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Papal bull of Benedict XIII (1394–1417) from Grodno Castle

Introduction

One of the results of archaeological research which was conducted in Grodno Castle in 2017 was the discovery of a cultural property of special value, i.e., a papal bull. The article presents the results of the conducted queries as well as comparative and typological analyses of this papal bull. The analyses were aimed at identifying the author and at determining potential circumstances in which this papal bull appeared in Grodno Castle.

The papal bull was discovered during the subsequent stage of archaeological research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Paweł Konczewski in the zwinger area on October 20, 2017 (Fig. 1). In April 2016, the study was initiated by the Historical and Regional Research Institute

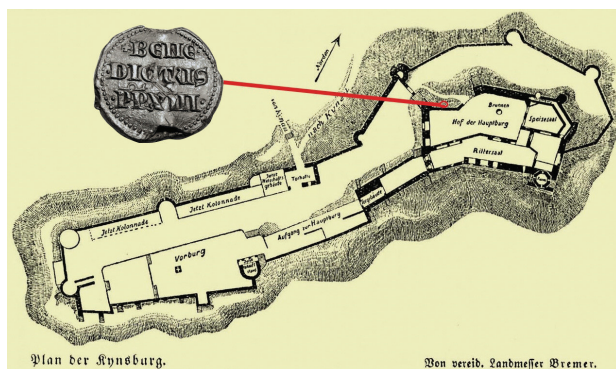


Fig. 1. Bremer's plan of Grodno Castle with marking the place where the papal bull of Benedict XIII was discovered (source: [1, p. 2])

Il. 1. Plan Bremera zamku Grodno z oznaczeniem miejsca odnalezienia bulli Benedykta XIII (źródło: [1, s. 2])



Fig. 2. From left: Łukasz Orlicki, Jacek Milczarski, Dorota Mikołajczyk, Radosław Biel after the discovery of the seal on October 20, 2017 (photo by Ł. Orlicki)

Il. 2. Od lewej: Łukasz Orlicki, Jacek Milczarski, Dorota Mikołajczyk, Radosław Biel po odnalezieniu pieczęci 20 października 2017 r. (fot. Ł. Orlicki)

– the publisher of the monthly “Odkrywca” and the quarterly “Archeologia Żywa” [2], [3]¹ (Fig. 2).

The cultural property was discovered right next to the wall of the upper castle in the lowest layer of the burnt site, which according to researchers, dates back to the 15th century (Fig. 3)². It is a round, heavy, and lead object with a diameter of 3.9 cm. After it had been taken out of that place and cleaned, the obverse featured the image of two

¹ This article is a changed and completed version of quoted works.

² The issue of dating the layer in which the papal bull was found is discussed in more detail in the articles by Paweł Konczewski and Radosław Biel.



Fig. 3. Probing excavation No. 5 at the wall of the upper castle (photo by Ł. Orlicki)

Il. 3. Wykop sondażowy nr 5 przy murze zamku górnego (fot. Ł. Orlicki)

bearded heads and clear inscription *SPASPE*. In connection with the name on the other side – *BENEDICTUS XIII* – this undoubtedly indicated the discovery of an artifact not often found during archaeological research, i.e., a papal bull – a personal papal seal.

The state of research on papal seals

The subject of papal bulls – papal seals as artifacts obtained during archaeological research which is carried out in Poland and Silesia is still insufficiently well recognized. Until relatively recently, cultural properties of this type were considered extremely rare, however, this condition is changing dynamically. In the text by Zbigniew Misiuk from 2013 [4], only eight such artifacts were mentioned. In turn, already in 2018, Borys Paszkiewicz in the article entitled *Bulla papieża Benedykta XI* [Papal bull of Pope Benedict XI] lists 22 of them in total [5]. The latter researcher also points out that the avalanche increase may be connected with the fact that so far these cultural properties have not been recognized in the discovered mobile material [5]. Therefore, even an attempt at estimating the number of such finds in the territory of Poland is difficult. According to the author, at present this number amounts to over 30 copies and is certainly only a part of the total number of papal bulls which should be in the area of our country³.

³ The author's estimates are based on tracking information published on online news services.

To compare – in Great Britain the number of papal bulls reported by detectorists only by November 2021 was 515 and did not take into account those discovered during archaeological research [6].

In the event of discovering new cultural properties, field researchers and explorers often limit themselves to short press releases published in online news and social networking services⁴ or entries in databases such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme [6], [7]. They less frequently devote longer publications to specific copies (such as the already cited [4], [5]) and there are only few synthetic studies for a given region (e.g., [8]). At the same time, a completely separate category of publications are sphragistic works, which by definition do not deal with field finds. As regards this type of studies, the most important synthetic study of papal bulls is a four-volume work by Camill Serafini entitled *Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano* [9], however, the article by Francesco de Lasala [10] is much more often cited because it is widely available⁵.

Papal bulls

In Latin, the word “bull” means “ball, water-bubble” or “tumor”. This expression was used to describe the characteristic round papal seal affixed with a hemp cord or, more rarely, a silk one at the bottom of a document which was issued by the office of the Holy Father. As early as in the Middle Ages, the term papal bull was used to define the entire document leaving the papal chancellery and to which a seal was attached [11]. In the 2nd half of the 15th century, this term was fully established and for the first time a collection of major papal documents entitled “bullarium” was published by Roman canonist and historian of law Laertio Cherubini [12]. Papal bulls were of various character, ranging from official, ceremonial documents which were connected with a specific stance of the pope – such as the famous Gniezno papal bull of 1136 which abolished the authority of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg over the Polish church or papal bull *Ad extirpanda* issued by Pope Innocent IV in 1252 concerning the use of tortures in inquisition processes against heretics – through a huge number of legal documents confirming privileges for universities, churches, monasteries, approval of the abbot, and ending with private privileges issued at the request of interested persons, letters of safe conduct (Latin *salvus conductus*) for envoys and recipients of many other cases in which medieval society required acceptance from the spiritual head of the Catholic Church⁶. Regardless of the importance of the document leaving the papal office,

⁴ An exemplary comparison of such press releases is presented by Paszkiewicz in his article [5].

⁵ In a number of publications it is mentioned in the bibliographic list as *Tipologia dei sigilli dei papi* or *Typology of the papal seals*. The author is not sure until what time it was available on the Pontifical Gregorian University website, but at present it is available thanks to the Internet Archive service exclusively [9].

⁶ Like, for example, *Bulla Ex commisso nobis a Deo*, promulgated on July 7, 1136, in Pisa, or *Ad extirpanda*, papal bull of Innocent IV, promulgated on May 15, 1252 [12].

its preparation was very careful and required the participation of many people such as notaries, referendaries, proofreaders and editors. Each document had to be signed by the pope's office by affixing his personal seal. Lead papal bulls were attached to documents until the mid-18th century, when they began to be replaced with red seals imprinted in wax, keeping traditional papal bulls for more sumptuous and representative occasions.

Practically throughout the whole history of the Church, a papal bull–seal contained the same unchanging elements from the early Middle Ages to the present day. On one side of the lead seal there are St. Peter's and St. Paul's bearded heads which are presented in profile, between which there is a papal processional cross. Above them there is Latin inscription "SPASPE", which means the abbreviation of the words Sanctus Petrus (Saint Peter) and Sanctus Paulus (Saint Paul). On the reverse there is a Latin name of the pope and letters "PP", meaning *pastor pastorum* – "shepherd of shepherds".

Identification of the issuer of the papal bull from Grodno Castle

Identifying legibly preserved papal seals is not a complicated problem due to the clearly visible name of the pope. However, in the case of the seal which was found in Grodno Castle (German: Kynsburg), the situation was exceptional⁷. The name of Benedict XIII, which appears on the seal, might have referred to two people, i.e. the Pope of Avignon obedience Pedro Martinez de Luna (1342–1422) at the turn of the 15th century, who was practically unconnected with the lands of Silesia, or Pietro Francesco Orsini (1650–1730) who ruled in the 18th century. The latter, as a modest Dominican, although he came from one of the most influential Italian families, made a stunning career by becoming Archbishop of Manfredonia at the age of 25 only. In 1724 he was elected Pope, taking initially the name of Benedict XIV, which he changed to Benedict XIII, thus emphasizing that his predecessor was not officially recognized by the Vatican as the head of the Catholic Church. The pontificate of Pope Pietro F. Orsini lasted six years [15, pp. 411–413]. During those years, he issued various types of documents for Polish, Silesian, and Czech dioceses, inter alia, for the monastery in Henryków⁸. At the same time, he issued many archival regulations and instructions regarding preservation of documents and contributed to the canonization of John of Nepomuk, a popular Bohemian saint in Silesia [16].

The papal bull which was found during the archaeological research in Grodno Castle was in the late medieval layer, which allowed us to accept a more likely hypothesis, namely that it belonged to the first Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna). The full identification of the papal bull was

achieved by comparing external features as well as style of the found artifact and the preserved seals of both popes.

As mentioned above, in the Middle Ages, the appearance of a papal bull, apart from the name of the pope, was almost identical, however, changes in architecture and art brought by the Renaissance, and then the Baroque, were reflected even in the conservative form of the papal seal. Only a few decades after the death of the first Benedict XIII, images of St. Peter and St. Paul began to change. The papal chancellery also introduced changes to the font and arrangement of inscriptions on the seal. These changes can already be seen in the seal of Sixtus IV from the 1470s. Subsequent pontificates brought further evolution and changes in style⁹. The seal of Benedict XIII, i.e., Francesco Orsini, which was preserved on the document from 1725, showed both the reverse and the obverse of the papal bull in a changed baroque convention significantly different from the medieval style (Fig. 4). However, the comparison of the papal bull found in Grodno Castle with the photographs of the well-preserved seals of Benedict XIII, i.e., Pedro de Luna (found in the document confirming the rights of the oldest Scottish University in St. Andrews from 1413 and the papal bull stored in the Carthusian monastery in Valldemossa) confirmed the hypothesis of the medieval origin of the seals (Fig. 5). On this basis, it can be assumed that the seal from Grodno Castle was attached to the document which was issued by the "antipope", or rather the Pope of Avignon obedience, namely Benedict XIII¹⁰. This is an exceptional situation. Under the walls of the Silesian castle, which did not yet belong to the most significant knightly seats at the beginning of the 15th century, a seal was abandoned, or perhaps a document issued by the pope, who during those years was fully recognized by the kingdoms of France, Naples, Scotland, Aragon and Castile only.

"El Papa Luna"

Pedro Martinez de Luna was born in around 1342 in Illueca in the Kingdom of Aragon to a significant noble family related to the royal house. At the age of nine, he became a subdeacon, taking obligatory ordinations for candidates for the priesthood. As a young man and candidate for the clergy, he was to take part in the Castilian-Aragonese war. Thanks to his family's efforts, he quickly began his church career, studying and teaching canon law and receiving holy orders in 1366. In 1375 he was appointed a cardinal deacon.

⁹ Conclusions regarding changes in the style of the representations were drawn on the basis of a comparative analysis which was carried out by the author.

¹⁰ The term *antipapa* (Latin *antipapa*) means a person appointed to the papal throne without taking into account all the requirements of canon law, who most often remains a competitor of the rightful pope. However, this term does not reflect the full essence of the events which took place during the Western Schism, and the very assessment of the activity and role of "antipopes", in particular Benedict XIII, evolved over the centuries. At present, the most appropriate term for Benedict XIII is the Avignon Pope obedience. A review of historians' opinions such as A. Franzen, G. Mollat, L. Suarez Fernandez, on the role of Benedict XIII, was included in the work by Ovidio Cuella Esteban [17, Vol. 1, pp. 19, 20].

⁷ Grodno Castle was mentioned in sources as Kinsperch, Kinsberg, Kinnigsperg, Kunigsperg, and even Königsberg. In the interwar period the name was Kynsburg [13].

⁸ Bull of Benedict XIII (Pietro Francesco Orsini) confirming consent to the use of pontificals and the granting of lower orders to monks by the abbot of Henryków [14].



Fig. 4. Comparison of the style of seals of two popes bearing the name of Benedict XIII.

At the top, the 18th-century papal bull of Pietro Francesco Orsini (source: courtesy of Vcoin.com). At the bottom, the 14th/15th-century papal bull of Pedro de Luna discovered in Grodno Castle (photo by Ł. Orlicki)

Il. 4. Porównanie stylistyki pieczęci dwóch papieży noszących imię Benedykta XIII. U góry XVIII-wieczna bulla Pietra Francesca Orsiniego (źródło: dzięki uprzejmości Vcoin.com). U dołu odnaleziona na zamku Grodno XIV/XV-wieczna bulla Pedra de Luny (fot. Ł. Orlicki)



Fig. 5. Papal bull of Pedro de Luna from 1413, which is kept at St. Andrews' Scottish University (source: courtesy of the University of St. Andrews Libraries and Museums)

Il. 5. Bulla Pedra de Luny z 1413 r. przechowywana w szkockim uniwersytecie St. Andrews (źródło: dzięki uprzejmości University of St. Andrews Libraries and Museums)

Three years later, the Catholic Church suffered one of the greatest crises in its history, i.e. the Western Schism. After the death of Pope Gregory XI, the cardinals elected Italian Archbishop of Bari as his successor who took the name of Urban VI. The political awkwardness and difficult temperament of the new pope led to the situation in which most of the cardinals met a few months later and decided to annul the election, appointing to the papal throne Robert de Genève from France as Clement VII. A real war began between the two competitors. It culmi-

nated in the Battle of Marine where the French mercenaries of Clement VII capitulated to the Italian condottieri serving Urban VI. Clement went to French Avignon, where he still considered himself the rightful heir to the throne of St. Peter. Apart from France, he was supported by Scotland, Sabaudia, Naples and, after some hesitation, Castile and Aragon. The kingdoms of England, Portugal, most of the lands of the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdoms of Central Europe, i.e., Poland and Hungary remained faithful to the Roman obedience. The then Ro-

Fig. 6. Papal bull of Benedict XIII (1394–1417) from Grodno Castle after conservation. On the left: obverse, on the right: reverse (photo by Ł. Orlicki)

Il. 6. Bulla Benedykta XIII (1394–1417) z zamku Grodno po konserwacji. Po lewej: awers, po prawej: rewers (fot. Ł. Orlicki)



man (1378–1400) and Bohemian (1378–1419) King Wenceslaus IV of Luxembourg also remained faithful to the Roman obedience.

After the death of Clement VII in 1394, he was succeeded by Pedro de Luna who took the name of Benedict XIII. Thus, he began the hottest period of the schism, which determined fates of the Avignon popes. The colorful history of his life and struggles with successive Roman popes as well as the successive antipope who worsened the chaos abounded in dramatic events, including a four-year siege in Avignon and a six-month defense of the palace, during which Benedict XIII was lightly wounded in the shoulder. Pedro de Luna showed consistency and stubbornness, believing – truthfully – that of all the “popes and anti-popes” who lived in his time, he was the only cardinal appointed by the undoubtedly last Pope Gregory XI. Ultimately, the dynamically changing political situation resulted in the fact that France and Castile withdrew their support for him. In 1408, he moved his seat to Perpignan, the capital of the Kingdom of Majorca, where he remained in office until 1417 and waited for the decision of the Council of Constance to end the schism. He spent the last years of his life in the Kingdom of Aragon in Peniscola Castle. After his death, in 1423, the body of Pedro de Luna was moved to the place of his birth. His tomb was plundered during the Napoleonic Wars. Only the skull survived [15], [17].

The figure of Pope Pedro de Luna, almost unknown in Poland, is very popular in the countries which recognized him. First of all in Spain, France and Scotland. The coat of arms of St. Andrews’ Scottish University still has an inverted crescent moon – the personal coat of arms of Benedict XIII. In France and Spain, he became the hero of many publications [17], [18], including non-scientific ones. For example, Spanish author Vicent Melià i Bomboi tries to connect Benedict XIII with the Order of the Dragon, which was founded by Sigismund of Luxembourg (King of Rome, Hungary and the future emperor). Famous Polish knight Zawisza Czarny was also supposed to be a knight of this order [19].

Sigismund of Luxembourg actually met Pedro de Luna in Perpignan, staying there from September to November in 1415 [20]. Most probably, Zawisza Czarny was in his

retinue. According to Jan Długosz, during the tournament, he was supposed to defeat a mysterious knight called John of Aragon in front of Benedict XIII, Sigismund of Luxembourg, and King Ferdinand I of Aragon [21].

The memory of Pedro de Luna remains strong in Spain, especially in the regions which are connected with the last period of his life. The Association of Friends of Pope Luna (Asociacion Amics del Papa Luna) is located in Peniscola. It collects documents and inspires scientific publications about the life and activities of the Pope, and also conducts activities aimed at the rehabilitation of Pedro de Luna in the light of canon law. In December 2019, this Association presented detailed documentation to the Vatican’s Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which was approved by Cardinal Luis Francisco Ladaria on December 21, 2019 [22].

Grodno Castle and a papal seal?

The issue concerning the circumstances in which the lead seal of Benedict XIII (Fig. 6) was on the premises of Grodno Castle, or with what specific document it is connected, in fact remains impossible to explain unequivocally¹¹. From the Middle Ages, the papal curia and chancellery acted in many cases in a purely reactive way. A client – a ruler, bishop, city council, monastery, chapter or private person – submitted a supplication (request) along with an office fee. The supplication could concern the approval or acquisition of a privilege, election for a position, indulgence of sins, obtaining a benefice and many other matters in which the response of the papal chancellery was expected. This type of correspondence might have also concerned a specific person, after whose death the document lost its validity and became worthless [23]. The number of Benedict XIII’s documents preserved to this day varies, depending on the location and the state of research on the legacy of Pedro de Luna. In the Paris Archives Nationales

¹¹ I express my thanks to Professor Marek Daniel Kowalski (Jagiellonian University) and dr. Stanisław Jucezko (University of Wrocław) for their research advice, information and discussion.

there are only 44 published documents issued by the office of Benedict XIII [24]. About 25,000 papal bulls of Pedro de Luna are kept in the Vatican Secret Archives, of which 4,480 documents connected with the area of present-day Spain have been published [17].

In the case of the office of Benedict XIII, we are dealing with a specific situation when it comes to the area of the then lands of Silesia, under the reign of the Bohemian Crown. The turn of the 15th century is the time of the aforementioned Western Schism, which primarily concerned the Church, at the same time introducing a division between countries. Both the Kingdom of Bohemia, which was part of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Kingdom of Poland, adjacent to Silesia, recognized Roman or Pisan obedience, not submitting to the Popes of Avignon. The confusion over the schism resulted even in the fact that in some regions of Upper Hungary – today's Slovakia – clergymen were not required to be consecrated by any of the popes who were in conflict with each other [25]. So far, no document regarding Polish lands issued by Benedict XIII has been located in archives, private collections and publications [26]. A similar situation occurs among papal bulls issued with reference to German territories [27]. In the territory of the Czech Republic, among the documents published in collections, there are eight which are connected with the pope we are interested in. However, none of them could have had his seal. Five documents constitute supplications which are connected with benefits in France. The others were issued by the cardinal chamberlain and as such were sealed with his own wax seal [28, pp. 721–725].

However, it should be remembered that the lack of known to us and identified papal bulls of Benedict XIII concerning the region of Poland, Silesia and Bohemia, which might have appeared in Grodno Castle, does not prove that such documents did not exist.

Identification of the document accompanied by the stamp

The document, together with the seal found in Grodno Castle, might have left the papal chancery at various times during the pontificate of Benedict XIII. The most likely of them are the first months and years immediately after being elected pope in 1394. Pedro de Luna must have sent various letters calling for fidelity to individual representatives of the Church and secular authorities. Although in Silesia such letters have not survived, after being delivered to the addressees, they might have been ignored or destroyed. The second probable period when a larger number of Benedict's documents could have reached the region of Silesia, Bohemia and Poland might be year 1404, after the death of the Pope of Roman obedience, Boniface IX. According to Ovidio Cuella Esteban, an expert on Pedro de Luna's correspondence, it was one of the few moments when Benedict XIII, respected for his steadfastness and defense, began to be recognized by some Italian, German, Hungarian and even Polish dioceses [17, Vol. 1, p. 12]. The pope himself even thought of an armed expedition to Rome.

However, this streak of good luck did not last long. As a result of another reshuffle of political parties, Pedro de Luna moved his seat to the Kingdom of Majorca and the probability of issuing documents concerning Poland or Silesia decreased significantly. Of course, there is a possibility that the seal from Grodno Castle was attached to a much more important document which was sent out throughout the Christian world. For example, the papal bull of 1408 calling the council of Perpignan or official papal bull *Etsi doctoribus Gentium* of 1415, restricting the rights of Jews and resulting from a long dispute organized by Benedict in Tortosa [29].

At the time when Pedro de Luna was elected Pope, Grodno Castle along with the entire Świdnica and Jawor Principality was already under the reign of the Bohemian Crown, which happened in 1392 after the death of Duchess Agnes, widow of Bolko II. The history of the castle at that time is not entirely clear. Its owners were probably knights from the Schoff-Heinz family, then his brother Ulrich, after whose death in 1412 the castle was to be taken over by the von Mühlheim family, or in fact its branch called Puschke (Pastuchów) after the name of its estate. The latter soon became known as robber knights who were known for enforcing tolls due to them and sometimes dealing with ordinary robberies. After the death of Benedict XIII, Grodno Castle was still in the hands of this family. Then it was taken over by other knightly families with an equally bad reputation [1], [13]. There is no indication that any of these knights was trying to obtain any letter of Benedict XIII. However, it is not ruled out. Perhaps the document was taken by one of the robber knights during numerous plundering raids, for which successive lords at Grodno Castle became famous in the 15th century, or perhaps it found its way to the castle as a result of one of the Hussite military expeditions. Of course, there are many hypotheses, speculations or possible paths through which the seal found its way to the castle walls from distant Avignon or Aragon¹². It is worth remembering that regardless of them, finding Pedro de Luna's seal in this part of Europe is a unique discovery.

Summary

Despite the unusual fact of the existence of two popes in the history of the Catholic Church bearing the name of Benedict XIII, on the basis of the analyses carried out, we can certainly assume that the issuer of the papal bull, which was discovered during the archaeological research conducted in 2017 in Grodno Castle, was Pedro de Luna who was in office under this name at the turn of the 15th century. This is indicated first of all by the results of comparative analyses of the style of representations on papal bulls from the 15th century and on later cultural proper-

¹² One of the most daring speculations is the possibility of receiving the document by one of the knights accompanying Sigismund of Luxemburg on his visit to Benedict XIII in Perpignan. One of them was, after all, the aforementioned Zawisza Czarny, who later visited Lower Silesia many times in the service of Sigismund, while at the same time being captured by the Hussites [30].

ties. These findings are confirmed by the results of the stratigraphic analysis of the context in which this artifact was found.

The identification of the document is much more problematic and thus the way in which this papal bull could get to Grodno Castle. All of the proposed hypotheses seem to be equally probable. Certainly, the solution to this problem requires further research and potential discoveries of

new, hitherto unknown papal bulls of this pope will be crucial for the whole process. Therefore, potential discoverers must bear in mind that the context of their discovery, i.e. its location, depth or accompanying cultural properties should be documented as precisely as possible.

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Bogusław Setkiewicz

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Abstract

Papal bull of Benedict XIII (1394–1417) from Grodno Castle

The article aims at discussing a unique cultural property, which is the papal bull of Pope Benedict XIII that was discovered during the archaeological research conducted in Grodno Castle in 2017, as well as at determining the potential connections, as a result of which this cultural property found its place in Lower Silesia. The number of papal bulls which are discovered in contemporary Poland has been growing significantly from year to year. They are not only visually impressive artifacts, but above all good dating proofs due to the name of their issuer on each of them. In the case of identification of the papal bull discovered in Grodno Castle, initially there was a problem connected with the fact that in the history of the Catholic Church there were two popes bearing the name of Benedict XIII, i.e. Pedro de Luna who was in office at the turn of the 15th century and Francesco Orsini who ruled in the 18th century. Thanks to the source query and the comparative analysis, the issuer of the copy from Grodno Castle is undoubtedly the first of them – in historiography referred to as the Pope of Avignon obedience and colloquially as an anti-pope, due to the schism prevailing in the Church at that time. At the same time, it was ruled out that this cultural property might have been placed on the secondary deposit due to the analysis of the stratigraphy of the context layers in which it was discovered. On the basis of the query, the article also presents several hypotheses about a possible way the papal bull got to Lower Silesia. The conclusion which can be drawn from the research is the need to conduct further studies, not only on this particular cultural property, but first of all, in a broader aspect of papal bulls in Poland.

Key words: Grodno Castle, Middle Ages, papal bull, Benedict XIII, Pedro de Luna

Streszczenie

Bulla Benedykta XIII (1394–1417) z zamku Grodno

Artykuł ma na celu omówienie unikatowego zabytku, jakim jest bulla papieża Benedykta XIII odkryta w trakcie badań archeologicznych prowadzonych na zamku Grodno w 2017 r., a także ustalenie potencjalnych powiązań, na skutek których zabytek znalazł się na terenie Dolnego Śląska. Z roku na rok liczba bulli odkrywanych na obszarze współczesnej Polski znacząco wzrasta. Są one nie tylko wizualnie imponującymi artefaktami, ale przede wszystkim dobrymi datownikami, z racji imienia swojego wystawcy znajdującego się na każdej z nich. W przypadku identyfikacji egzemplarza odkrytego na zamku Grodno natrafiono początkowo na problem związany z faktem występowania w historii Kościoła katolickiego dwóch papieży noszących imię Benedykta XIII – Pedra de Luni pełniącego urząd na przełomie XIV i XV w. oraz Francesca Orsiniego sprawującego władzę w wieku XVIII. Dzięki przeprowadzonej kwerendzie źródłowej i analizie porównawczej bezsprzecznie jako wydawcę egzemplarza z zamku Grodno można wskazać pierwszego z nich – w historiografii określanego mianem papieża obojczyństwa awiniońskiego, a potocznie antypapieża, ze względu na panującą wówczas w Kościele schizmę. Jednocześnie wykluczono, że zabytek mógł znaleźć się na złożu wtórnym z racji analizy stratygrafii nawarstwień kontekstu, w którym go odnaleziono. W oparciu o przeprowadzoną kwerendę w artykule zaprezentowano też kilka hipotez dotyczących sposobu, w jaki bulla trafiła na Dolny Śląsk. Wnioskiem płynącym z przedstawionych badań jest potrzeba przeprowadzenia dalszych studiów, nie tylko nad tym konkretnym zabytkiem, ale przede wszystkim w szerszym aspekcie bulli papieskich na terenie Polski.

Słowa kluczowe: zamek Grodno, średniowiecze, bulla papieska, Benedykt XIII, Pedro de Luna