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THE IDEA OF *DEFENSIO ECCLESIAE*
AND ITS RESONANCES IN EARLIER
MEDIEVAL POLAND (X/XITH–XIIITH CENTURY)¹
(RECONNAISSANCE)

In the recent studies concerning the reflections of the Piast ideology in the sources from the earlier Middle Ages, historians are becoming more aware of how members of the dynasty strove for a sacred dimension of the power they wielded². The work of the historians now gives us a picture of continuous efforts by the Piasts to emphasize the relations with the Christian *sacrum*, such as extraordinary displays of piety³, participation in ritual⁴, the

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² For introduction, see M. Tymowski, *Oral Tradition, Dynastic Legend and Legitimation of Ducal Power in the Process of the Formation of the Polish State*, [in:] *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, ed. H. J. M. Claessen, J. G. Oosten, Leiden 1996, Studies in human society 11, pp. 242-255; Z. Dalewski, “*Vivat princeps in eternum!*” *Sacrality of Ducal Power in Poland in the Earlier Middle Ages*, [in:] *Monotheistic Kingship. The Medieval Variants*, ed. A. al-Azmeh, J. M. Bak, Budapest 2004, CEU medievalia 7, pp. 215-230.

³ A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów. Religijność osobista Przemysławów i Piastów w X i na początku XI wieku*, [in:] *Przemysław i Piastowie – twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2006, pp. 93-99; idem, *Bolesława Chrobrego z Henrykiem II rozmowy bez słów a Thietmara z Merseburga polemika ze współczesnymi (Kronika Thietmara VI/92). Uwagi na marginesie koncepcji Philippe’a Buca dotyczącej rozumienia średniowiecznych rytuałów*, [in:] *Średniowiecze w rozjaśnieniu*, ed. K. Skupieński, Warszawa 2010, pp. 177-188; idem, *Świętość i polityka. Henryk II na synodzie w Dort-*

promotion of the cult of relics and saints⁵, foundation of churches and monasteries⁶, and finally legislative work⁷, all of which was supposed to earn the rulers favor of the heavens in the struggles against everyday problems. Historians rightly note that these efforts by the Piasts were guided by the desire to manifest their royal rank, which was supposed to confirm the subjects in their belief of the family's divine designation⁸. The prime

mundzie (rok 1005), [in:] *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, ed. A. Bartoszewicz, G. Myśliwski, J. Pysiak, P. Żmudzi, Warszawa 2010, pp. 468-482.

⁴ I d e m, *Królewskie gesty słowiańskich dynastów w XI wieku na przykładzie Piastów i Przemysławidów*, [in:] *„Persona, gestus habitusque insignium”. Zachowania i atrybuty jako wyznaczniki tożsamości społecznej w średniowieczu*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, J. Maciejewski, J. Sobiesiak, Lublin 2009, pp. 35-46; Z. D a l e w s k i, *The Public Dimension of Religion in the Piast Monarchy during the Christianisation Period*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 101, 2010, pp. 37-51.

⁵ R. M i c h a ł o w s k i, *Translacja Pięciu Braci polskich do Gniezna. Przyczynek do dziejów kultu relikwii w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, [in:] *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 1995, *Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia* 2, pp. 173-184; M. S t a r n a w s k a, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2008, esp. pp. 45-50. For general meaning of the cult of relics in the context of early medieval power, see J. O b e r s t e, *Heilige und ihre Reliquien in der politischen Kultur der früheren Ottonenzeit*, „Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 37, 2003, pp. 73-98; J. P y s i a k, *The Monarch's Gesture and Visualisation of Rituals Associated with the Cult of Relics*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 96, 2007, pp. 23-56; J. M. H. S m i t h, *Rulers and Relics c. 750-c. 950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven*, “Past & Present”, 206, 2010, pp. 73-96.

⁶ See esp. R. M i c h a ł o w s k i, *Les fondations ecclésiastiques dans l'idéologie de la première monarchie piastienne*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 60, 1989, pp. 133-157; i d e m, *„Princeps fundator”. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X-XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1989; M. S a c h, *Stiftungs- und Schenkungsakte als Formen von Herrschaftslegitimation und religiöser Selbstvergewisserung im mittelalterlichen Polen (10.-12. Jahrhundert)*, „Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas”, 55, 2007, no. 4, pp. 491-516; T. G i n t e r, *Działalność fundacyjna księcia Mieszka III Starego*, Kraków 2008; L. W e t e s k o, *Historyczne konteksty monarszyna fundacji artystycznych w Wielkopolsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2009; P. W i s z e w s k i, *„Chrześcijański książę Henryk” – wokół pobożności księcia śląskiego Henryka I Brodatego*, [in:] *Dynamika przemian społecznych i religijnych w średniowieczu*, ed. T. Grabarczyk, T. Nowak, Warszawa 2011, pp. 187-222.

⁷ R. M i c h a ł o w s k i, *The Nine-week Lent in Boleslaus the Brave's Poland. A Study of the First Piasts' Religious Policy*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 89, 2004, pp. 5-50; i d e m, *Christianisation of the Piast Monarchy in the 10th and 11th Centuries*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 101, 2010, pp. 5-35.

⁸ P l e s z c z y ń s k i, *Królewskie gesty, passim*. See also P. W i s z e w s k i, *„Rex in regno suo?” Wokół wyobrażeń i propagandy władzy królewskiej Piastów (do 1296 r.)*, [in:] *Proměna středovýchodní Evropy raného a vrcholného striedověku: mocenské souvislosti a para-*

example of this is of course the piece created in the circle of Bolesław the Wrymouth's court, shortly before 1118, the so called *Gesta principum Polonorum* written down by Anonymous, known also as Gallus⁹, who through numerous examples emphatically showed the friendly relations existing between God and the Piast rulers, as well as the best ways to maintain that *amicitia*¹⁰. That narrative ought to be considered a voice in the royal propaganda of Piast rule, a fairly common feature of the use of narrative material among other contemporary courts characterized by high political aspirations¹¹.

It is puzzling why these studies devote so little attention to the Polish Church, which, after its establishment as a result of Mieszko I's baptism, was bound to assume a place in the Piast ideology of power, and thus itself to become a co-creator of that ideology. This subject undoubtedly requires more in-depth research in the future, and by no means do I intend to put forward here any unequivocal, let alone definitive, conclusions on this subject¹². On

lery, ed. M. Wihoda, L. Reitingger, Brno 2010, Edice Země a kultura ve střední Evropě 14, pp. 416-483, esp. 416-437.

⁹ For a state of research on the *Chronicle* and its author, see E. M ü h l e, „*Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*”. *Neue Forschungen zum so genannten Gallus Anonymus*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 65, 2009, no. 2, pp. 459-496; and also D. B a g i, *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima*, Kraków 2008, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego PAU 108, *passim*; T. J a s i ń s k i, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima*, Kraków 2008; J. W e n t a, *Kronika tzw. Galla Anonima. Historyczne (monastyczne i genealogiczne) oraz geograficzne konteksty powstania*, Toruń 2011; Sz. W i e c z o r e k, „*Omnibus omnia factus sum*”. *Na marginesie książki Tomasza Jasińskiego „O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima”*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 117, 2010, no. 4, pp. 87-106.

¹⁰ R. M i c h a ł o w s k i, „*Restauratio Poloniae*” *dans l'idéologie dynastique de Gallus Anonymus*, „*Acta Poloniae Historica*”, 52, 1985, pp. 5-43; i d e m, *Ideologia monarchiczna Piastów wcześniejszego okresu*, [in:] „*Imagines potestatis*”. *Rytuály, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X-XV w.*, ed. J. Banaszkiwicz, Warszawa 1994, pp. 185-205; E. S k i b i ń s k i, *Przemiany władzy. Narracyjna koncepcja Anonima tzw. Galla i jej podstawy*, Poznań 2009. Many examples gives also P. W i s z e w s k i, „*Domus Boleslai*”. *Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966-1138)*, Leiden–Boston 2010, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 9, esp. pp. 157-360. See also i d e m, „*Rex in regno suo*”, pp. 428-437.

¹¹ B. W e i l e r, *Kingship and Lordship: Views of Kingship in “Dynastic” Chronicles*, [in:] *Gallus Anonymus and His Chronicle in the Context of Twelfth-Century Historiography from the Perspective of the Latest Research*, ed. K. Stopka, Kraków 2010, pp. 103-123.

¹² For a comprehensive overview of Church-state relations in medieval Poland, see recently J. M a c i e j e w s k i, *Kościół wobec monarchii i korony królewskiej w Polsce średnio-wiecznej*, [in:] *Proměna*, pp. 214-237.

this occasion, I simply like to point out a certain aspect of this subject, which seems significant issue in given context, namely the references in the sources to the duty of the Polish rulers to defend the Church and the clergy, or the manifestation of the fulfillment of that obligation by the rulers.

As a starting point, it's worth taking the writings of the aforementioned Gallus, who, in describing the great achievements of his favorite hero, Bolesław the Brave, an exemplar in the chronicle's narration of all kinds of virtues, wrote that that ruler:

... was always so well-disposed towards [the bishops – R.K.] in everything, that if, for example, one of the great men happened to open a lawsuit against a cleric or a bishop, or seized any ecclesiastical property, with a wave of his hand he would call for a general silence, and as patron and advocate would defend the interests of the bishops and the church¹³.

And a little further on, in the same mode: Bolesław became famous,

for he honored Christ and His bride in every way. And since he exercised justice and respected all men equally and exalted the men of the Church, the Lord in answer to the prayers of the holy Mother Church and the intercessions of his prelates exalted his horn in honor, and all went well for him and all his ventures prospered. Yet for all Bolesław's piety in matters divine, it was in earthly affairs that he won greater glory¹⁴.

¹³ Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta principum Polonorum = The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (hereafter: GpP), trans. P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Budapest–New York 2003, Central European Medieval Texts 3, lib. I, c. 11, p. 54-55. For more accurate edition, see *Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Małczyński, „Monumenta Poloniae Historica” [hereafter: MPH], *nova series* [hereafter: n.s.], vol. 2, Kraków 1952, p. 30: „Quibus ipse per omnia et in omnibus ita benivolus et obediens existebat, quod si forte aliquis principum contra quemlibet clericorum vel pontificum litigii causam inchoabat, vel si quidquam de rebus ecclesiasticis usurpabat, ipse cunctis manu silencium indicebat et sicut patronus et advocatus pontificum causam et ecclesie defendebat”.

¹⁴ GpP, p. 57: *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 31: „... pietate, quia Christum eiusque sponsam modis omnibus honorabat. Et quia iusticiam exercebat et omnes equanimiter diligebat et matrem ecclesiam virosque ecclesiasticos exaltabat, sanctae matris ecclesie precibus eiusque prelatorum intercessionibus cornu eius in gloria Dominus exaltabat et in cunctis semper bene semperque prospere procedebat. Et cum sic esset Boleslauus religiosus in divinis, multum tamen apparebat gloriosior in humanis”. I agree here with Marek Cetwiński's statement, that Gallus in this passages referred to the claims of the ecclesiastical reformers. However, I'm not sure whether they can be called Gregorian. See M. Cetwiński, *Kościół, państwo, rewolucja papieska. Wokół wizji Harolda J. Bermana i jej znaczenia dla interpretacji najstarszej polskiej kroniki*, [in:] *Świat, Europa, mała ojczyzna: studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grodzkiemu w 80-lecie urodzin*, ed. M. Małcki, Bielsko-Biała 2009, pp. 59.

Although the image depicted by the chronicler may reflect either Bolesław's true behavior or the fullness of Christian power propagated by him, it is still difficult to treat that passage as a valuable source of knowledge about the times of Bolesław I or his person, for the simple reason that the whole narrative about the great Bolesław has a distinct aftertaste of a legend about an ideal king¹⁵. Quite apart from the question of its veracity, thus far it had been hardly noted that Gallus' claims relate to the basic requirement that defines the meaning of power exercised by a ruler, validated by God, and entailing, simultaneously a theological and a legal dimension. The chronicler's argument indicates that in the early 12th century a text designed to show the glory and prestige of the ruling dynasty in Poland was expected to mention those two dimensions of power.

Meanwhile, the terminology used by the chronicler in the cited passage – a subject which historians have so far either avoided¹⁶, or which they understood as a trace of Bolesław I holding the „office” of the highest advocate of the Church¹⁷ – is highly symptomatic and worthy of attention. The description of Bolesław as an *advocate* and *patron* of the Church leaves no doubt that Gallus, whilst writing those words, had in mind a ruler who was not only pious, but above all was a king-defender of ecclesiastical and

¹⁵ W i s z e w s k i, „*Domus Boleslai*”, pp. 185-215; S k i b i ń s k i, *Przemiany władzy*, pp. 65-84, 226-237. Compare with polemic remarks of P. Ż m u d z k i, *Nieuchwytna „tradycja dynastyczna” Piastów*, „*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 117, 2010, no. 2, pp. 117-132.

¹⁶ Symptomatic examples are: W. S a w i c k i, *Terminologia prawnicza kroniki Anonima-Galla w świetle instytucji obcych i rodzimych*, „*Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio G*”, 17(1970), no. 1, pp. 1-23; K. L i m a n, *Epitety dotyczące osób w Kronice polskiej Anonima Galla*, [in:] „*Ars historica*”: *Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, ed. M. Biskup, Poznań 1976, pp. 341-355.

¹⁷ See for example W. A b r a h a m, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII*, Lwów 1890, p. 193 [repr. 1962 and 2009], and slightly different i d e m in recension review of H. F. Schmid's work: *Die rechtlichen Grundlagen der Pfarorganisation auf westslavischem Boden und ihre Entwicklung während des Mittelalters*, „*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 44, 1930, no. 4, pp. 588-589; J. B a r d a c h, *L'Etat polonais du haut Moyen Age*, „*Acta Poloniae Historica*”, 5, 1962, p. 28. Following Abraham also G. Labuda stated that *advocatus* could be transferred to the Bolesław Chrobry by Otto III, together with the right of investiture of bishops. See G. L a b u d a, *Zakres uprawnień władczych nad Kościołem polskim nadanych przez cesarza Ottona III księciu Bolesławowi Chrobremu w Gnieźnie w roku 1000*, „*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 64, 1998, pp. 10-11; i d e m, *Jakie uprawnienia kościelne przekazał cesarz Otton III księciu Bolesławowi Chrobremu na synodzie/zjeździe gnieźnieńskim w roku 1000? Po raz drugi*, „*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*”, 56, 2004, no. 2, p. 368. See also i d e m, *O godności i instytucji królestwa*, [in:] *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. J. Krzyżaniakowa, Poznań 1997, p. 39.

clerical institutions, a point further emphasized by the use of the phrase – *causam ecclesie defendebat*.

In the early medieval European sources, such an ideal ruler was commonly described with the title of *defensor ecclesiae* or – though a little less often – of *advocatus* and *patronus ecclesiae*, the epithet used in the *GpP*, sometimes also with the title of *protector*¹⁸. As noted many times by both the people of the time and historians, those terms, though characterized by a large semantic capacity, nearly always had one, common meaning, when they were used to describe a ruler. Since they directly related to the duty of protecting the Church, they were especially applicable toward rulers anointed with holy oils and elevated to the dignity of royalty¹⁹. There can be no doubt that it was this particular meaning that the Gallus was referring to, with a strong emphasis on the ideological side of that requirement, known best from the early medieval eulogies or mirrors delivered in honor of monarchs, or from treatises on the principles of ruling²⁰. This is further shown by the comparison made by Gallus when he wrote that the *defensio* of the Church carried out by Bolesław, and the respect Bolesław showed to the clergy, both stemmed from the virtues of piety and justice. This basis for the ruler's endeavor was common in the literary reality, starting at least since the times of the Merovingians²¹, if not the Christian emperors²². Ever since

¹⁸ This is what Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033-1109) called William the Conqueror: *advocatus et protector ecclesiae* (*The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, vol. 1, ed. trans. W. Fröhlich, Kalamazoo 1990, p. 10).

¹⁹ See for example C. A. B o u m a n, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century*, Groningen 1957, p. 146; W. U l l m a n n, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, London 1970, p. 432; A. A n g e n e n d t, *Sakralherrschaft und Religionsfrevl: Oder wer hat das „brachium saeculare“ erfunden?*, [in:] *Das frühmittelalterliche Königtum: ideelle und religiöse Grundlagen*, ed. F.- R. Erkens, Berlin–New York 2005, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 49, p. 401; B. W e i l e r, *The “rex renitens” and the Medieval Ideal of Kingship, ca. 900-ca. 1250*, “Viator”, 32, 2000, pp. 1-42; i d e m, *Crown-Giving and King-Making in the West CA. 1000-CA. 1250*, “Viator”, 41, 2010, no. 1, pp. 57-88.

²⁰ W. F a ł k o w s k i, *Karolińskie zwierciadło władcy – powstanie gatunku*, [in:] *Europa barbarica, Europa christiana. Studia mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, ed. R. Michałowski et al., Warszawa 2008, pp. 59-74; i d e m, *The Carolingian “speculum principis” – The Birth of a Genre*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, 98, 2008, pp. 5-28.

²¹ See esp. W. S. M o n r o e, „*Via iustitiae*”: *The Biblical Sources of Justice in Gregory of Tours*, [in:] *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. K. A. Mitchell, I. N. Wood, Leiden 2002, Cultures, beliefs and traditions 8, pp. 99-112. For later times, see R. L e J a n, *Justice royale*

the rise into prevalence of the Irish treatise *On the Twelve Abuses of the World*²³, repeated as a standard cluster countless times, mostly in texts designed to bolster or to simply create the monarchs' ideology, the treatise branded itself into the minds of the intellectuals from the 9th and 10th century²⁴ to such an extent that this notion became – next to the defense of widows, orphans, the poor and the kingdom – the main criterion of evaluation of rule and the ruler was formed²⁵. I believe that Gallus, his patrons and even perhaps the representatives of a wider circle, in which the chronicler moved whilst writing his work, had to have been aware of these meanings, like from the obligation to guard the borders and the kingdom against foreign invasion²⁶.

As many examples show, the motto of defending the Church, as well as the requirement behind that motto, long continued to be highly productive ideas in both the secular and the ecclesiastical circles of power. One can suspect that that success was mainly assured by the Arnulfings, especially

et pratiques sociales dans le royaume franc au IX^e siècle, [in:] *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo, secoli IX-XI*, Spoleto 1997, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 44, pp. 47-90; J. L. Nelson, *Kings with Justice, Kings without Justice: An Early Medieval Paradox*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 797-826.

²² F. Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, Berlin 2001, Studienbücher Geschichte und Kultur der Alten Welt, pp. 57, 86 and passim.

²³ Pseudo-Cyprianus, *De duodecim abusivibus saeculi*, ed. S. Hellman, [in:] *Texte und Unterschunden zur geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1910, c. 9, pp. 51-52: „Justitiae vero regis est neminem injuste per potentiam opprimere, ... advenis et pupillis et viduis defensorem esse, ... ecclesias defendere, pauperes elemosynis alere”. On the influence of this treaty on early medieval ideology of kingship, see H. Anton, *Pseudo-Cyprian: „De duodecim abusivibus saeculi” und sein Einfluss auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die karolingischen Fürstenspiegel*, [in:] *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, vol. 2, ed. H. Löwe, Stuttgart 1982, Veröffentlichungen des Europa Zentrums Tübingen. Kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe, pp. 568-617, and more recently J. Gigg, *The Just King and “De Duodecim Abusivibus Saeculi”*, “Parergon”, 27, 2010, no. 1, pp. 27-52.

²⁴ H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonn 1968, Bonner historische Forschungen 32, p. 115; D. Iogna-Prat, *La construction biographique du souverain carolingien*, [in:] *A la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes. Représentations de l'espace et du temps dans l'Espagne médiévale (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)*, ed. P. Henriot, Lyon 2003, Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales 15, pp. 210-211.

²⁵ J. M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000*, Oxford 2005, pp. 217-252.

²⁶ On the duty to defend the boundaries of the kingdom in the light of GpP, see R. Kotek, *Centrum, peryferie oraz sacrum. Ideologiczno-symboliczny wymiar Polski i jej granic w zwierzciadle „Kroniki” Anonima zw. Gallem* (forthcoming).

Pippin the Short, who, as shown by the official tradition of the dynasty, in return for obtaining the papal sanction, agreed to provide the Holy See with a defense against the Lombards, and thereby eventually ousted the Merovingian dynasty from leadership over the Franks²⁷. As certified by that dynastic tradition, already at that time protection of the Church could be connected to the acquisition of royal power, but the connection worked rather as an informal condition, a forerunner to becoming a king. This matter is similarly presented by a source incorporated into the *Liber pontificalis* describing the causes of the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, whom Pope Leo III was supposed to crown, having been motivated by the ruler's great dedication to the defense of the Roman Church²⁸. Regardless of the credibility of that record, one can say that that idea gained unprecedented acclaim at Charlemagne's court, right from the earliest years of rule²⁹. Court theologians did not fail to remind the emperor of his duty, uplifting him more and more theoretically and imparting upon him its different dimensions, including the fact that a pious emperor ought to be able to govern the Church just as he rules his kingdom. They tended to identify those two concepts in terms of one another, sometimes putting an equal sign between *regnum* and *ecclesia*³⁰. Charles, clearly aware of their ideological accent, demonstrated his commitment to the fulfillment of those obligations in different ways, starting with the issuing of laws prohibiting the use of violence against churches and the clergy³¹, through providing protection for missionaries *ad gentes*³², to

²⁷ *Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi*, ed. G. H. Pertz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 1, Hannover 1826, p. 139: „... rege Pipino ecclesiae Romanae defensionis firmitatem accepit, ipsum sacra unctioe ad regiae dignitatis honorem consecravit”.

²⁸ *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 2, Paris 1955, p. 7: „Tunc universi fideles Romani videntes tanta defensione et dilectione quam erga sanctam Romanam ecclesiam et eius vicarium habuit, ... exclamaverunt: Karolo, piissimo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria! ... et ab omnibus constitutus est imperator Romanorum”.

²⁹ W. F a ł k o w s k i, *Uwagi o ideowym programie rządów Karola Wielkiego*, „Roczniki Historyczne”, 70, 2004, pp. 65-79; i d e m, *Wizja władzy królewskiej w początkach panowania Karola Wielkiego*, [in:] *Świat średniowiecza*, pp. 425-440.

³⁰ M. de J o n g, “Ecclesia” and the Early Medieval Polity, [in:] *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. W. Pohl, H. Reimitz, S. Airlie, Wien 2006, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 11, pp. 113-132; e a d e m, *The State of the Church: “ecclesia” and Early Medieval State Formation*, [in:] *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. W. Pohl, Wien 2009, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 16, pp. 241-254.

³¹ See for example *Capitulare missorum generale a. 802*, ed. A. Boretius, [in:] MGH Capit. I, Hannover 1833, c. 5, p. 93: „Ut sanctis ecclesiis Dei ... fraude vel rapinam vel aliquit iniuriae quis facere presumat; quia ipse dominus imperator, post Domini et sanctis eius, eorum

describing his function with the phrase: “*devotus sanctae aecclesiae defensor humilisque adiutor*, or simply: “*defensor sanctae Dei ecclesiae*”³³. In this way, he emphasized his dignity, but also pointed to the achievements he made in relation to God, in anticipation of a reward. The Frankish clergy did not make a secret of expressing their admiration for the emperor, both because he took upon himself the troubles of caring for the safety of the Church, and because he did not cease in his efforts to carry the principle into effect. At the same time, the clergy of course did not forget to confirm the monarch in the belief that his actions were pleasing to God and will earn a kind requital in the form of care for him, for his country, and for his descendants³⁴.

et protector et defensor esse constitutus est”. Compare with Th. S i c k e l, *Beiträge zur Diplomantik. III: Die Mundbriefe Immunitäten und Privilegien der ersten Karolinger bis zum Jahre 840*, „Sitzungsberichte. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse”, 47, 1864, p. 242; See also W. H a r t m a n n, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, Hannover 2008, MGH Schriften 58, p. 227.

³² *Inter alia*, see R. E. S u l l i v a n, *The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan*, “*Speculum*”, 28, 1953, no. 4, pp. 730-733; i d e m, *Carolingian Missionary Theories*, “*Catholic Historical Review*”, 41, 1956, no. 3, pp. 273-295; I. N. W o o d, *Ideas of Mission in the Carolingian World*, [in:] *Le monde carolingien: bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 28-20 novembre 2004*, ed. W. Falkowski, Y. Sassier, Turnhout 2009, Culture et société médiévales 18, pp. 183-198. On the popularity of this model of mission in the post-Carolingian world, see recently R. M i c h a ł o w s k i, *Król czy misjonarz? Rozumienie misji w X/XI wieku*, [in:] *Bruno z Kwerfurtu: osoba – dzieło – epoka*, ed. M. Dygo, W. Fałkowski, Pułtusk 2010, pp. 129-144.

³³ *Admonitio generalis*, ed. A. Boretius, [in:] MGH Capit. I, Hannover 1833, p. 53. On this title and its ideological significance, see esp. I. H. G a r i p z a n o v, *Communication of Authority in Carolingian Titles*, “*Viator*”, 36, 2005, pp. 41-82; i d e m, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)*, Leiden 2008, Brill's series on the early Middle Ages 16, pp. 124-127. See also W. F a ł k o w s k i, „*Admonitio generalis*” *Karola Wielkiego – zapowiedź tworzenia państwa idealnego*, [in:] *Ludzie, Kościół, wierzenia. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (Średniowiecze – wczesna epoka nowożytna)*, ed. W. Iwańczak, S. K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 2001, pp. 419-428.

³⁴ Among many others, see *Leonis III papae epistolae X*, ed. K. Hampe, [in:] MGH Epp. V, Berlin 1899, pp. 96-97: „*Nosque cum nostris sacerdotibus in ecclesia fautoris vestri beati Petri apostoli Dei omnipotentis exoramus clementiam, ut suam sanctam ecclesiam ab insidiis inimicorum custodire et defendere dignetur, vosque ad exaltationem et defensionem eius per longa annorum curricula conservare et protegere iubeat atque ad gaudia aeterna post multa temporum spatia cum sanctis perducatur omnibus. Piissimum domini imperium gratia superna custodiat eique omnium gentium colla substernat*”.

During the reign of his sons, it was well remembered how much importance Charles attached to that title and to the obligation that came with it³⁵. Following the example of his father, Louis the Pious instructed his subjects, in accordance with their status, not to shirk their duty to protect the clergy, the holy churches, and their resources, and also to persist in their obligation to destroy the enemies of the Church who might dare to attack it or to destroy ecclesiastical property – and these ways to be willing to participate in the royal tasks and duties³⁶. Just as was the case in the reign of his father, the clergy also sent letters of praise to Louis, thanking him for freeing the churches from plunderers. This was done for example by bishop Victor of Chur, who called the emperor „sanctae matris ecelesie tutor ac defensor, advocatus et iudex”³⁷.

During the reign of Louis, a certain ideological re-evaluation of the analyzed duty took place. The reform circles of the clergy, which became vocal as the emperor’s authority diminished³⁸, began to emphasize more strongly the practical and eschatological dimensions of that obligation. The duty of protecting the Church became a priority within the set of obligations elaborated by them, known as the *ministerium regis*, for the fulfillment of

³⁵ *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele, [in:] MGH SS rer. Germ. n. s., vol. 12, Berlin 1959, p. 67.

³⁶ *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, ed. A. Boretius, [in:] MGH Capit. I, Hannover 1833, pp. 303-307. See also E. M a g n o u - N o r t i e r, *The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500-1100*, [in:] *The Peace of God. Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. T. F. Head, R. Landes, Ithaca–New York 1992, p. 73.

³⁷ *Epistolae variorum inde a morte Caroli Magni usque ad divisionem imperii collectae*, ed. E. Dümmler, [in:] MGH Epp. V, Berlin 1899, no. 7, p. 309: „Nunc quidem, domine, ac si vestris omnes provoluti vestigiis iterum petimus, ut pro amore Dei digneris eiusdem sanctae matris ecelesie, cuius te tutorem ac defensorem ubique scimus esse promptissimum, advocatus esse et iudex, qualiter temporibus vestris ad suam possit pervenire iustitiam, quia nullus est in terra illa, qui possit nobis prestare solatium nisi Dei primitus et vestra nos defendat clementia”.

³⁸ On this issue, see M. S u c h a n, *Kirchenpolitik des Königs oder Königspolitik der Kirche? Zum Verhältnis Ludwigs des Frommen und des Episkopates während der Herrschaftskrisen um 830*, „Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte”, 111, 2000, pp. 1-27; S. P a t z o l d, *Redéfinir l’office épiscopal: les évêques francs face à la crise des années 820/30*, [in:] *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge. Crises et renouvellements*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006, pp. 337-359; and in wider perspective i d e m, *Episcopus: Wissenüber Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts*, Ostfildern 2008, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 25; G. B ü h r e r - T h i e r r y, *Épiscopat et royauté dans le monde carolingien*, [in:] *Le monde carolingien*, pp. 143-156.

which the ruler would be held to account³⁹. To an extent greater than before, this approach included the use of criticism, or of threats in the form of reminders about turning away from God’s grace and the disasters that would befall the ruler and his country in the event of refusal to fulfill the *ministerium*⁴⁰. It can be said that at that time Church asserted the role of enforcer of that duty. Popes and bishops constantly reminded those striving for the royal, and especially the imperial, crown that the candidate who is able to reach for it will be the one who shows the greatest fervor in providing the Church with due security and peace. As Pope John VIII claimed, the papal choice must promote „the honor, security and exaltation of the holy Roman church. The successful candidate must be an unconquered protector, a powerful defender and a strenuous helper of Church in all its needs”⁴¹.

Despite the efforts of the Carolingian ecclesiastical intellectuals, the conception of the duty to protect the Church, though close to the conception held by Charlemagne himself, was hardly driven by royal ideology. More powerful rulers, deep into the Gregorian era, used the fulfillment of the duty to manifest their sacred dignity, power or dominion over the Church, along lines similar to the relations formed within the framework of the so-called “proprietary church system”⁴². For example the Ottonians were able to com-

³⁹ J o n a s A u r e l i a n e n s i s E p i s c o p u s, *De Institutione Regia*, [in:] *PL*, vol. 106, c. 4 (*Quid sit proprie ministerium regis*), cols 290-291: „Ipse enim debet primo defensor esse Ecclesiarum et servorum dei. Ipsorum etiam officium est saluti et ministerio sacerdotum solerter prospicere, eorumque armis et protectione Ecclesia Christi debet tueri: viduarum, orphanorum, caeterorumque pauperum, nec non et omnium indigentium inopia defendi” = *Concilium Aquisgranense*, a. 836, ed. A. Werminghoff, [in:] *MGH Concilia II/2*, Hannover–Leipzig 1908, c. 43/III, p. 716. See also D. F. A p p l e b y, *Sight and Church Reform in the Thought of Jonas of Orléans*, “Viator”, 27, 1996, pp. 11-33; C. M a r g a l h a n - F e r r a t, *Le concept de „ministerium” entre littérature spéculaire et législation carolingienne*, [in:] „*Specula principum*”: riflesso della realtà giuridica. *Colloquio internazionale svoltosi a Bologna nei giorni 18-20 settembre 1997*, ed. A. Pisapia, A. De Benedictis, Frankfurt a. M. 1999, pp. 121-157; R. S t o n e, *Kings are Different: Carolingian Mirrors for Princes and Lay Morality*, [in:] *Le prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l’Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed. F. Lachaud, L. Scordia, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2007, pp. 69-86.

⁴⁰ R. M e e n s, *Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm*, “Early Medieval Europe”, 7, 1998, no. 3, pp. 345-357.

⁴¹ *Registrum Iohannis VIII. papae*, ed. E. Caspar, [in:] *MGH Epp. VII*, Berlin 1928, no 48, p. 46; *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII. papae*, [in:] *ibidem*, no. 59, p. 311; J. H. B u r n s, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c. 1450*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 295-296.

⁴² See esp. the monumental work by S. W o o d, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford 2006.

pare themselves this way with the ideal ruler, in their opinion personified by Charlemagne, a tendency especially visible in the case of Otto I⁴³. The continued importance of these ideas is demonstrated for example by the language used in the famous *Ottonianum*, which described Otto with the name of „auxiliator and defensor rerum ecclesiasticarum”, intended to confirm his right to occupy the vacant throne of the emperor⁴⁴. As a result, the clergy from his entourage were convinced that, just as had been the case with Charlemagne before, Otto’s fulfillment of his duty to protect the Church predestined him to becoming emperor and the lord of the Church⁴⁵. That’s what John XII imagined Otto’s role to be as he offered him the imperial crown in 962 “ad defensionem sanctae Dei ecclesiae”⁴⁶, and that view was later also held by many of the clergy subordinated to his son and grandson, and to the Salian rulers. Wipo for example, in Conrad II’s *Deeds*, praised the name of his hero, gave him the title of “defensor et tutor ecclesiarum et clericorum”, and presented an example showing the ruler in the role of a enforcer of that duty, a role which was supposed to prove that he was blessed, and show that he respected the title of king. Standing in the defense of churches he also presented, according to the apologist, the fullness of his royal authority⁴⁷.

The intensification of the rivalry between two modes of expressing this royal duty took place during the time of the investiture dispute⁴⁸. By way

⁴³ H. Keller, *Die Ottonen und Karl der Große*, „Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 34, 2000, pp. 112-131; B. Schütte, *Karl der Große in der Historiographie der Ottonen- und Salierzeit*, [in:] *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen. Akten des 8. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes, Leipzig 15.-18. März 1999*, ed. F.-R. Erkens, Berlin 2001, pp. 245-256.

⁴⁴ M. T. Szczępański, *Religijne powinności władcy w polityce Ottona I do 962 roku*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 106, 1999, no. 2, pp. 3-33.

⁴⁵ The state of research concerning the role of the king within the German *Reichskirche* was summarized recently by T. Vogtler, *Könige und Bistümer. Neuere Forschungen zu Aspekten der hochmittelalterlichen Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, [in:] *Mittelalter – eines oder viele?*, ed. S. Moździoch, W. Mrozowicz, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2010, pp. 143-155.

⁴⁶ Johannes XII, *Epistolae et privilegia*, [in:] PL, vol. 133, col. 1028: „...quem paterno affectu suscipientes ob defensionem sanctae Dei Ecclesiae in imperatorem cum beati Petri benedictione unximus”.

⁴⁷ *Wipos Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ed. H. Bresslau, [in:] MGH SS rer. Germ., vol. 61, Hannover–Leipzig 1915, c. 3, p. 23.

⁴⁸ For a comprehensive introduction to this issue, see H. B. Teunis, *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power in the Central Middle Ages*, [in:] *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power. Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. A.-J. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis, A. Wareham, Turnhout 1999, pp. 1-15. Anti-Gregorians constantly stressed that the

of example, I will show only the most relevant cases. Henry IV and his eulogists, Benzo of Alba for example, claimed that the protection over the Church implied for the ruler the right and the ability to exercise a far-reaching control over it⁴⁹. In his documents, Henry often manifested this view, by claiming that he can govern the Church “sua brachio defensionis”⁵⁰. In another document the emperor even openly stated that this way he was imitating Charlemagne himself⁵¹. Even in the second half of the twelfth century, the prerogatives of German ruler could be seen in a similar way, as exemplified by the *Gesta Friderici I* of Otto of Freising⁵². But it seems, that such like views were held not only by German clerics. At the beginning of the XIIth century the so called Anonymous of York wrote about the ideal ruler: “Non est appellandus laicus, quia christus Domini est, quia per gratiam deus est, quia summus rector est, quia pastor et magister et defensor et instructor sanctę ecclesię summus est”⁵³.

On the other hand, circles associated with the ecclesiastical reform, with the papacy at the forefront, strongly denied this interpretation of the ruler’s duty to protect the Church, since the interpretation threatened the “ancient” freedom of the Church. Thus, the reformers denied such rulers a regal legiti-

secular rulers fulfill their honorable task to defend the Church in a commendable way. See L. M e l v e, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, Leiden–Boston 2007, Brill’s studies in intellectual history 154, pp. 190, 365-368, 392, 407, 559-564, 570-577, 586, 593.

⁴⁹ T. S t r u v e, *Salierzeit im Wandel: zur Geschichte Heinrichs IV. und des Investiturstreites*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006, p. 398, no. 80.

⁵⁰ I. S. R o b i n s o n, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106*, Cambridge–New York 1999, p. 356 and *passim*.

⁵¹ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ed. D. von Gladiss, A. Gawlik, [in:] MGH DD H IV/1, Hannover 1941-1978, no. 249, p. 316 (a. 1072): „Inter quos imperator Karolus imitande virtutis omnibus seculis notatus ecclesiarum dei non solum strenuus defensor, verum etiam precipuus viguit fundator”.

⁵² J. J a k u b o w s k a, *Idea państwa i Kościoła w historiozoficznej doktrynie Ottona z Freisingu*, „Studia Mediewistyczne”, 11, 1968, pp. 3-69; S. B a g g e, *Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising’s “Gesta Frederici”*, “Journal of Medieval History”, 22, 1996, no. 4, pp. 345-377. See also *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I. 1181-1190*, ed. H. Appelt, [in:] MGH DD F I/4, Hannover 1990, no. 809, p. 8 (a. 1181): „Quoniam tutela et defensio ecclesie vestre specialiter ad nos pertinet, querimonias vestras pro iniuriis vobis illatis maiestati nostre sepius porectas clementer exaudivimus”.

⁵³ Norman Anonymous’ treaties are now most easily accessed via <<http://normananonymous.org>> (accessed May 30, 2011). Quotation from *Tractatus 24b*, p. 251: <<http://normananonymous.org/ENAP/index.jsp?workNum=24b&query=defensor&p=251>>(accessed May 30, 2011).

macy, describing them as tyrants and oppressors of ecclesiastical property, or even as the “devil’s accomplices”⁵⁴. This does not mean that the Church denied all the rulers the right to title themselves in this way⁵⁵. On the contrary, popes, bishops and abbots titled the kings and princes with the words noted earlier, as long as the rulers thus designated followed the guidelines of the clergy and actually protected the Church’s resources, defended the clergy against aggression or passed laws that prohibited such practices⁵⁶. The rulers who deserved the title of *advocatus* or *defensor ecclesiae* were those who were pious, humble towards the Church, whilst assisting it in need and helping to its fight enemies – like sacred patrons descending from heaven, in order to bring salvation to the churches, monasteries and the clergy in times of emergency. They were, after all, described in an exactly the same way as *patroni*, *defensores* and *advocati*. The rulers were expected hence not to act alone, but in cooperation with the episcopate, and preferably only when asked to do so. This is because, in the words of St. Anselm, the Church was entrusted to them not „in hereditariam dominationem, but hereditariam reverentiam et in tuitionem or defensionem”⁵⁷. In

⁵⁴ N. S t a u b a c h, *Der König als “membrum diaboli”? Augustinrezeption in der Publizistik des Investiturstreits*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 33, 1999, pp. 108-124.

⁵⁵ I. S. R o b i n s o n, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, New York–Cambridge 1990, p. 477.

⁵⁶ On the predilection of reform clergy to the rulers who restrained violent nobles and knights, see G. A. S m i t h, “*Sine rege, sine principe*”. *Peter the Venerable on Violence in Twelfth-Century Burgundy*, “Speculum”, 77, 2002, no. 1, pp. 1-33.

⁵⁷ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, vol. 4, ed. E. S. Schmitt, Edinburgh 1951, no. 249, pp. 159-160: „Non enim debent principes sponsam dei, matrem suam, si Christiani sunt, aestimare sibi datam in haereditariam dominationem, sed a deo sibi commendatam, ut eius cohaeredes mereantur esse ad reverentiam et defensionem”. See also *ibidem* no. 262, p. 177: „Videtur, mi carissime domine, qualiter mater nostra, ecclesia dei, quam deus pulchram amicam et dilectam sponsam suam vocat, a malis principibus conculcatur, quomodo ab iis, quibus ut advocatis ad tuitionem a deo commendata est, ad eorum aeternam damnationem tribulatur. ... Ergo, mi domine, ne putetis ecclesiam que in vestro principatu est vobis esse datam in hereditariam dominationem, sed in hereditariam reverentiam et in tuitionem. Eam ut matrem vestram amate, ut sponsam et amicam dei honorate”. Compare also with famous passage in the *Historia novorum* by Eadmer, in which he reports a conversation between St. Anselm and king William II Rufus on the status of monasteries in England: „... inquit Anselmus, ... «Unde consulo, precor, moneo, quatinus, tanta re diligenter inspecta secundum voluntate Dei abbates illis institutas, ne in destructione monasteriorum et perditione monachorum tibi, quod absit, damnationem adquires». Non potuit amplius spiritum suum rex cohibere, sed oppido turbatus cum iracundia dixit, «Quid ad te? Numquid abbatiae non sunt meae? Hem, tu quod vis agis de villis tuis, et ego non agam quod volo de abbatibus tuis?» Ait [St. Anselm – R.K.], «Tue quidem sunt, ut

the reformers' distorted perspective, Charlemagne was such an ideal. He was the one who helped and protected the Church, devoting his sword to the service. He was the one who – as stated in a late eleventh-century treatise on sacrilege written by a Gregorian jurist – ensured that everyone in the kingdom respected the churches and the clergy and that no one had the audacity to oppress them⁵⁸.

In pre-Gregorian Europe, but also long into the 12th century, many of the churches had their local defenders, and usually – at least on paper – they were saints or mythologized founders of archbishoprics and dioceses⁵⁹, but also they were often real and strong rulers, holding their churches in check, but cooperating with the episcopate in religious matters. Such a ruler was William the Conqueror, who cooperated with Archbishop Lanfranc, “like two oxen at one plow”, and whom St. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, set as a pattern to be followed by William Rufus, who defied and threatened the freedom of the Church. According to Anselm's words, while the former was a „rex iustus et advocatus ecclesiae”, the latter turned out to be a „rex malus sive tyrannus”⁶⁰.

quasi advocatus defendas atque custodias; non tuae autem, ut invadas aut devastes. Dei scimus eas esse, ut sui ministri inde vivant, non quo expeditiones et bella tua inde fiant»”. See *Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia*, 48, 2011, ed. M. Rule, London 1884, pp. 49-50; Ch. N. L. Brooke, *Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries: Normandy and England, 1066-1135*, [in:] *idem*, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, London 1999, pp. 139-158.

⁵⁸ R. Kotecki, „...id est omnis sacrae rei violatio”. *Świętokradztwo w świetle anonimowego „Traktatu de sacrilegiis et immunitatibus et eorum compositionibus” z końca XI wieku*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 48, 2010, p. 31.

⁵⁹ W. A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, Berkeley 1970; G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. E. Pálmai, Cambridge 2002.

⁶⁰ W. Fröhlich, *St. Anselm's Special Relationship with William the Conqueror*, “*Anglo-Norman Studies*”, 10, 1988, pp. 101-110; *idem*, “*Considerate ovem tauro copulastis*”. *Anselm's Relationship with King William II Rufus*, [in:] *Saint Anselm, Bishop and Thinker: Papers Read at a Conference Held in the Catholic University of Lublin on 24-26 September 1996*, ed. R. Majeran, E. I. Zieliński, Lublin 1999, pp. 29-45; *idem*, “*Regere secundum legem et voluntatem Dei*”. “*Rex iustus et rex malus sive tyrannus*” as Perceived by Saint Anselm of Canterbury, [in:] “*Cur deus homo*”. *Atti del Congresso anselmiano internazionale Roma, 21-23 maggio 1998*, ed. P. Gilbert, H. Kohlenberger, E. Salmann, Roma 1999, pp. 261-284; *idem*, *St. Anselm's Concept of Kingship as Conveyed in His Letters*, [in:] *Saint Anselm – A Thinker for Yesterday and Today. Anselm's Thought Viewed by our Contemporaries. Proceedings of the International Anselm Conference, Centre National de Recherche Scientifique Paris*, ed. C. E. Viola, F. van Fleteren, Lewiston–New York 2002, pp. 345-371.

This comparison shows that these definitions and titles could describe at least two different models of a ruler, depending on from whose lips they came or by whose hand they were penned. Always, however, regardless of the sender of the message, the message itself always expressed the assumption that the duty of a true king and ruler was to guard the safety of the Church and its representatives⁶¹. This is why such motives appeared in dynastic legends. I shall point out only the two most significant examples. According to Hrotsvitha, the grace of heaven was supposed to fall onto the Ottonian dynasty and brighten their domain, as long as the Ottonians defended the monastery in Gandersheim⁶². According to a popular story, first recorded by Adémar de Chabannes, Hugh Capet attained royal office because he acted as a “clementissimus defensor ecclesiae Dei”, while the Carolingians of the last generation were thrown off the throne by God for neglecting this duty⁶³.

The concept was widely known in Europe, to Carolingian, Ottonian, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon⁶⁴ rulers, and I think also to the monarchs from the “younger” part of the continent, as the Central Europe has commonly been called. Many believed, amongst both the rulers and the clergy, that the prosperity, if not the existence of the kingdom and dynasty depended on the fulfillment of that duty. Within this reasoning lay a warning that conditioned the prosperity of rule, if not of the whole dynasty, on taking on a protective role towards the Church. It was a powerful ideological tool both in the hands of the early medieval rulers and of the Church. As one of the main legal⁶⁵

⁶¹ Compare with J. H. B u r n s, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 295-298; H.-W. G o e t z, *Imperator advocatus Romanae ecclesiae*, [in:] *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem 75. Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum*, ed. H. Mordek, Sigmaringen 1983, pp. 315-328.

⁶² G. A l t h o f f, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat*, Stuttgart 2000, p. 27.

⁶³ *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain and R. Landes, G. Pon, Turnhout 1999, pp. 151-152: Et rex Hugo cogitans erga se Dei gratiam, quasi vicem rependens, defensor clementissimus ecclesiae Dei extitit. Nam ob hanc causam creditur progenies Caroli reprobata, quia jam diu neglegens Dei gratiam, ecclesiarum potius neglectrix quam erectrix videbatur. See also B. S. B a c h r a c h, “Potius Rex quam esse Dux putabatur”. *Some Observations concerning Adémar of Chabannes’ Panegyric on Duke William the Great*, “The Haskins Society Journal”, 1, 1989, pp. 11-22.

⁶⁴ See for example Asser’s opinion on Alfred the Great. According to him Alfred was *defensor sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum*. *Asser’s Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of Saint Neots*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford 1904, s. 143.

⁶⁵ M. L u p o i, *A European Common Law before Bologna?*, [in:] *Law before Gratian:*

and theological⁶⁶ foundations, however, the concept went far beyond the immediate interests of both. A ruler who wished to assure himself of a fortunate reign, ought to tend to the care for the Church and what is more important, to show that care in his daily exercise of power. To show it in an efficient manner and conspicuously to all, for example by passing relevant laws or by inflicting severe punishments for crimes committed against the Church.

But let us return to Polish affairs. There is no doubt that, as we wrote the words cited at the beginning of this paper, Gallus was expressing similar beliefs, at least in outline. The fulfillment of that duty by Bolesław I ensured for him a divine favor, a fact emphasized by the words: „and all went well for him and all his ventures prospered”. Such a belief could have existed at the Piast court in the early 12th century. Yet I presume that the belief also played a certain role already during the reign of Bolesław I itself. An ostentatious display of piety and a religious zeal, as well as legal actions that regulated the borderland spheres of morality and religion, often went hand in hand with the emphasis on goodwill towards one’s Church⁶⁷. Indebted, as historians currently believe, to ideas emanating from the imperial court, the ruler, who was under the influence of an idealized figure of Charlemagne⁶⁸, drawn into the Empire’s politics, could have easily familiarized himself with those ideas, and used them for his own needs⁶⁹. The sources, however, do

Law in Western Europe c. 500-1100. Proceedings of the Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2006, ed. P. Andersen, M. Münster-Swendsen, H. Vogt, Copenhagen 2007, p. 16.

⁶⁶ On theological context of this duty in Carolingian times, see M. A l b e r i, “*Like the Army of God’s Camp*”: *Political Theology and Apocalyptic Warfare at Charlemagne’s Court*, “*Viator*”, 41, 2010, no. 2, pp. 1-20.

⁶⁷ In the context of sexual morality compare with M. M c L a u g h l i n. “*Disgusting Acts of Shamelessness*”: *Sexual Misconduct and the Deconstruction of Royal Authority in the Eleventh Century*, “*Early Medieval Europe*”, 19, 2011, pp. 312-331.

⁶⁸ S. K ę t r z y ń s k i, *Karol Wielki i Bolesław Chrobry*, „*Przegląd Historyczny*”, 36, 1946, pp. 19-25; P. B o r o ń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie...: tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Katowice 2010, pp. 174-176.

⁶⁹ It is likely also that Boleslaw was fascinated by the person of Otto III, who was obviously familiar with the concept of defense of the Church. According to bishop T h i e t m a r, Gregory V anointed Otto III in the year 996: „... ab eodem (viz. Pope Gregory) unctio-nem imperialem percepit et advocatus ecclesiae sancti Petri efficitur” (*Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. M. S., vol. 9, Berlin 1935, IV, 18, p. 168). Otto (just like his father and grandfather) was also a defender of numerous churches located within his realm. See *Die Urkunden Otto III (983-1002)*, ed.

not speak about this subject as much as one could wish for. Yet, let us note the telling opinion of Bruno of Querfurt, who named Bolesław the “mother of the clergy” (*Dei servorum mater*). That definition corresponds well with the concept of a defender of the Church and clergy⁷⁰. One should also note the sources that mention Bolesław I’s behavior towards the killers of the Five Brothers. From the *Life of St Romuald* by Peter Damian we learn about the great zeal and haste shown by this ruler in tracking down and punishing of the perpetrators of the murder⁷¹. Those are the features of an efficient defender of the Church⁷². A hypothesis seems warranted that the first Polish king may also have passed laws that are unknown today, but that prohibited the use of violence against churches or the clergy, since we have information about the punishment of adulterers, those breaking fasts⁷³, and of killers of

T. Sickel, MGH DD O II / DD O III, vol. 2/2, Hanover 1893, no. 13, p. 410, no. 18, p. 417, no. 27, p. 427, no. 33, p. 433, no. 38, p. 437, no. 48, p. 450, no. 51, pp. 453-454, no. 53, p. 457, no. 62, p. 469, no. 72, p. 479-480, no. 79, p. 486, no. 89, p. 500, no. 92, p. 503, no. 97, p. 508, no. 136, p. 547, no. 200, p. 609, no. 203, p. 613, no. 206, p. 616-617, no. 210, p. 625, no. 220, p. 632, no. 224, p. 637-638, no. 264, p. 681, no. 272, pp. 691-692, no. 289, p. 714, no. 290, p. 715, no. 296, p. 722, no. 332, p. 760, no. 358, p. 787, no. 360, p. 789, no. 362, p. 791, no. 377, p. 805, no. 394, p. 826. On Ottonian *immunitas-defensio* (or *mundeburdium*), see E. E. S t e n g e l, *Die Immunitat in Deutschland bis zum des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Innsbruck 1910 [repr. 1964]; J. W. B e r n h a r d t, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075*, Cambridge 1993, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought, 4th ser. 21, *passim*. On the impact of the so-called Ottonian *Reichskirche* on the local Polish Church and monarchy in the early Middle Ages, see M. R. P a u k, E. W ó ł k i e w i c z, „*Ministri enim altaris ministri curie facti sunt*”. *Ottońsko-salicki „system” Kościoła Rzeszy i jego oddziaływanie w Europie Środkowej XI-XII wieku*, [in:] *Kościół w monarchiach Przemyślidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 21-24 września 2006*, red. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, pp. 105-138.

⁷⁰ *S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopo et martyris Vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH n. s., vol. 4/2, Warszawa 1969, c. 22, p. 60. Compare with *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SS rer. Germ. n. s., vol. 2, Berlin 1923, lib. II, c. 17, p. 78: „... dux Spitzignev hoc agnomen sibi ascivit, ut ab omnibus diceretur pater clericorum, defensor viduarum”. On the Czech princes as defenders, see L. A. W o l v e r t o n, *Hastening toward Prague. Power and Society in the Medieval Lands Czech Lands*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. 12, 30, 76, 127, 133, 151.

⁷¹ P e t r u s D a m i a n i, *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco, [in:] *Fonti per la storia d’Italia*, vol. 94, Rome 1957, p. 64.

⁷² According to Thietmar such an avenger was Henry II. See *Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar*, VIII, 71, p. 487: „Rex etenim noster homo erat zelo Dei fervens et sanctorum ecclesiarum violentas predaciones fortis armatus ubique vindicabat et omnibus iuste iudicabat. Hanc benignitatem nisi celitus prestitam sibi non haberet”.

⁷³ M i c h a ł o w s k i, *The Nine-week Lent...*, *passim*; i d e m, *Christianisation...*, *passim*.

monks from the Międzyrzecz. Bolesław I could have, like for example the German rulers⁷⁴ or the King of Hungary – St. Stephen, guaranteed the right of asylum in churches⁷⁵, he could have also, just like his nephew, king Canute, have guaranteed the sanctity of temples⁷⁶, or like the said Canute or Bretislaus, Prince of Bohemia, he could have introduced severe punishment for the beating or killing of a member of the clergy⁷⁷. Yet it is hard to pass judgment on this topic, as well as on some more general forms of immunity. First in the Frankish kingdom, starting with Louis the Pious, and then later in many other post-Carolingian countries from which we have evidence of the obligation of *defensio ecclesiae*⁷⁸, there were guarantees of the sanctity and inviolability of holy places and of the clergy, such as *immunitas-defensio*, *pax*, *peace*, *fredus*, *frið*, *grið*, *mund*, *mundium*, or *mundeburdium*, *sermo*, *tuitio*, etc.⁷⁹ This matter still requires more in-depth study. However, it is probably no coincidence that *mir* in the so called *Oldest Collection of Polish Law* is described as the lord’s hand (*Daz heysen dy Polen des herren hant*)⁸⁰, a phrase reminiscent of the Germanic *mund* or the Anglo-Saxon *hand-grið* – i.e. peace or protection given by the king with his own hand,

⁷⁴ See for example *Ingelheim*, 7. Juni 948, ed. E.-D. Hehl, MGH Concilia VI/1, Hannover 1987, c. 5, p. 161: „Ut nullus laicorum prespiterum flagellare seu fatigare vel aliquam sibi iniuriam inferre audeat” (Otto I).

⁷⁵ D. H r i n c i a r o v á, *K otázce uplatňovania práva azylu v Uhorsku v 13.-15. storočí*, [in:] *Sacri canones servandi sunt. Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII-XV*, ed. P. Krafl, Praha 2008, p. 215. On the idea of Christian kingship and its position toward the Church in eleventh-century Hungary, see esp. *Libellus de institutione morum*, ed. J. Balogh, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, vol. 2, Budapest 1938, pp. 611-627. See also V. M ú c s k a, *K otázke vzťahu uhorského kráľa k cirkvi v 11. storočí*, „Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia”, 3, 2003, pp. 335-344; E. N e m e r k é n y i, *The Representation of Bishops in the “Institutio” of King Stephen of Hungary*, „Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis”, 37, 2001, pp. 79-86; i d e m, *The Religious Ruler in the “Institutions” of St. Stephen of Hungary*, [in:] *Monotheistic Kingship*, pp. 231-247.

⁷⁶ A. G. K e n n e d y, *Cnut’s Law Code of 1018*, “Anglo-Saxon England”, 11, 1983, pp. 72-73 (c. 2).

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 74 (c. 9); *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, lib. II, c. 4, p. 87.

⁷⁸ B. H. R o s e n w e i n, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Manchester 1999, pp. esp. 225-229.

⁷⁹ On the relationship between the idea of *defensio ecclesiae* and royal *emunitas* or *immunitas-defensio*, as well as *defensio* or *mundeburdium*, see F. L. C h e y e t t e, *The Royal Safeguard in Medieval France*, „Studia Gratiana”, 15, 1972, pp. 631-635.

⁸⁰ J. M a t u s z e w s k i, *Ręka pańska. Ze studiów nad najstarszym zwodem prawa polskiego*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, 11, 1955, no. 3-4, pp. 598-612.

with special emphasis on protecting churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical space⁸¹.

The descendants of Bolesław I punished the perpetrators of offenses threatening the material existence of the Church. An example is Bolesław the Wrymouth, who delivered justice to the perpetrators of the robbery of St. Otto of Bamberg⁸², as well as to the Pomeranians who desecrated the Płock cathedral⁸³, or Bolesław's son Bolesław the Curly, who spectacularly settled accounts with his castellan for the castellan's murder of Werner, bishop of Płock. Bolesław the Curly ordered the castellan to be burned at the stake⁸⁴. As Jan Długosz said (probably following the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century source⁸⁵), the duke applied such harsh punishment in order to protect his country from temporal disasters⁸⁶. I also have no doubt that for a long time to come the Piasts continued to act as avengers of acts directly threatening the *pax* of either the churches or the members of the clergy. They were also guarantors of the inviolability church property⁸⁷. Even in the

⁸¹ According to the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* (c. 1140) *hand-grið* is one of several types of king's peace: c. 12: *Pax regia multiplex est: alia data manu sua, quam Angli uocant kinges hand salde grið*: B. R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, Philadelphia 1999, pp. 168-169. On *hand-grið* and other forms of sanctuary in medieval England, see W. A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship*, p. 214; K. B. Shoemaker, *Sanctuary Law. Changing Conceptions of Wrongdoing and Punishment in Medieval European Law*, Berkeley 2001 (diss.); A. Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State*, New York–Oxford 2002, esp. 29 and passim.

⁸² Ebo, *Żywot św. Ottona biskupa bamberskiego*, ed. J. Wakarjak, MPH n. s., vol. 7/2, Warszawa 1969, lib. II, c. 4, pp. 62-63; S. Rosik, „*Conversio gentis Pomeranorum*”. *Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 197-198.

⁸³ P. Wiszewski, *Zemsta, zemsta na wroga? czy wyzwanie? Rzecz o obcinaniu głów zmarłym i społecznym wymiarze emocji (Ebo, III, 13)*, [in:] *Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, ed. P. Wiszewski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2007, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia” 175, pp. 457-473.

⁸⁴ *Mors et miracula beati Veneri episcopi Plocensis*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, MPH. vol. 4, Lwów 1884, p. 751.

⁸⁵ P. Figurski, *Przekaz ideowy i datacja „Mors et miracula beati Veneri”*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 48, 2010, pp. 39-58.

⁸⁶ *Ioannis Długossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 5-6, ed. S. Budkowa, Warszawa 1973, p. 93; compare with R. Kotek, *W sprawie klątwy rzuconej na ziemię polskie przez arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego Radzima-Gaudentgo – próba nowego spojrzenia*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 114, 2010, pp. 132-133. On this kind of punishment as appropriate for perpetrators of sacrilegious acts, see J. R. Reinhard, *Burning at the Stake in Mediaeval Law and Literature*, “Speculum”, 16, 1941, no. 2, pp. 186-209.

⁸⁷ See, for example, charter prepared by Mieszko III for the monks of Lubiąż (1177): *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae* (hereafter: KDW), vol. 1, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań

thirteenth-century diplomas one can still find information that the judgment in matters of sacrilege was in the competence of the prince⁸⁸. Since the Carolingian times, this offense not only included the theft of church equipment, but also desecration of temples and their precincts, seizure of any kind of ecclesiastical property, as well as use of physical force against the clergy⁸⁹. Such practice is confirmed by Master Vincent Kadłubek, who wrote that for *sacrilegium* 70 pounds were due to the prince's treasury⁹⁰. In thirteenth-century sources we can also find information about the rulers prohibiting the use of violence on temple grounds or any form of aggression towards the clergy. Besides, a thought provoking note occurs in the *Annals of Poznań chapter*, according to which prince Przemysł I and prince Bolesław the Pious made church villages “immune from any damage”⁹¹. Princes from Greater Poland's lineage of the Piasts actually showed a special predilection for punishing the perpetrators of offenses such as seizure of ecclesiastical property or murder of a clergyman⁹². Especially Przemysł II, who was eventually to fulfill his royal aspirations, was aware of that duty on the part of

1877, no. 22: „Si qua vero spiritualis persona secularisve potestas cambitionem istam temptaverit evacuare, vel bona de quibus cambitio facta est in utralibet parte occupare, tenere, minuire, septuaginta marcas argenti purissimi componat, quarum duas partes nobis in fisco persolvat, unam illis quorum temerata fuerit possessio: ita tamen, ut restituantur pristinis possessoribus quecunque pervasa fuerint a direptoribus”. And also charter of Boleslaw I the Tall to the same cloister (1175): *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, bd. 1, bearb. H. Appelt, J. Menzel, Köln 1963, no. 45: „Quapropter omnes attentias cenobii Lubensis in nostra defensione comprehendimus et successoribus nostris per omne tempus defendendas committimus pro solo divine retributionis intuitu”. Compare with W. K ö n i g h a u s, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus in Schlesien von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 128-131.

⁸⁸ KDW, vol. 1, no. 330, 346, 521; KDW, vol. 2, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1878, no. 744, 820.

⁸⁹ K o t e c k i, „...id est omnis sacrae res violatio”, pp. 21-26; i d e m, *From “furtum” to “rei sacrae violatio”*. *Sacrilege: The Long Birth of Ecclesiastical Crime in the Earlier Middle Ages (CA. 500-CA. 1150)* (forthcoming).

⁹⁰ *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, MPH n. s., vol. 11, Kraków 1994, lib. 4, c. 2, p. 133.

⁹¹ *Rocznik kapituly poznańskiej*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH s. n., vol. 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 34: „... villas omnium ecclesiarum, quas fecerunt idem principes ab omni vastacione esse immunes”. On Przemysł I's attitude toward the Church and clergy, see also *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH n. s., vol. 8, Warszawa 1970, c. 118, p. 108: „Deum multum dilexit, et sanctam ecclesiam honorificavit seu honoravit. Et defendit totum clerum, et omnes alios viros religiosos in magna reverentia habuit”.

⁹² See for example KDW, vol. 1, no. 354.

the monarch, as shown by a few of the documents issued by him. In 1293 he promised the archbishop that the metropolitan church would be protected by him from all violence and wrongs⁹³. In the following year, as stated by a different document, the ruler fulfilled the conditions of that promise. Namely, he sentenced 24 knights because, after entering the lands of the Gniezno church, they plundered it and abducted chattels, livestock and even people. For these deeds Przemysł stripped them of their property, and declared them his own and the Church's enemies, and even guilty of *lèse majesté*⁹⁴. Interestingly, as he himself explained it, he did so out of a desire to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and like a son to surround his Mother – the holy Church of God – with love, and as a devoted guardian to protect it from snares⁹⁵. Although it seems that in this case Przemysł was already acting within the framework of the so-called *brachium saeculare*, even that kind of activity, as indicated of the document, played a role that prince's ideology of power, who could thus compare himself to his ancestors.

To sum up, I would like to say that taking into the account the mentioned premises, a hypothesis seems to be justified about the significant role of the *defensio ecclesiae* in the Piast ideology starting from the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries and continuing until at least the end of the 12th century and in the case of some of the princes with greater aspirations into the 13th century⁹⁶. Of course, during this period a significant transformation took

⁹³ KDW, vol. 2, no. 692: „Promittimus insuper eidem venerabili patri, iura Gneznensis ecclesie que eidem de iure communi competunt vel ex privilegiis quibuscunque, et consuetudines laudabiles antiquitus observatas manutenere et illibata indisscussa que firmiter observare, et bona ecclesie Gneznensis a violenciis et iniuriis pro viribus defensare”.

⁹⁴ KDW, vol. 2, no. 722: „... tanquam hostes nostros et Ecclesie ac reipublice, ymmo tanquam reos lese crimine maiestatis, bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus sentencialiter duximus iusticia exigente privandos”.

⁹⁵ „... quod cupientes predecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inherere, et matrem nostram, Ecclesiam sanctam Dei, ut devoti filii caritatis brachiis amplexari et ut veri patroni ab inimicorum insidiis defensare” (ibidem).

⁹⁶ See, for example, privilege by Henryk III of Glogów dedicated to bishoprics in Gniezno, Poznań, and Włocławek: KDW, vol. 2, no. 787 (a. 1298): „Promittimus eciam dictas ecclesias contra earum indebitos turbatores toto posse adiuvere et ope nostre potentie fideliter defensare”; and also document by Władysław the Short (Łokietek) dedicated to hospital of the Holy Ghost in Kalisz: KDW, vol. 2, no. 828 (a. 1299): „Addicimus eciam, ut si qui de facultatibus, sibi a Deo collatis, pro subsidio infirmorum prius dictis fratribus pro suarum salute animarum delegaverint, sive donare voluerint in institutis vel maccellis, ratum tenebimus atque gratum, et ad maiorem nostre salutis cumulum, dictum hospitale, fratres, familiam, res, domos, possessiones in nostram defensionem recepimus specialem. Si quis autem ipsum hospitale,

place in how this duty was viewed – a duty whose formulator, as in other parts of Europe, became the Church. Since the mid-thirteenth century one can notice the use of the term *defensor ecclesiae* to describe the Polish bishops⁹⁷, who modeled their understanding of their prerogatives and responsibilities on Western Europe’s episcopate and on the directives of the popes, who starting with Innocent III⁹⁸, also titled themselves defenders of the Church, taking over a traditional duty of secular rulers.

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fratres et familiam ipsorum indebite perturbaverit, aut res, domos et possessiones violententer invaserit, se nostram indignacionem senciāt graviter incurrisse”.

⁹⁷ Compare with W. P o l a k, *Arengi i motywacje powinnościowe w dokumentach biskupów polskich do końca XIV wieku*, [in:] *Ecclesia – cultura – potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, ed. P. Kras, A. Januszek, A. Nalewajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006, pp. 129-144. On the defense of ecclesiastical property by the bishops in the thirteenth-century Poland, see also W. B i e l a k, *Biskup i jego urząd w oczach średniowiecznych kronikarzy polskich*, Lublin 2011, s. 131-145.

⁹⁸ Ch. E. S m i t h, *Innocent III, Church Defender*, Westport, Conn., 1951 [repr. 1971].

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KONCEPCJA *DEFENSIO ECCLESIAE*
I JEJ ECHA W POLSCE WCZEŚNIEJSZEGO ŚREDNIOWIECZA
(X/XI-XIII WIEK)

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Treść artykułu koncentruje się wokół słabo rozpoznanego zagadnienia obowiązku obrony Kościoła (*defensio ecclesiae*) przez władzę świecką w średniowiecznej Europie. W artykule skupiono się przede wszystkim na ideologicznej i prawnej stronie owego wymogu oraz wskazano jego ewolucję od czasów wczesnokarolińskich poprzez okresy późnokaroliński i postkaroliński, aż po dobę, w której popularność zyskały hasła reformy papieskiej zwanej gregoriańską. Poprzez przyjęcie szerokiej perspektywy chronologicznej możliwym było uchwycenie przemian, jakie dokonywały się interpretacji obowiązku *defensio ecclesiae*. Redefinicja następowała głównie za sprawą samego Kościoła, z przywileju dającego panującym skralną legitymizację dzierzzonej władzy i szerokie kompetencje zwierzchności nad instytucjami kościelnymi w duchu *Eigenkirche*, do obowiązku, z którego poszczególni monarchowie byli rozliczani przez sam Kościół.

W artykule wskazano także po raz pierwszy w historiografii na możliwość recepcji zadania *defensio ecclesiae* na dworze piastowskim w okresie wcześniejszego średniowiecza (X-XIII w.). Odrzucono dawną teorię najpełniej sformułowaną przez Władysława Abrahama i popartą przez Gerarda Labudę, iż termin „obronca kościoła” w brzmieniu *advocatus ecclesiae*, jaki spotykamy w *Kronice* Galla Anonima, oznaczał de facto urząd dzierzony przez kolejnych przedstawicieli dynastii. Piastowie jako ród o wysokich aspiracjach politycznych sięgali natomiast po *defensio ecclesiae*, jako jedno z wielu narzędzi chrześcijańskiego instrumentarium władzy monarszej. W wiekach XII i XIII wraz z postępowaniem defragmentacji politycznej kraju oraz recepcją reformy gregoriańskiej przez Kościół polski idea *defensio ecclesiae* straciła na popularności, choć pewne jej elementy trwały i uwidaczniały się choćby w promowanej przez Kościół „instytucji” *brachium seculare*. Ostatecznie w XIII stuleciu obrońcami Kościoła tytułować zaczęli się polscy biskupi przywiązujący znaczącą wagę do niezależności swych lokalnych kościołów i integralności własności kościelnej swych diecezji.

Słowa kluczowe: *defensio ecclesiae*, *defensor ecclesiae*, *advocatus ecclesiae*, obrona Kościoła, obrońca Kościoła, ideologia władzy, Piastowie.

Key words: *defensio ecclesiae*, *defensor ecclesiae*, *advocatus ecclesiae*, defense of the Church, protection of the Church, defender of the Church, patronate, ideology of power, Piasts.