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Saint Adalbert – the Apostle of Silesia

Bishop Adalbert of Prague, son of Slavník, is known in various sources and literature under many names. Apart from his given name Adalbert (Czech *Vojtěch*), he is most commonly referred to as *the Crimson Flower, Knight, Christ's Warrior, God's Hero* already in his first hagiographies.¹ In late-mediaeval Hungarian sources he is called 'the bishop of Wrocław' (*episcopus Wratizlavensis*)², while some refer to him as 'the bishop of Poland' or 'the bishop of Prussia'.³ In later centuries he was granted the title of patron saint of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Visegrád Group, and, currently, the Visegrád Triangle. His name is included in the dedications of many churches or names of associations, bookstores or publishing houses. However, only one source refers to him as the 'Apostle of Silesia': a lost mediaeval chronicle of the Opole Dominicans.

The Order of Preachers arrived in Opole in mid-1280s, probably as one of the side effects of a well-known conflict between duke Henry IV Probus and the bishop of Wrocław Thomas II.⁴ Dominicans, like representatives of other orders, were expelled from Wrocław and the Duchy of Wrocław

- 3. N. Mika, Postać św. Wojciecha..., op. cit., p. 50.
- For more details on the subject see: A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Jeszcze o początkach klasztoru dominikanów w Opolu, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Opolskiego" (History) vol. 35 1998, pp. 7–22.

Cf. Żywot I i Żywot II, in: W kręgu żywotów św. Wojciecha, red. J.A. Spież, Kraków 1997.

N. Mika, Postać św. Wojciecha w europejskiej historiografii wieków średnich – prezentacja wybranych wzmianek źródłowych, in: Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo św. Wojciecha, ed. by A. Barciak, Katowice 1998, p. 49. The title was to certain extent justified, as Adalbert's jurisdiction as the bishop of Prague extended over the lands of Silesia.

as a retribution for supporting the bishop. They were given shelter by Upper-Silesian lords, including Boleslaw I, who — presumably at the request of the bishop — decided to settle the expelled friars in Górka, Opole.⁵ They were provided with some provisional monastic buildings and a church, which was soon to be dedicated to St. Adalbert, just like the monastery in Wrocław.⁶ In the early 15th a brief chronicle was compiled in the Opole monastery, containing mostly information on the beginnings of the town and the establishment of the church dedicated to the patron saint.⁷ Until the outbreak of World War II, the chronicle had been kept in the Provincial Archive in Wrocław.⁸ After the war, the chronicle, along with the remaining legacy of the Opole Dominicans, was lost. The contents of the chronicle were recently reconstructed thanks to an archival research in the manuscript department of the Wrocław University Library,⁹ the National Archive in Prague¹⁰ and the Dominican General Archive on Aventine hill in Rome.¹¹ The passage of interest reads as follows:

Circa annum Domini 984 Imperante Ottone II. S. Adalbertus quondam Archi Episcopus Pragensis, relictis perfidis Bohemis plurium gentium Apostolus effectus est, Ungaris itaque conversis ad veram

- 5. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Jeszcze o początkach klasztoru..., op. cit.
- They would be confirmed in a document by the bishop of Wrocław Johann Romka of 17/11/ 1295, Schlesisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. VI, issued by W.Irgang, Cologne-Vienna 1998, no. 225.
- 7. The chronicle is discussed by A.Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Zaginiona średniowieczna kronika dominikanów opolskich, "Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego" 2010 nr 31, pp. 323–331; A.Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Początki śląskich klasztorów dominikańskich w świetle źródeł przechowywanych w archiwach czeskich i morawskich, in: Historia, kultura i sztuka dominikanów na Śląsku 1226– 2013. W trzechsetlecie beatyfikacji bł. Czesława, red. D.Galewski, W.Kucharski, M.L.Wójcik, Wrocław 2015, pp. 11–23.
- 8. The content of the chronicle were used by the author of the first monograph of Opole by Franz Idzikowski (*Geschichte der Stadt Oppeln*, Oppeln 1863).
- 9. The Manuscript Department of the Wrocław University Library three codices containing information on the early history of the Opole monastery. The first one is a codex by Reginald Nepomucen Gross of about 1740 (BUWr., ref. no. IV F 221, p. 29); the author of the second one, also from the 1st half of the 18th century, was Peter Dirpauer (ibidem, ref. no. IV Q 194, pp. 121r-122v); the author of the third one is Paweł Himler, who compiled the history of Dominicans during the second half of the 18th century (ibidem, IV F 249, pp. 217-218).
- 10. Narodný Archiv Praha, ref. no. ŘD 11.
- Dominican General Archive (AGOP), ref. no. XIV, Liber L. See: R.F. Madura, Polonica w Archiwum Głównym Zakonu OO. Dominikanów w Rzymie, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne" 1978 t. 37, pp. 297–307.

92

Catholicam fidem converses et in ea confirmatis, Sarmatis quoque Slavis at aliis multis similiter venit in Silesiam eousque gentilitate detentam, ubique seminando verbum Dei, Quam divina opitulante gratiam suam predictione sequentibus signis ad lumen fidei inducta, factus est Apostolus Silesiae.¹²

The question of Adalbert in Opole has been the subject of many discussions.¹³ Although his presence in Silesia is more than likely – considering his eagerness in discharging bishop's duties, and in particular the fact that the lands were annexed by Mieszko I - its date has almost always been guestioned.¹⁴ In light of recent archaeological findings, indicating 985 as the year in which the Polan dukes annexed Silesia¹⁵, the phrase 'about 984' seems rather likely. On the other hand, the entire context of Adalbert's stay in Silesia as presented in the source raises many doubts. The description suggests that Adalbert arrived in Silesia having moved out of Prague, while - as we are aware - he left the city first in 989, and for the second time in 994. Equally noteworthy are accounts of Adalbert's visit to Hungary. As we know, the visit was not documented in sources, but due to the cult which flourished after the saint's death in the Magyar land, it is a possibility which should not be excluded.¹⁶ In the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle (Kronika wegiersko-polska), a source from the second half of the 13th century, Adalbert is called *Polonorum et Ungarorum apostolus.*¹⁷ The theme of conversion of many peoples to the Christian faith appears in several other mediaeval sources.¹⁸ Interestingly, the Opole chronicle does not mention Poles as one of peoples christianized by Adalbert, although they may could have been subsumed under the term 'other Slavs' (rather than Sarmatians). Of special interest is the fact that the bishop is called 'the Apostle of Silesia',

12. IV F 221, p. 29, IV Q 194, p. 121 r, IV F 249, p. 217.

- 13. The course of the discussion was presented by E. Wółkiewicz in Jak powstawała legenda? (Rola konwentu dominikanów opolskich w rozwoju kultu św. Wojciecha), in: Opolskie drogi św. Wojciecha, red. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Opole 1997, pp. 59–87.
- 14. It was usually assumed that Adalbert visited Silesia on his way to Gniezno in 997.
- S. Moździoch, Opole w świetle źródeł archeologicznych, in: Jak powstawało Opole? Miasto i jego książęta, red. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Opole 2006, pp. 11–22.
- According to traditional accounts, Adalbert is believed to have christened either Géza, the first historical Hungarian ruler or – which is more likely – his son Steven. Cf. N. Mika, *Postać św. Wojciecha*, pp. 52–53.
- 17. N. Mika, Postać św. Wojciecha..., op. cit., p. 54.
- 18. N. Mika, Postać św. Wojciecha..., op. cit.

a phrase absent from other sources on Adalbert (which, as we know, do not mention his visit to those lands at all¹⁹). The region is clearly singled out, in addition to Hungarian Slavs and Sarmatians.

Here we touch upon the guestion when the work was written. As proved by Ewa Wółkiewicz,²⁰ the origins of the legend of Adalbert's arrival in Opole date back to the 1st half of the 15th century. It could have been inspired by John Kropidło, duke of Opole and bishop of multiple dioceses. Among other functions, he was the bishop of Poznań and nominee archbishop of Gniezno. He could have encountered the worship of St. Adalbert not only in Poznań, but also in Gniezno as well as Trzemeszno, in which the story of the bishop of Praque's visit was kept alive, additionally reinforced by the presence of his relics.²¹ As the duke of Opole, John Kropidło resided in the upper castle, just next to the Opole Dominicans' monastic compound; interestingly, according to his will, he was buried in a Dominican church as the only one of the Piasts of Opole.²² We find Dominicans in his environment, among others his auxiliary bishop Steven, a Poznań Dominican. The combination of two social and cultural phenomena such as the cult of St. Adalbert, patron saint of Poland, and the Silesian identity in a region which had been under Bohemian rule for almost a century is worth a careful consideration.

Let us look at further passages in the chronicle of Opole Dominicans. Aside from interesting information on the origin of the name of Opole,²³ we learn that:

Predicationi insisteret fontemque ad populi preces in monte hoc mirabiliter produxisset ad mandatum ipsius novelli in fide populi Ecclesiam circa fontem in hoc loco construxerunt quam ipse S.

- This also concerns mediaeval Silesian sources, cf. I. Panic, Święty Wojciech w wybranych średniowiecznych kronikach śląskich, in: Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo, pp. 525–342.
- 20. E. Wółkiewicz, Jak powstawała legenda?, op. cit., pp. 84-88.
- M. Wiewióra, Zespół klasztorny kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych, Toruń 2000; P. H. Doroszewski, Dzieje św. Wojciecha i benedyktynów w Trzemesznie. Między mitem a rzeczywistością, Malbork-Olsztyn 2010.
- A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Mecenat artystyczny Piastów opolskich w średniowieczu, in: Piastowie śląscy w kulturze i europejskich dziejach, red. A. Barciak, Katowice 2007, pp. 50-65.
- 23. The author traces it back to poplars (Polish *topole*), which grow there in large numbers, hence the pun on the Latin words *Opolia-popolia*.

Antistes in honorem B. Mariae semper Virginis dedicavit, et ista fuit prima Civitatis Ecclesia. Tandem ipso S. Praesule apud Pruthenos pro Christo crudeliter occiso Fideles ampliaverunt praefatam Ecclesiam, et fecerunt ex ea sibi Parochialem Ecclesiam consecrari eam facientes in Honorem S. Mariae semper Virginis prout ipsorum Apostolus S. Adalbertus primitis instituerat.²⁴

Admittedly, all aspects of the legend seem quite probable. Górka ('the Hill') in Opole, the location selected by the saint for the mission, was typical of such ventures - it allowed the missionary to be well seen and heard, and permitted large crowds to gather without any threat to the security of the nearby town. In the first period of Poland's christianization there were many such 'hills', and in the life of St. Adalbert we could also mention the hill in Gdańsk. The spring named in the chronicle, according to one of later legends, emerged when Adalbert hit a rock with his crosier when there was not enough water to baptise a multitude of converts. The well which was built in that place was used until as late as World War I (several years ago its replica was constructed on the university hill). The well is also a well-known part of the cult of St. Adalbert, particularly of its first phase²⁵ – just to mention perhaps the most popular Adalbertian well in St. Bartholomew's (formerly also St. Adalbert's) Church on the Tiber Island in Rome, founded by emperor Otto III. Some shrine, even a very provisional one, was most probably built in order to provide the newly-christened with a place to perform liturgy. On the other hand, excavations by German archaeologists in the 19th century in Górka did not confirm the presence of any previous shrine.²⁶ Yet we should note that it could have been a temporary place of worship, considering the material used in its construction. What is, however, significant, is the context of the mention that the shrine had been erected by Adalbert - the author clearly intends to show that it was the first church in the town, and a parish one. It is evident later on in the account, where the chronicler emphasizes that the Dominican place of worship was primal to the Franciscan church in Opole, which bore the

^{24.} BUWr, ref. no. IV Q 194, p. 217.

A. Gieysztor, Rzymska studzienka ze św. Wojciechem z roku około 1000, in: Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej. Antologia tekstów, red. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1997, pp. 337–349.

The subject is discussed by E.Wółkiewicz, Jak powstała legenda?, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

same dedication. The question of the order of the establishment of Opole churches is still open to discussion, yet it is not the best place to cite opinions of various researchers; the fact remains that archaeological studies do not confirm the existence of traces of any place of worship in Górka or in the town of Ostrówek, whereas in written sources the first church of the Holy Cross dates back to 1223.²⁷ Leaving aside the legend of St. Adalbert, at this point we should address a fundamental question whether for such a long period of time a town of the size of Opole could do without any place of worship. Going back to the Franciscan-Dominican competition for the priority of Opole churches one must note that the friars minor were brought to Opole ca. 40 years before the Preachers²⁸ and local residents must have been aware of the fact, since for time reference the chronicler did not chose the construction of the monastery but of the church the metrics of which could no longer be verified at the time.

We should also mention one more aspect of the legend of St. Adalbert, left out in the aforementioned mediaeval source, an aspect which has been present in the awareness of many generations of the inhabitants of Opole: a miraculous stone on which St. Adalberts' feet were impressed in the course of his ardent preaching. The stone, although omitted in the chronicle of the Opole Dominicans, is confirmed in 1460 in the Wrocław Cathedral, when (according to a later note) it was granted special indulgences by the Wrocław bishop Jošt of Rožmberk. In the early 20th century, when the stone was moved to the Archdiocesan Museum before renovation work, an information appeared that it had come from Opole.²⁹ According to Rev. prof. Kazimierz Dola, the stone could have been a gift from John Kropidło to Konrad Duke of Oleśnica when the latter was nominated as bishop

- 28. The Franciscans presence in Opole has been confirmed since 1248, cf. A. Pobóg--Lenartowicz, Książęta opolscy wobec klasztoru franciszkanów w Opolu, in: Kościół a państwo wzajemne inspiracje i rywalizacja w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością, red. M. Stawski, Warszawa 2007, pp. 83–92.
- This question is discussed in detail by B.Czechowicz, A.Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wokół opolskiej genezy i funkcji ideowych tak zwanego kamienia św. Wojciecha z katedry wrocławskiej, in: Katedra wrocławska na przestrzeni tysiąclecia: studia z historii architektury i sztuki, red. R.Kaczmarek, D.Galewski, Wrocław 2016, pp. 113–120.

96

^{27.} Cf. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, *Najstarsze kościoły Opola – głos w dyskusji*, in: *Jak powstawało Opole?*, pp. 143–149, and the literature quoted in the work.

of Wrocław.³⁰ Therefore, we have another reference to the duke-bishop, thanks to whom the figure of St. Adalbert again became popular in Opole.

The outcome of the Opole Dominican's account came about rather promptly. St. Adalbert soon became patron saint of the town, with St. Adalbert's on 23 April having the highest liturgical rank ('triplex'), which meant that it was public holiday: a work-free day. Actually, this was not just a Church holiday, but also a civic festival, as the Municipal Council incurred certain expenses to celebrate it, e.g. by hiring musicians. On this day fairs were customarily organized in Opole.³¹ St. Adalbert's patronage of Opole did not cease during the reformation or the times of the socialist People's Republic of Poland (PRL). The cult of the saint was manifested in manifold ways, by dedicating churches and shrines, streets, choirs, societies and bookshops. The 'Wojciech' bell from the Holy Cross Collegiate Church in Opole summoned town inhabitants to pray and warned them in emergency (until it was recast for military purposes during World War II).

The worship of St. Adalbert has been present also in other locations in Lower and Upper Silesia alike. In the case of the former region, Wrocław figures quite prominently, being the main place of worship of the Prague bishop on Silesian soil. A parish church dedicated to the saint was mentioned as early as the 1st half of the 12th century. Two further places of saint's worship in Lower Silesia, i.e. Milicz and Niemcza, are presumably linked to the passage of the army of from Gniezno with the bishop-martyr's relics. All three towns could back then serve as stopping places on the army's route to Prague.³² In the towns there are some of the oldest Silesian churches dedicated to Adalbert.³³

Meanwhile, in the Upper Silesia we find several locations with St. Adalbert's churches as early as the Middle Ages. Those include, first and foremost, Mikołów, Bytom or Radzionków. In Jełowa we find another Adalbertian spring. There are also towns and villages whose name originates from the name of the saint, such as Wojcieszów (near Namysłów), or

^{30.} A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wokół opolskiej genezy..., op. cit.

H.Sobeczko, Opolskie ślady kultu św. Wojciecha w liturgii, in: Opolskie drogi, op. cit., pp. 89–102.

K. Dola, Drogi rozwoju kultu św. Wojciecha, in: Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo, op. cit., p. 213.

^{33.} St. Adalbert's Church in Wrocław is mentioned in 1148, the church in Milicz in 1223, and the church in Niemcza in 1244. H. Sobeczko, *Liturgiczny kult św. Wojciecha na* Śląsku w wiekach średnich, in: Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo, op. cit., p. 244.

in which the cult of the bishop was evident in boys being frequently given his name, which in time started to function as a surname (as was the case in Miedźna near Pszczyna).³⁴

The worship of St. Adalbert is visible in the oldest surviving liturgical codices of the Wrocław diocese. In addition, like other important saints, the bishop of Prague is celebrated twice in a year, the first day being the anniversary of his death (referred to as 'dies natalis' in liturgy), and the second – the anniversary of the relocation of his relics (i.e. 'translatio'). The holiday of 'Natalis s. Adalberti' was celebrated in Silesia as everywhere, on the day of the martyr's death on 23 April³⁵, whereas the 'translatio' was commemorated on 26 August, in line with the Prague tradition.³⁶ The 'natalis' was a feast of precept ('festum fori') of triple obligation ('triplex'). The 'translatio' was treated as a liturgical feast ('festum chori'), rather than a feast of precept, of the rank of 'III lectionum'.³⁷

It is thus evident that the cult of St. Adalbert in Silesia has a very long tradition which goes back to the Middle Ages. For this reason we should be neither surprised nor puzzled to read that the chronicler from the Dominican monastery in Opole called the bishop of Prague 'the Apostle of Silesia', because, according to his contemporaries, St. Adalbert wholly deserved the title.

- 34. K. Pszczyński, Święty Wojciech w ludowej tradycji górnośląskiej, in: Opolskie drogi, op. cit., pp. 103–116.
- 35. H. Sobeczko, *Liturgiczny kult*, op. cit., p. 234.
- 36. In Bohemia, the *translatio* was commemorated on 25 August, i.e. The day on which the saint's relics were brought to Prague by duke Břetislav. In the Wrocław diocese, due to the fact that the day coincided with the *translatio* of St. Jadwiga (Hedwig), it was moved to the next day, *Liturgiczny kult*, op. cit., p. 242.
- 37. H. Sobeczko, *Liturgiczny kult*, op. cit.

98

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Abstract

Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz Saint Adalbert — the Apostle of Silesia

Keywords:

saint Adalbert, cult, Opole, Dominicans, chronicle, Middle Ages. Bishop Adalbert is known under many names but only one source refers to him as the 'Apostle of Silesia': a mediaeval chronicle of the Opole Dominicans. Since the World War II the chronicle is lost. The contents of the chronicle were recently reconstructed thanks to an archival research in the manuscript department of the Wrocław University Library, the National Archive in Prague and the Dominican General Archive on Aventine hill in Rome. According to the source, saint Adalbert had visited Opole about 984. In Górka (the Hill) he was supposed to christianize local society and baptize them. When he was run out of baptizing water, the fountain came to the top and lasted till the beginning of the 20th century. Close to the fountain the church dedicated to Blessed Virgin Mary was founded and, according to the chronicle, was the first temple in Opole. In 15th century saint Adalbert has been already worshiped as city's patron. His cult encircled entire Silesia so term 'the Apostle of Silesia' didn't seem then extraordinary at all.

Abstrakt

Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz Święty Wojciech – Apostoł Śląska

> Święty Wojciech doczekał się wielu określeń i godności. Ale tylko w jednym źródle nazwany jest "apostołem Śląska". Źródłem tym jest średniowieczna kronika dominikanów opolskich, która od końca II wojny światowej uchodzi za zaginiona. Jej treść udało się odtworzyć na podstawie kodeksów zachowanych w bibliotekach i archiwach polskich (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego), czeskich (Narodny Archiv Praha) i rzymskich (Archiwum Generalne Dominikanów). W kronice tej czytamy o pobycie Wojciecha w Opolu "około roku 984". Na tzw. górce miał chrystianizować okoliczną ludność i udzielać sakramentu chrztu. Gdy zabrakło mu wody do udzielania tego sakramentu natychmiast wypłynęło cudowne źródełko, które w formie studni funkcjonowało aż do początku XX wieku. Tuż obok niego wybudował kościół ku czci NMP, który – według kroniki – był najstarszą świątynią w mieście. W XV wieku św. Wojciech czczony już był w Opolu jako patron miasta. W tym czasie kult świetego objał ziemie całego Ślaska, stąd określenie Wojciecha "apostołem Śląska" nie wydawało się wówczas niczym nadzwyczajnym.

Słowa kluczowe:

św. Wojciech, kult, Opole, dominikanie, kronika, średniowiecze.