordained by the Consistory in the Włocławek Cathedral in February 1516.⁹

In this situation, I shall address the subject of ordination of the local religious clergy living in first half of the 15th century in order to fill this noticeable

³ Antoni GAŚSIOROWSKI, “Święcenia w diecezji kujawskiej na przełomie XV i XVI wieku,” *Roczniki Historyczne* 67 (2001): 79–105.

⁴ Rafał KUBICKI, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI wieku* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2007).

⁵ See Władysław POCIECHA, “Drzewicki Maciej h. Ciołek (1467–1535),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Kraków: PAU, 1946), 409–412 [hereafter quoted as PSB]; IDEM, “Maciej Drzewicki, kanclerz, arcybiskup gnieźnieński. Zarys biografii (1467–1535),” *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 2 (1964), 1–2: 229–62 [henceforth quoted as STV]; IDEM, “Działalność synodalna biskupa Macieja Drzewickiego w diecezji włocławskiej (1514–1531),” *STV* 7 (1969), 1: 133–71.

⁶ W. URBAN, “Karnkowski Jan,” *PSB*, vol. 12 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAU, 1966–1967), 74–76.

⁷ Włodzimierz DWORZACZEK, “Górka Łukasz, h. Łódzia (1482–1542),” *PSB*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAU, 1959–1960), 409–412.

⁸ Władysław POCIECHA, “Dzierzgowski Mikołaj h. Jastrzębiec (ok. 1490–1559),” *PSB*, vol. 6 (Kraków: PAU, 1948), 145–150.

⁹ Krzysztof KACZMAREK, “Święcenia duchowieństwa we Włocławku w 1516 r.,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 78, no. 4 (2013): 103–17.

gap in the research. I am aware of the fact that due to the limited scope of this publication it cannot change the general picture of the Diocese of Włocławek in the period under our scrutiny, which is presented in other more comprehensive studies. My intention is much more modest—I treat this contribution as a contributing voice in the discussion of ordination of the clergy practised in Polish dioceses before the Council of Trent. I am also confident that the list of professors ordained by the ordinaries and suffragans of Włocławek provided below will further—at least a little—research in the prosopography of the Kuyavian and Pomeranian religious houses in the Late Medieval Period.

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During the pre-Tridentine era, the monastic map of the Bishopric of Kuyavia was in the state of constant flux, both in terms of the number of convents located within its borders or the types of monastic rules obeyed there.¹⁰ Initially, two communities were particularly visible in the monastic landscape of the dioceses: the Cistercians and Norbertines. The first community had three large and influential houses in Oliwa, Pelplin and Byszewo (the municipality of Koronowo) and a significantly smaller foundation in Szpetal near Włocławek;¹¹ near those, in the Pomeranian section of the diocese there

¹⁰ Essential information on this subject can be found in: Andrzej Marek WYRWA, “Rozwój sieci klasztornej zakonów mniszych, kanonicznych i żebrzących na Kujawach i w Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w średniowieczu,” *Ziemia Kujawska* 12 (1997): 53–80; IDEM, “Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w Wielkopolsce i na Kujawach. Stan, potrzeby badań i wstępna analiza problemu,” in *Zakony i klasztory w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej X–XX wiek*, edited by Henryk Gapski and Jerzy Kłoczowski (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 1999), 76–146; Marian BISKUP, “Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 64, no. 1 (1999): 35–61; Zbigniew ZYGLEWSKI, “Stan badań nad dziejami klasztorów kujawskich do ich kasat,” in *Historiograficzna prognoza 2000. Stan i potrzeby badań nad dziejami regionów kujawsko-pomorskiego i sąsiednich*, edited by Grzegorz Maksymilian (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane USP, 2000), 109–152; Andrzej Mirosław BRUŹDZIŃSKI, “Rola i znaczenie zakonów na terenie diecezji włocławskiej do roku 1818,” in *Stromata historica in honorem Romani Mariae Zawadzki. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Romanowi Marii Zawadzkiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Jacek Urban (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2006), 763–843; Magdalena BILSKA-CIEĆWIERZ, “Instytucje życia religijnego,” in *Średniowiecze*, edited by Andrzej Radziwiński (Włocławek: Oficyna Wydawnicza “Lega” Włocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, 2008), 35–69, vol. 1 of *Dzieje diecezji włocławskiej*.

¹¹ Klemens BRUSKI, “Opactwa cystersów w Oliwie, Pelplinie i Byszewie—ich miejsce w dziejach Pomorza,” *Studia Pelplińskie* 18 (1987): 17–32; see also relevant entries in Andrzej Marek WYRWA, Jerzy STRZELCZYK, and Krzysztof KACZMAREK, editors, *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999).

was a female house of this rule located in Żarnowiec.¹² The Norbertines, in contrast, had two large foundations in Strzelno and Żukowo in the territory of the Bishopric of Włocławek.¹³ The domination of these congregations in the monastic ended in the 13th century with the inflow of representatives of mendicant groups into this area. The first to appear in the Bishopric of Kuyavia were the Preacher Friars—as early as in the 1220s the Dominicans established a monastery in Gdańsk dedicated to St. Nicolas. Later, their convents were set up in Tczew and Brześć Kujawski.¹⁴ The Franciscan friars appeared in the territory of the Kuyavian Diocese slightly later than the Dominicans, but the monasteries they came to possess outnumbered those of the latter—in the 13th century, Friars Minor assumed foundations in Inowrocław, Radziejów and Nowe, but in the 15th century they emerged also in Gdańsk and Nieszawa.¹⁵ The Franciscan family also encompasses the monastery of their Observants (Bernardines) located in Bydgoszcz and founded in the 1480s.¹⁶ Among Mendicant foundations we also notice two Carmelite houses: one in Gdańsk, founded in late 14th century by the Great Master of the Teutonic Order, Winrich von Kniprode, and the other in Bydgoszcz.¹⁷ In

¹² See Kazimierz DĄBROWSKI, *Rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu* (Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970).

¹³ Dariusz KARCZEWSKI, *Dzieje klasztoru norbertanek w Strzelnie do początku XVI wieku* (Inowrocław: PTH, 2001); Antoni CZACHAROWSKI, *Uposażenie i organizacja klasztoru norbertanek w Żukowie od XIII do połowy XV w.* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1963).

¹⁴ Older works include: Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, “Dominikanie polscy nad Bałtykiem w XIII wieku,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 6 (1957): 83–126; for more recent studies, see especially: Jan Andrzej SPIEŻ, “Początki klasztoru w Gdańsku na tle najstarszych fundacji dominikańskich,” in *Dominikanie. Gdańsk—Polska—Europa*, edited by Dariusz Aleksander Dekański, Andrzej Gołębniak, and Marek Grubek (Gdańsk–Pelplin: Bernardinum, 2003), 167–184; Beata MOŻEJKO, Dariusz KACZOR, and Błażej ŚLIWIŃSKI, “Zarys dziejów klasztoru dominikańskiego w Gdańsku od średniowiecza do czasów nowożytnych (1226/1227–1835),” in *Archeologia Gdańska*, vol. 1 (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, 2006), 137–214; Rafał KUBICKI, “Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI wieku,” (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2007); Aldona ANDRZEJEWSKA and Leszek KAJZER, “Klasztor dominikanów w Brześciu Kujawskim,” in *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, edited by Marek DERWICH and Anna POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ (Wrocław–Opole: Lahrcor, 2000), 533–546.

¹⁵ On the topic of those foundations, see Dariusz KARCZEWSKI, *Franciszkanie w monarchii Piastów i Jagiellonów w średniowieczu* (Kraków: Avalon, 2012), 153–201; a more detailed analysis of individual religious houses can be found in IDEM, “Konwent franciszkanów inowrocławskich w średniowieczu,” *Ziemia Kujawska* 10 (1994): 13–29.

¹⁶ Andrzej Władysław PABIN, “Bydgoszcz,” in *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, edited by Eugeniusz Wyczawski (Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: Calvarianum, 1985), 35–40.

¹⁷ Tadeusz Mikołaj TRAJDOS, *U zarania karmelitów w Polsce* (Warszawa: PAN, 1993), 16–19; Jacek MACIEJEWSKI and Zbigniew ZYGLEWSKI, “W sprawie początków klasztoru karmelitów w Bydgoszczy,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 87 (1997): 375–380.

the Diocese of Włocławek, eremitic orders were represented by Carthusians (the charterhouse Paradisus Marie was founded in 1382),¹⁸ and Pauline Fathers, brought in 1436 to Brdów by King Władysław of Varna.¹⁹ In the late 15th century, canons regular came to stay in the Kuyavian Diocese, settled here by Grzegorz of Lubraniec in his family estate in the years around 1490–1497.²⁰ Apart from the aforementioned orders, the area of direct interest to us was settled by monks of military orders, but we shall not mention them in this work on account of their unique lifestyle and internal organisation.

The picture of the monastic environment of the Kuyavian Diocese, provided by the analysis of the lists of religious ordained by the local bishops, can be rendered as follows. At the turn of the 16th century, religious constituted around 25% of candidates for holy orders standing before the bishops of Włocławek. The largest number of applications for ordination came from professed friars of the mendicant congregations (Dominicans, Franciscans, Bernardines and Carmelites). A much smaller group was comprised of representatives of other orders, mainly Cistercians from Oliwa and Pelplin. Although the proportion of religious among the candidates for holy orders in the Kuyavian Diocese was considerable, the local bishops never happened to celebrate the solemnity in monastery churches. In this regard, the cathedral of the capital city of Włocławek was definitely in the lead. While it did happen that the clergy was ordained in several other churches (Subkowy, Bydgoszcz, Chełmce, Parchanie), none of them had the status of a religious church. A significant proportion of religious ordained by Kuyavian bishops inhabited monasteries located within the diocesan limits and only exceptionally did representatives of more distant houses come to be ordained in Włocławek (one Cistercian from Bierzwik and one Bernardine from Warta). Overall, friars showed less determination than the secular clergy in gaining the successive degrees of ordination—most of the ordained featured in the lists commissioned by Bishop Kurozwęcki only once.²¹

The above findings, based on reliable scrutiny of the source material, concern a very short period, namely the pontificate of Bishop Krzesław of

¹⁸ See Rafał WITKOWSKI, *Praedicare manibus. Zakon kartuzów w Europie Środkowej od początku XIV do połowy XVI wieku*. *Analecta Cartusiana* 285, vol. 1–2 (Universität Salzburg, 2011), throughout.

¹⁹ Jozefat MOZGA, “Dzieje konwentu paulinów w Brdowie,” *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 394–470.

²⁰ Stanisław MUZNEROWSKI, *Lubraniec (monografia)* (Włocławek: Włocławskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1910), 40–43; Władysław Kubiak, *Dzieje Lubrańca w dokumentach źródłowych* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2005), 183.

²¹ Antoni GAŚSIOROWSKI, “Święcenia w diecezji kujawskiej,” 88–90.

Kurozwęki (1494–1503). The materials preserved in the Włocławek diocesan archive (books of acts of Kuyavian ordinaries) make it possible to trace the phenomenon under our scrutiny over a much longer period of time reaching half a century. Let us take a look, then, at the issue of ordination of the clergy in the Kuyavian Diocese taking place throughout the first half of the 15th century in light of the available sources.

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The basis for further analysis will be the *acta* preserved in the Diocesan Archive in Włocławek of the following bishops: Maciej Drzewicki,²² Łukasz Górka and Mikołaj Dzierzgowski,²³ Andrzej Zebrzydowski,²⁴ as well as the above-mentioned short list of clerics ordained by Bishop Suffragan Aleksander Myszczyński.²⁵ When scrutinised, these records will permit us to draw a list of religious who were ordained by the Włocławek ordinaries and their auxiliary bishops in the relevant period. We will begin their presentation by providing a list of friars ordained by Bishop Wincenty Przerębski. The list includes the following:

Table 1. Religious ordained by Bishop Wincenty Przerębski.²⁶

| Ordination date | Name | Order | Monastery | Type of ordination | Leaf no. |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------------|----------|
| 22 April 1505 | Abraham | Dominican | Brześć Kuj. | subdeacon | 209r |
| 28 March 1506 | Jakub Dionizy | Dominican | Toruń | acolyte subdeacon | 217v |

²² Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Maciej Drzewicki (1513–1531) and Jan Karnkowski (1531–1537), Diocesan Archive in Włocławek [henceforth quoted as DAW], file ref. no. ABKP 2 (19).

²³ Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Jan Karnkowski (1531–1537), Łukasz Górka (1538–1542), Mikołaj Dzierzgowski (1543–1546), Jan Drohojowski (1551–1557) and Stanisław Karnkowski (1567–1581), DAW, file ref. no. ABKP 3 (20).

²⁴ Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Andrzej Zebrzydowski (1546–1551) and Jakub Uchański (1557, 1561–1562), DAW, file ref. no. ABKP 4 (22).

²⁵ Acts of Włocławek General Consistory 5 (1515–1517), DAW, file ref. no. Kons. 5 (110), fol. 113r–113v; Krzysztof KACZMAREK, “Święcenia duchowieństwa we Włocławku,” throughout.

²⁶ *Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1473–1480), Krzesław Kurozwęcki (1494–1503) and Wincenty Przerębski (1503–1513)*, DAW, file ref. no. ABKP 1 (107), quoted after: Witold KUJAWSKI, “Wykazy święconych,” throughout.

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|-----------------|-------------------|--|---------------|--------------|------|
| 3 April 1507 | Stanisław | Carmelite | Bydgoszcz | presbyterate | 223r |
| | Marcin | Carmelite | Bydgoszcz | subdeacon | |
| | Błażej | | | | |
| | Jan | Franciscan | Nowa Nieszawa | diaconate | |
| | Marcin | Dominican | Toruń | | |
| 29 May 1507 | Krzysztof | Franciscan | Bydgoszcz | diaconate | 226r |
| | Cezary | | | | |
| 18 March 1508 | Błażej | Franciscan | Gdańsk | acolyte | 234r |
| | Piotr Molar | <i>monasterii s. Brigidae</i> (Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk) | Gdańsk | | |
| | Jan Fabri | Franciscan | Gdańsk | subdeacon | |
| | Jerzy | Carmelite | Gdańsk | | |
| | Hieronim | <i>monasterii s. Brigidae</i> (Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk) | Gdańsk | | |
| | Antoni Barwalius | Cistercian | Pelplin | diaconate | |
| | Jan Thegartie | | | | |
| | Paweł | Franciscan | Gdańsk | | |
| | Jan | | | | |
| | Jakub Schulcz | Cistercian | Pelplin | presbyterate | |
| Maciej Garmisch | | | | | |
| Franciszek | | | | | |
| Bartłomiej | Carmelite | Gdańsk | | | |
| Ludwik | Franciscan | Gdańsk | | | |
| Pantaleon | | | | | |
| 8 April 1508 | Rutgier | Cartusian | Kartuzy | acolyte | 236r |
| | Antoni | <i>ordo s. Salvatoris</i> (Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk) | Gdańsk | | |
| | Wawrzyniec Gviale | Cistercian | Oliwa | subdeacon | |

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|--|--|---|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|------|
| | Błażej Piotr | <i>ordo s. Salvatoris</i> (Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk) | | | | | |
| | Michał Grzegorz Błażej | Dominican | Gdańsk | diaconate | | | |
| | Henryk Jan Andrzej | Franciscan | Gdańsk | | | | |
| | Piotr Jan Voyke Piotr Smith Jakub Domeraw Walerian | <i>ordo s. Salvatoris</i> (Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk) Cistercian Franciscan | Gdańsk Oliwa Gdańsk | presbyterate | | | |
| | 23 September 1508 | Paweł Maciej Błażej | Carmelite | Bydgoszcz | | acolyte diaconate presbyterate | 260r |
| | 3 March 1509 | Maciej of Bumin Maciej of Rozprza Jan of Sandomierz Stanisław of Mogielnica Mikołaj of Radonia Jakub of Dąbrówka Jan of Tuszyn Jakub of Piotrków | Cistercian Dominican | Sulejów Piotrków | | acolyte | 266r |

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|---------------|------------------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|------|
| | Jakub of Rawa | Norbertine | Witów | subdeacon | 266v |
| | Paweł of Radomsko | Cistercian | Sulejów | diaconate | 267r |
| | Jan <i>de Czeszkowice</i> | Bernardine | Radom | presbyterate | |
| | Jan of Lubochnia | | | | |
| | Juliusz <i>de Thamischk</i> | | | | |
| | Wojciech <i>de Thiezonow</i> | | | | |
| | Paweł of Dobrzyń | | | | |
| 25 March 1510 | Kacper | Dominican | Płock | presbyterate | 276v |
| 15 March 1511 | Maciej of Brześć | Dominican | Brześć Kujawski | subdeacon | 281v |
| 5 April 1511 | Maciej of Brześć | Dominican | Brześć Kujawski | diaconate | 284r |

Maciej Drzewicki, the successor of Wincenty Przerębski in the episcopal see of Włocławek, was equally involved in the ordination of the clergy of the Kuyavian Diocese. The list of religious ordained to successive degrees of holy orders includes the following:

Table 2. Religious ordained by Bishop Maciej Drzewicki.²⁷

| Date of ordination | Name | Order | Monastery | Type of ordination | Leaf no. |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------|
| 22 March 1516 | Paweł | Franciscan | Nowa Nieszawa | presbyterate | 41v |
| 17 May 1516 | Mikołaj Marcin | canon regular | Lubraniec | presbyterate | 42r |
| 18 September 1518 | Filip Woledaw | – | – | Acolyte | 74v |
| | Michał Koffman | – | – | | |
| | Walenty Haneman | – | – | | |

²⁷ *Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops, Acts of Maciej Drzewicki, throughout.*

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|-------------------|---|---------------|---------------|--------------|------|
| 5 March 1519 | Michał Guge | – | – | | 84v |
| | Franciszek Furman | – | – | | |
| | Piotr Macharius | Dominican | Gdańsk | subdeacon | |
| | Wacław Lange | Bernardine | – | diaconate | |
| | Andrzej Woyge | Dominican | Gdańsk | presbyterate | |
| | Grzegorz Wochebak | Bernardine | – | | |
| | Bartłomiej | Cistercian | Sulejów | subdeacon | |
| | Józef of Nowe Miasto (son of Marcin) | Dominican | – | | |
| | Wojciech of Bujny [near Piotrków Trybunalski] | Norbertine | – [Witów?] | | |
| | Grzegorz of Piotrków (son of Tomasz) | | – [Witów?] | | |
| 23 April 1519 | Feliks of Piotrków (son of Marcin) | Cistercian | – | presbyterate | 85r |
| | Paweł of Rudółtowice (son of Piotr) | | – | | |
| | Wojciech of Piotrków | Norbertine | – [Witów?] | | |
| 23 April 1519 | Maciej | canon regular | Lubraniec | presbyterate | 86r |
| 20 September 1519 | Jakub | Franciscan | Nowa Nieszawa | acolyte | 87v |
| | Jerzy Cruzo | Dominican | Chełmno | subdeacon | 88r |
| | Jakub | | | diaconate | |
| | Jan | | | | |
| | Jerzy | | | | |
| | Jan Kuphsta | | | | |
| | Teofil | | | presbyterate | |
| Jan Branth | | Gdańsk | | | |
| 20 December 1521 | Grzegorz of Pызdry | Franciscan | Pызdry | subdeacon | 129r |
| | Bartłomiej | Franciscan | Inowrocław | presbyterate | |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------|
| 14 June 1522 | Guardian Aleksander | Bernardine | Bydgoszcz | diaconate | 152r | | |
| | Jerzy | | | | | | |
| | Wincenty Wojciech | canon regular | Lubraniec | | | | |
| | Marcin Jan | Bernardine Bernardine | – Nowe | | | presbyterate | 152v |
| | Maciej | Franciscan | Nowa Nieszawa | | | | |
| | Andrzej | | Inowrocław | | | | |
| 6 June 1528 | Jan Wojciech | Dominican Franciscan | Toruń Nieszawa | diaconate | 194r | | |
| 29 March 1533 | Jan | Cistercian | Radziejów | presbyterate | 194v 238v | | |
| | Marcin (son of Marcin) | | Koronowo | acolyte | | | |
| | Bernard (son of Grzegorz) | Franciscan | Gdańsk | subdeacon | | | |
| | Bernard (son of Grzegorz) | | | | | | |
| | Jan (son of Maciej) Paweł (son of Maciej) Marcin (son of Michał) | | | | Dominican canon regular | Toruń Lubraniec | |
| Adam (son of Szymon) | Cistercian | Koronowo | diaconate | 239r | | | |
| 12 April 1533 | Marcin (son of Michał) | canon regular | Lubraniec | diaconate | 244r | | |
| | Paweł (son of Maciej) | | | | | | |

The list of friars ordained in the Kuyavian diocese during the pontificate of Maciej Drzewicki can be slightly extended by reaching for materials prepared by Aleksander Myszczyński, his bishop suffragan. The activity of this hierarch regarding ordination, visible in the extant sources, is not significant covering merely two accounts: one was made on 17 February 1516 to record

the ordination of a group of acolytes, subdeacons and presbyters in the cathedral of Włocławek,²⁸ and the other was made on Holy Saturday (11 April) of 1517 to document the ordination—also in the principal church of the diocese—of a small group of acolytes.²⁹ These very modest accounts provide information about a group of merely several religious, including:

Table 3. Religious ordained by Bishop Suffragan Aleksander Myszczyński.³⁰

| Date of ordination | Name | Order | Monastery | Type of ordination | Leaf no. |
|--------------------|---------|---------------|-----------|--------------------|----------|
| 17 February 1516 | Mikołaj | canon regular | Lubraniec | acolyte | 113r |
| | Marcin | | Czerwińsk | presbyterate | 113v |
| | Maciej | | | | |
| | Wacław | | | | |

Among the clergy ordained by bishops Łukasz Górka and Mikołaj Dzierzgowski we also find these religious:

Table 4. Religious ordained by bishops Łukasz Górka and Mikołaj Dzierzgowski.³¹

| Ordination date | Name | Order | Monastery | Type of ordination | Leaf no. |
|-----------------|---|---------------|-----------|--------------------|----------|
| 5 April 1539 | Michał | canon regular | Lubraniec | presbyterate | 60 |
| 16 April 1541 | Grzegorz, son of Wawrzyniec <i>de Cziernikow</i> for the Diocese of Gniezno | canon regular | Kłodawa | presbyterate | 99 |
| | Antoni, son of Grzegorz of Kłodawa | Franciscan | – | | |
| | Wawrzyniec, son of Jakub of Żukowo | | | | |

²⁸ Acts of Włocławek General Consistory 5 (1515–1517), DAW, file ref. no. ABKP. Kons. 5 (110), fol. 113r–113v.

²⁹ Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Maciej Drzewicki (1513–1531) and Jan Karnkowski (1531–1537), fol. 56v. In my further considerations, I shall ignore this record because it does not contain the names of religious.

³⁰ Acts of Włocławek General Consistory 5 (1515–1517).

³¹ Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Jan Karnkowski (1531–1537), Łukasz Górka (1538–1542), Mikołaj Dzierzgowski (1543–1546), Jan Drohojowski (1551–1557) and Stanisław Karnkowski (1567–1581), DAW, file ref. no. ABKP 3 (20).

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------|-----------|--------------|-----|
| 10 March 1543 | Adam Franciszek, son of Andrzej | canon regular | Lubraniec | Diaconate | 135 |
| | Walenty, son of Waclaw <i>de Gubin</i> from the Kuyavian Diocese | – | – | presbyterate | |
| | Grzegorz, son of Mikołaj | canon regular | Lubraniec | | |
| | Wojciech, son of Andrzej | Cistercian | Pelplin | | |
| 24 March 1543 | Adam | canon regular | Lubraniec | presbyterate | 137 |

The list of religious ordained by the last of the Kuyavian bishops we are dealing with, Andrzej Zebrzydowski, appears entirely symbolic. In the book of his pontifical acts we come across a note on the ordination of only one religious, whose memory is revived in the table below.

Table 5. Religious ordained by Bishop Andrzej Zebrzydowski.³²

| Date of ordination | Name | Order | Monastery | Type of ordination | Leaf no. |
|--------------------|--------|------------|-----------|--------------------|----------|
| 6 April 1550 | Tomasz | Franciscan | Nieszawa | presbyterate | 42v |

Having set up in this way the foundations for our further research, let us see whether there were any significant changes in the first half of the 16th century in terms of ordination of religious by the Kuyavian bishops in comparison with the earlier period. The first change—which is conspicuous even at a glance in the acts of Włocław ordinaries—concerns the places where bishops ordained clerics. From Gašiorowski's findings we learn that Krzesław of Kurozwęki and Wincenty Przerębski toured the diocese on a regular basis and thus celebrated the ritual of ordination both in the capital cathedral of Włocławek and in other subordinated churches (Chełmce, Bydgoszcz, Raciążek, or Subkowy). It even occurred that Wincenty Przerębski, having the Archbishop's consent, celebrated ordinations in Wolbórz located in the Diocese of Gniezno.³³ A visible change took place during the pontificate of Maciej Drzewicki, whose long term saw only two ordinations of clerics occurring outside the episcopal see—in November 1517, he was in St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk, and in March 1519 he was in the parish church of

³² Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Andrzej Zebrzydowski, throughout.

³³ Antoni GAŠIOROWSKI, "Święcenia w diecezji kujawskiej," 8.

Wolbórz.³⁴ It seems, then, that a significant change in ordination practices of the Kuyavian bishops can be traced since the pontificate of Maciej Drzewicki, consisting in celebrating the majority of ordinations in Włocławek and a gradual departure from such celebrations outside the see.

Sources from the first half of the 16th century report 127 cases of the Kuyavian bishops conferring lower and higher holy orders on members of the religious clergy. The actual number of professed religious who stood before the leaders of the diocese of Włocławek to be ordained was slightly smaller (119) because some friars received a few orders at a time. This, however, was not a mass phenomenon, but several such cases can be captured in the following lists. Piotr Molar of the Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk, ordained acolyte on 18 March 1508, was probably none other than the man who on 8 April of that year was ordained to the subdiaconate. Jan Fabri from the Franciscan monastery in Gdańsk, ordained subdeacon on 18 March 1508, was ordained to the diaconate; Maciej, a Dominican from Brześć, became a subdeacon (15 March 1511) before receiving the holy orders of diaconate (5 April of that year); Mikołaj and Marcin, canons regular from Lubraniec, ordained acolytes by Bishop Suffragan Aleksander Myszczyński on 17 May of that year, were ordained to the presbyterate by Maciej Drzewicki; Paweł (son of Maciej) and Marcin (son of Michał) of the Lubraniec monastery were ordained subdeacons on 29 March 1533 and after two weeks (12 April) they were ordained to the diaconate. Friar Adam (of the same house) was ordained to the diaconate on 10 March 1543, and not much later (24 March) he became a presbyter. If we compare the eight recorded cases mentioned above with the enumerative list compiled by Gąsiorowski, who found only one (albeit dubious) case of multiple ordination of a religious during the pontificate of the Kuyavian bishop Krzesław of Kurozwęki, we may propose that this phenomenon was not as rare as it was previously believed.³⁵

³⁴ Acts of Kuyavian and Pomeranian bishops. Acts of Maciej Drzewicki (1513–1531) and Jan Karnkowski (1531–1537), fol. 51v & 84v.

³⁵ Piotr of the Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk appears twice in the list of clerics ordained by Bishop Wincenty Przerębski on 8 April 1508: upon ordination to the subdiaconate and to the diaconate. The prevalence of the name *Piotr* suggests that two different professed religious from one monastery were ordained to two different orders on one day. We cannot completely rule out another possibility, namely a situation in which Friar Piotr from Gdańsk took two higher holy orders. With such a possibility not excluded, however, we must admit that if this situation did actually take place, it must have been very unusual since canon law permitted the accumulation of ordination of different lower orders on one day (hence the common medieval practice of accepting all *quatuor minores* at a time), but simultaneously it was forbidden to transfer this custom to the higher level ordination, intended for the said religious. We face an identical situation on 5 March 1519, when on one day

Assuming the realistic number of 119 religious, who in the first half of the 16th century received an ordination from the bishops of Włocławek, let us see the distribution of this general statistics of ordination among individual congregations.

Table 6. Statistics concerning the ordination of religious by the Kuyavian bishops in the first half of the 16th century.

| Order | Monastery | Diocese | No. of ordinations | No. of ordained religious |
|-------------|-----------------|----------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Cistercians | Sulejów | Gniezno | 11 | 11 |
| | Pelplin | Kuyavian | 6 | 6 |
| | Oliwa | | 5 | 5 |
| | Koronowo | | 3 | 3 |
| | unknown | – | 2 | 2 |
| Dominicans | Gdańsk | Kuyavian | 7 | 7 |
| | Chełmno | Chełmno | 6 | 6 |
| | Toruń | | 5 | 5 |
| | Brześć Kujawski | Kuyavian | 3 | 2 |
| | Piotrków | Gniezno | 1 | 1 |
| | Płock | Płock | 1 | 1 |
| | unknown | – | 1 | 1 |
| Franciscans | Gdańsk | Kuyavian | 10 | 9 |
| | Nowa Nieszawa | | 6 | 6 |
| | Bydgoszcz | | 2 | 2 |
| | Inowrocław | | 2 | 2 |
| | Radziejów | | 1 | 1 |
| | Pyzdry | Gniezno | 1 | 1 |
| | unknown | – | 1 | 1 |

ordination to the subdiaconate and presbyterate (the list of ordained candidates does not mention anyone ordained to the diaconate on that day) was conferred on Friar Wojciech of the Norbertine monastery in Witów. Having no certainty that in the above-mentioned cases we actual deal with the same persons who on one day received more than one higher holy order, I do not include Piotr and Wojciech in my calculations of multiple ordinations.

| | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----|-----|
| Canons regular | Lubraniec | Kuyavian | 15 | 10 |
| | Czerwińsk | Płock | 2 | 2 |
| | Kłodawa | Gniezno | 2 | 2 |
| Bernardines | Radom | Gniezno | 3 | 3 |
| | Bydgoszcz | Kuyavian | 3 | 3 |
| | Nowe | | 1 | 1 |
| | unknown | | | |
| Carmelites | Bydgoszcz | Kuyavian | 6 | 6 |
| | Gdańsk | | 2 | 2 |
| Norbertines | Witów | Gniezno | 4 | 4 |
| Ordo s. Salvatoris (Bridgettine monastery in | Gdańsk | Kuyavian | 5 | 4 |
| Cartusians | Kartuzy | Kuyavian | 1 | 1 |
| unknown | – | | 6 | 6 |
| Total | | | 127 | 119 |

The above calculations imply that the greatest number of those ordained in the first half of the 16th century in the Kuyavian Diocese was represented by Cistercians (27). This is a striking observation since the research to date has been more likely to address the question of mass participation in ordination of religious from mendicant congregations rather than monks. However, if we take a closer look at the circumstances in which the Kuyavian ordinaries ordained such a large number of Cistercians, it will become evident that those were very unusual as a large group of those religious (10 professed religious from Sulejów) were ordained at one time by Wincenty Przerębski, who with the consent of the Archbishop of Gniezno, in March 1509, ordained clerics in Wolbórz. That was, however, an individual case—in the 16th century the Kuyavian bishops would typically confer ordinations in their own diocese to much smaller groups of monks from Pelplin, Oliwa and Koronowo. Two successive places in this statistics are occupied by Dominicans (23 professed religious) and Franciscans (22 friars). Other orders nominated much more modest representations for ordination: 14 canons regular, 10 Bernardines, 8 Carmelites, 4 Norbertines. The same number of friars lived in the Bridgettine monastery in Gdańsk. The circle of the ordained includes one Cartusian, and finally we know the names of six religious of unknown observance and conventual affiliation.

In general, the presented lists confirm the oft-cited claim argument that the majority of ordinands were mendicants. This was also the case in the Kuyavian Diocese in the first half of the 16th century, where out of 119 ordained religious at least 63 originated from mendicant communities. If we apply these general figures to individual monasteries, we will see—disregarding the specific case of the Cistercians from Sulejów—that the most ordinations were received from the Kuyavian bishops by canons regular from Lubraniec (10 professed religious), Franciscans from Gdańsk and Chełmno, and Franciscans from Nieszawa (6–7), as well as Cistercians from Oliwa and Pelplin (five monks from each). In comparison with the 15th century, the appearance of the house of canons regular in Lubraniec on the monastic map of the Diocese of Włocławek was an important novelty. Founded in the late 15th century, the monastery came to be a thriving pastoral centre, directing relatively many professed religious for ordination, who were needed to work in parishes in the care of religious.³⁶

The vast majority of the monasteries which the ordained professed came from were located within the limits of the diocese of Włocławek. The account presented above reveals a relatively large number of religious from houses located in the diocese of Gniezno, but we need to bear in mind that, once again, this number is due to the ordinations conferred by Wincenty Przerębski in Wolbórz, where the bishop ordained ten Cistercians from Sulejów, three Bernardines from Radom, and one Dominican from Piotrków at once. Leaving these out of our considerations and looking at the remaining religious ordained by the Kuyavian ordinaries and suffragans, we still notice friars from monasteries of the dioceses of Gniezno (Pyzdry), Chełmno (Chełmno, Toruń) and Płock (Czerwińsk, Płock), but the proportion of ordinands from outside the diocese of Włocławek was decidedly smaller than that of the “local” candidates.

Given the current state of knowledge about the local history of the Kuyavian and Pomeranian religious houses in the first half of the 16th century, it is very hard to say anything concrete about the further fate and activity of professed religious who were ordained in that period by the bishops of Włocławek. Taking into account the customs of the time, it can be assumed that usually young friars were ordained shortly after they had taken their vows, with some exceptions to this rule. One such exception was Friar Bartłomiej, who was ordained to the priesthood in December 1521 being the incumbent

³⁶ See Krzysztof KACZMAREK, “Święcenia duchowieństwa we Włocławku,” throughout.

guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Inowrocław. This capacity demonstrated the sufficiently long record of monastic life and experience necessary to manage a convent. We can provide additional information only about a few persons mentioned in the tables. Norbertine Wojciech of Piotrków, who in March 1519 was ordained to the priesthood, can probably be identified with another person of the same name and religious observance, enrolled in the winter semester of 1520 at the Kraków University.³⁷ Friar Rutgier from the *Paradisus Mariae* charterhouse, who in 1508 was ordained acolyte, is probably Rutgier (Rudgerus, Rotcherus) *de Wyda*, who joined the charterhouse in 1508 and died in 1558.³⁸ Thanks to Kubicki's research on the Dominicans of the *contrata Prussiae* we can also provide information about ordained friars of the *Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Andrzej Woyge, a Dominican of St. Nicolas Monastery in Gdańsk, ordained to the presbyterate in September 1518, is undoubtedly the same as Friar Andrzej Wogen of the same convent, who, as a priest, in 1519 was assigned by the provincial chapter to the monastery in Głogów.³⁹

It is possible that the three religious of the monastery in Toruń named Dionizy are in fact one and the same person. If this suspicion is correct, then Friar Dionizy first appears in the source material on the occasion of the ordination to the subdiaconate in March 1506, while in the following years we see him in Toruń as a German preacher (1526), theology lecturer, general preacher (1540), and last but not least as the prior of the Toruń Convent, confirmed in this capacity by the Provincial Chapter in 1543.⁴⁰ I would not exclude the possibility that Henryk of St. Nicols Monastery, ordained subdeacon in April 1508, is the Henryk [de Plawen] of Gdańsk, a Dominican who in 1512 was appointed philosophy lecturer at the diocesan school, and then in 1517 sent to the Dominican General School in Kraków to train. Two years later (1519), some friar named Henryk from Gdańsk (the same man?) was appointed philosophy lecturer in a Gdańsk school.⁴¹ I am aware that the last attempt at identification is based on the frail name criterion (the name Henryk was very popular among Dominicans) but the sequence of events

³⁷ See *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 2, book 2 (*Ab anno 1515 ad annum 1551*), edited by A. Chmiel, Cracoviae, 1892, p. 205: *Frater Albertus de Pyotrkwow ordinis Praemonstratensis dioc. Gnesnensis s. t.*

³⁸ This information was kindly contributed by Dr Hab. Rafał Witkowski, Institute of History of Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland.

³⁹ Rafał KUBICKI, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej*, 153, nos. 26–27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 157, nos. 90, 91, 92.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 159, no. 137; 160, nos. 150, 151, 152.

presented above seems to fall into place and can adequately reflect this man's life history.

Examination of the content of medieval and contemporary lists of ordained religious can help us establish the ways of recruiting men to individual convents. Here, the conditional mode is used deliberately to highlight the fact that, as far as we know, no one has used these materials on a larger scale to examine this issue. Of course, from the point of view of those admitting religious to be ordained it was important to know about the convent the candidates lived in, not their place of origin. This is why the latter are rather scarce in the sources, recorded by the scribe drawing up the list of ordained clerics somehow accidentally. This data is always interesting and important for authors who would like to scrutinise the personal composition of a specific religious community or reconstruct the range of its impact, measured by the distance between a city and the village where novices originated from. In the previously compiled lists of professed religious who were ordained in the first half of the 16th century by the bishops of Kuyavia, the most information concerns Sulejów Cistercians and Norbertines from Witów. The former recruited candidates for monastic life in places like Bumin, Dąbrówka, Mogielnica, Radomsko, Radonia, Rozprza, Sandomierz and Tuszyn, probably in Piotrków Trybunalski and Rudołtowice, as well. The Norbertines of Witów had novices from Bujny near Piotrków Trybunalski, the city of Piotrków itself, and Rawa.

*

Examination of the episcopal books recording ordinations in Kuyavia administered in the first half of the 16th century has revealed more than 100 religious, most of them unknown to the authors who deal with the history of medieval and early modern monasticism. The previously reconstructed lists of candidates instituted by the Włocławek ordinaries and suffragans in different kinds of ordained ministry deepen the existing (modest as it is) knowledge of monastic prosopography of Kuyavian and Pomeranian religious houses of that era, thus contributing to studies of the scope of recruitment carried out by religious convents in the territory of Poland. Together with the published results of research on the ordination of religious clergy from other dioceses (Kraków, Gniezno, Płock), the presented work may serve as a point of reference in studies on preparation of friars for pastoral work.

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THE ORDINATION OF RELIGIOUS IN THE KUYAVIAN DIOCESE
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Summary

The presented work makes reference to results of research on the ordination of religious clergy by bishops of the dioceses of Gniezno and Płock in the 15th and 16th centuries. The analysis of the contents of the books of pontifical acts of the Kuyavian bishops issued in the first half of the 16th century and the survey of selected books of the Włocławek Consistory permits the identification of more than 100 previously unknown members of the religious clergy originating chiefly from monasteries situated in the area of the Kuyavian Diocese, who received minor or major holy orders from their ordinaries and suffragans.

Key words: 16th century; Kuyavian Diocese; ordination; religious; monks.

Translated by Tomasz Pałkowski



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